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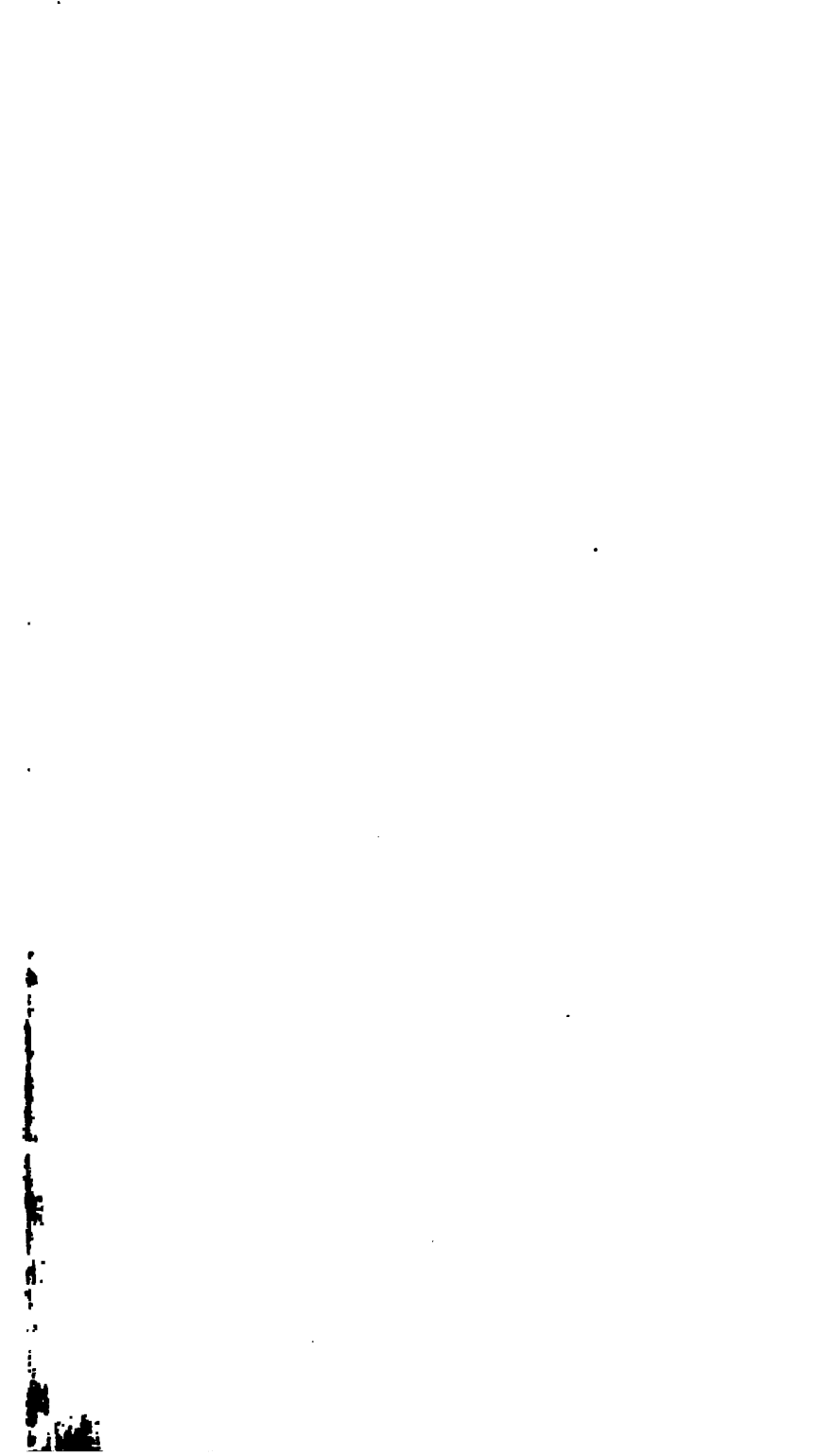


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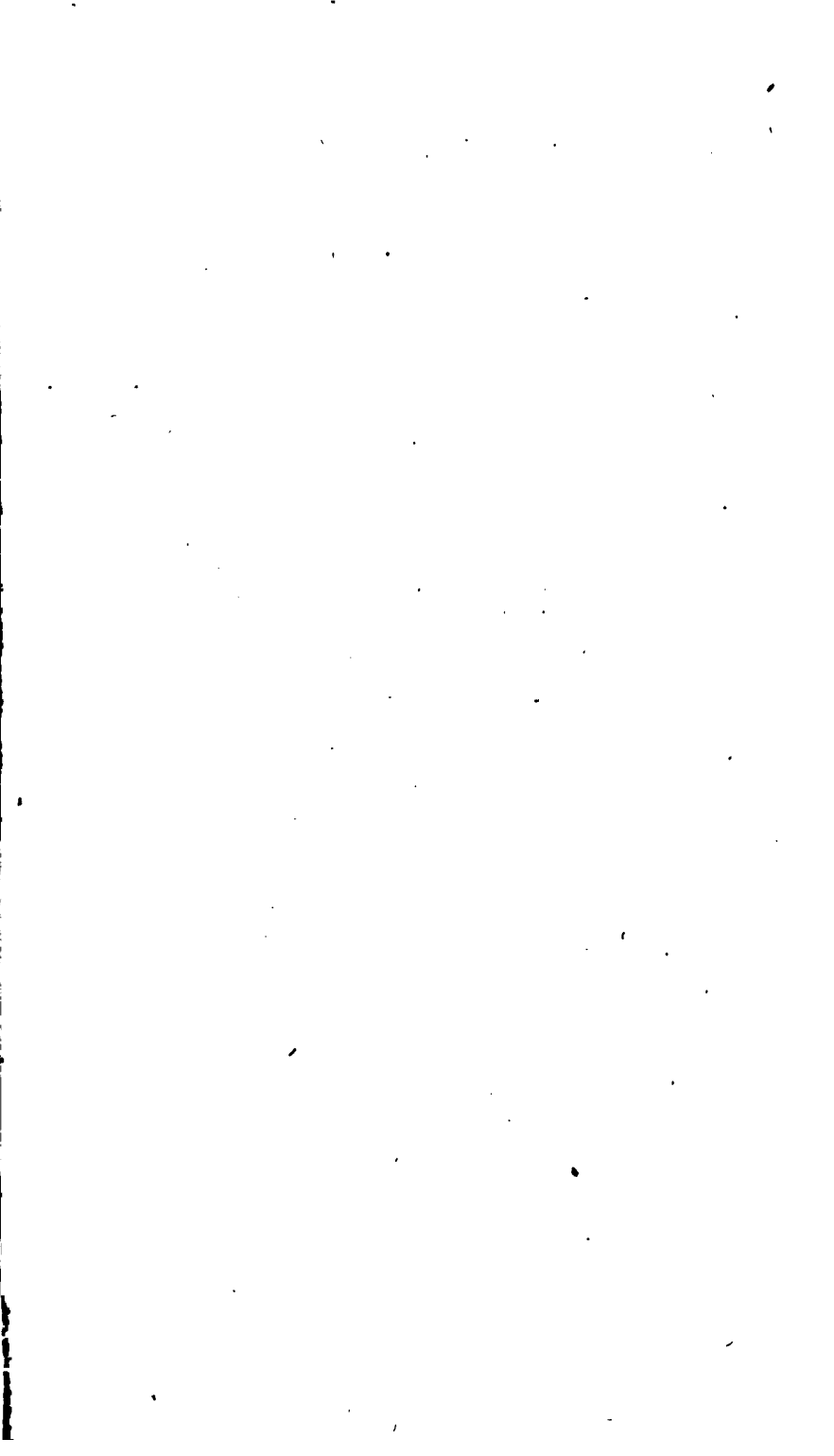


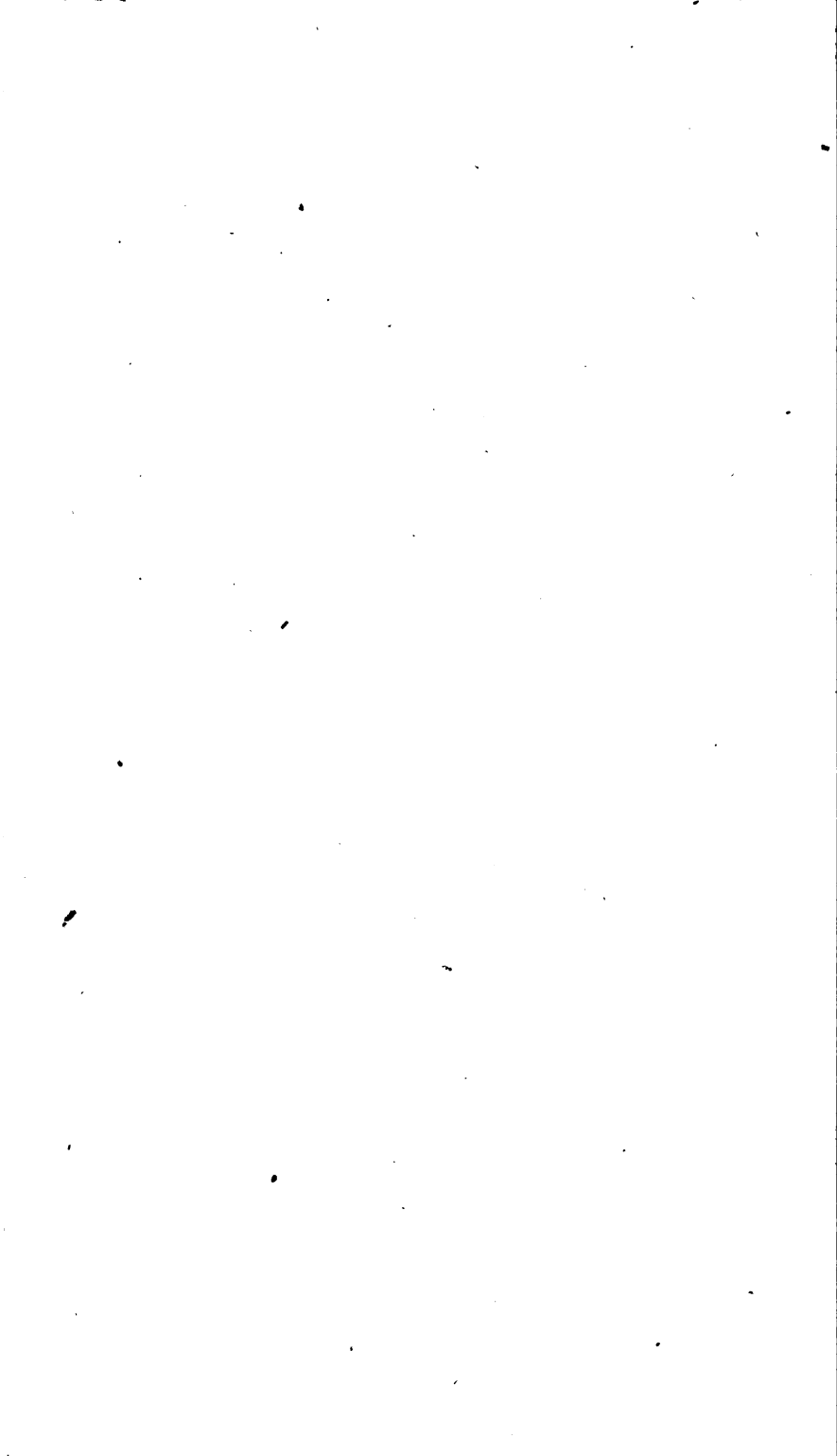
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MEMORIS

OF THE DIFFERENT

REBELLIONS IN IRELAND;

FROM THE

ARRIVAL OF THE ENGLISH:

ALSO,

A PARTICULAR DETAIL OF THAT WHICH BROKE
OUT THE XXIII^D OF MAY, MDCCXCVIII;

WITH THE

HISTORY OF THE CONSPIRACY WHICH PRECEDED IT.

By **SIR RICHARD MUSGRAVE, BART.**

MEMBER OF THE LATE IRISH PARLIAMENT.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

112 11

The danger of the day's but newly gone,
Whose memory is written on the earth,
With yet-appearing blood!

SHAKESPEARE.

Hoc illud est precipue in cognitione rerum salubre ac frugiferum,
omnis te exempli documenta in illustri posita monumento, intueri, inde
tibi, tuæque republicæ, quod imitare capias: inde fœdum inceptu,
fœdum exitu, quod vites.———LIVY.

THE THIRD EDITION.

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113

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CONTENTS

OF

VOLUME II.

<i>RE-TAKING of Vinegar-hill and Enniscorthy</i>	Page	1
<i>Massacre on the bridge of Wexford</i>	- -	16
<i>Battle of Hacketstown</i>	- -	50
— of Ballyellis	- -	53
— of Ballyrabeene	- -	55
— of Whiteheaps	- -	56
— of Clonard	- -	66
<i>Atrocities committed in and about Castlecomer</i>		77
<i>Battle of Antrim</i>	- -	93
—s of Saintfield and Ballynahinch	-	103
<i>Rebellions in the counties of Mayo and Sligo</i>	-	110
<i>Battle of Castlebar</i>	- -	151
— of Ballynamuck	- -	175
<i>Amount of the losses sustained by the loyalists</i>		206
<i>Documents relative to the white boys</i>	-	207
<i>Resolutions of the corporation of Dublin on Edward Byrne's writs being issued</i>	- -	222
<i>Address and vindication of the Orangemen</i>	-	227
<i>Publications and addresses of the United Irishmen</i>		228
<i>Outrages by the defenders in the year 1793</i>	-	239
<i>Papers found on the Leinster delegates, seized at Oliver Bond's, on 12th March, 1798</i>	- -	243
<i>Mr. Grattan's answer to the Roman catholics</i>	-	*249
<i>Conspiracy in the county of Carlow</i>	- -	244
— in the King's and Queen's county	-	249
— in the county of Clare	-	252
— in the county of Waterford	- -	255
— in the city of Waterford	- -	261
— in the city of Cork	- -	266
		<i>Conspiracy</i>

<i>Conspiracy in the county of Cork</i>	-	Page 271
----- <i>in the county of Tipperary</i>	-	280
<i>Outrages by the defenders in the year 1795</i>	-	285
<i>State of Dublin in 1797</i>	-	289
<i>The proclamation found in the house of Henry Sheares in Dublin</i>	-	291
<i>Papers found in lord Edward Fitzgerald's writing-box</i>		294
<i>Chapel burnt at Athy, affidavit thereon</i>	-	299
<i>Massacre at Prosperous, affidavit thereon</i>	-	303
<i>Affassination of Mrs. Dale near Athy</i>	-	306
<i>Documents relative to the conspiracy and rebellion in the county of Wicklow</i>	-	307
<i>Documents relative to do. in the county of Wexford</i>		322
----- <i>relative to the barn burnt at Scullabogue</i>		400
<i>Calendar of protestant prisoners in the gaol of Wexford, used by the bloody committee</i>	-	429
<i>Description of the rebel camp near Wexford, on the mountain of Forth</i>	-	444
<i>A list of persons executed in the town of Wexford</i>		447
<i>Documents relative to the rebellion in Mayo and Sligo</i>		452
<i>A letter from a popish priest to an attorney in Dublin, complaining of his bishop's conduct</i>	-	455
<i>The catechism of the united Irishmen</i>	-	456
<i>The descent of J. N. Tandy, at Rutland</i>		463
<i>Doctor Hufsey's pastoral letter</i>	-	467
<i>The manner of attacking a large city, by lord Edward Fitzgerald</i>	-	475
<i>Observations on whipping and free quarters</i>		478
----- <i>on the improvement of Ireland, by extending the benefits of the reformation therein</i>		481
<i>A justification for having published this work</i>		510
<i>Observations on the reply of doctor Caulfield, and the Wexford priests</i>	-	528
<i>Sufferings of the reverend Mr. Francis</i>	-	543
<i>Observations on Mr. Gordon's history</i>		545
		Copy

CONTENTS

vii

<i>Copy of a letter from major Williams to major-general Needham.</i>	Page 547
<i>Copy of a letter from lieutenant-colonel Bainbridge to sir Richard Musgrave.</i>	548
<i>Resolutions of the Governors of the Female Charity School at Wexford</i>	ibid.
<i>Observations on Mr. Townshend's pamphlet</i>	- 549
<i>The communications of Mr. Pitt and lord Cornwallis on the claims of the Roman catholicks</i>	- 551

ERRATA.

ERRATA.

- Page 2, line 12, read thus, *when at three*
 87, — 7, — *track* for *traß*
 95, — 7, — *Dunfeverick* for *Dunfcoverick*
 109, — 11, — *Bevagb* for *Bevagb*
 149, — 10, — *therefore* for *fore*
 156, — 19, — *Vivant* for *Vive*
 171, — 38, omit *that*
 202, — 28, put *only* before *orally*
 220, — 10, read 1784 for 1774
 238, — 35, for *Worte* read *Worral*
 265, — 14, omit *who was a Roman catholic*
 271, — 17, read *W.* for *T. Myers*
 339, — 41, — 1799 for 1798
 478, — 37, omit *sight*
 483, — 26, read *its solid* for *the*
 484, — 9, add *Elizabeth* after *Edward VI.*

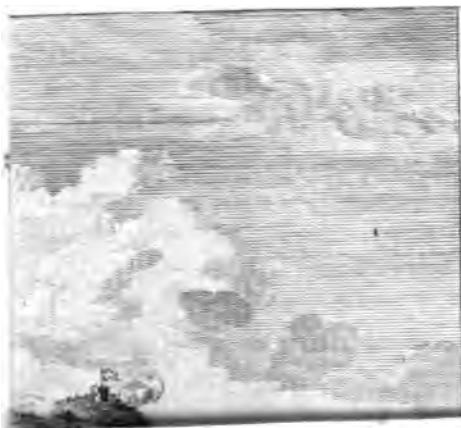
MEMOIRS

with general moore in driving the rebels from Carrickbyrne.
VOL. II. B

* Plate II. 1, 2. † Ibid. 4. ‡ Ibid. § Ibid. ¶ Plate III. 5.

Y.

ast side.



MEMOIRS

OF THE DIFFERENT

REBELLIONS IN IRELAND, &c.

THE ATTACK AND RE-TAKING OF VINEGAR-HILL BY THE KING'S TROOPS.

THE movements of the different columns which were to attack Vinegar-hill, will be best explained by the instructions issued by general Lake, the 16th of June, 1798, to the general officers who commanded them.

General Dundas, will be directed to move on the seventeenth to Hacketstown, and to issue his orders to general Loftus at Tullow,* to unite his force with him on the eighteenth at Carnew.†

General Needham, to move at three o'clock, A. M. on the nineteenth to Gorey; general Dundas having sent a strong patrolle under general Loftus from Carnew, at six o'clock on the same morning to Grove's-bridge,‡ four or five miles on the road to Gorey,|| to support general Needham, in case he should meet with resistance at Limerick-hill or at Gorey, and to communicate to general Dundas general Needham's situation.

General Johnson, on the nineteenth, at four o'clock, A. M. to move to Old Rois,§ and unite with general Moore in driving the rebels from Carrickbyrne.

VOL. II.

B

* Plate II. 1, 2. † Ibid. 4. ‡ Ibid. || Ibid. § Plate III. 5.

rickbyrne-hill. * He will take up his position that day near Old Ross, and send a strong patrol to scour the country towards the Black-stair mountains, † in junction with sir James Duff. This movement will require a very particularly concerted arrangement between general Johnson and sir James Duff. The patrols to return to their respective corps on the same day.

Sir Charles Asgill, on the eighteenth, will occupy Grove's-bridge, Borris ‖ and Graigenamana, § and will remain in those positions until the twentieth, three P. M. when he will return, unless he shall receive orders to the contrary.

Lieutenant-general Dundas, on the twentieth, will march to Ballycarney-bridge, ** keeping the east-side of the Slaney to Scarawallsh-bridge, †† to arrive there at twelve at noon.

Sir James Duff will also move on the twentieth, by the road on the west-side of the Slaney to Searawallsh-bridge, where he will arrive at twelve o'clock.

General Needham, on the twentieth, will move from Gorey to Oulart, ‖‖ to be there at twelve o'clock.

General Loftus. The corps from Grove's-bridge, will move on the twentieth, through Camolin and Ferns, §§ and unite with general Dundas at Scarawallsh-bridge, at twelve o'clock.

General Moore, to land on the eighteenth at Ballyhack-ferry, and on the nineteenth, he will move at three o'clock, A. M. to Foulkes's-mill, *** and unite with general Johnson in driving the rebels from Carrickbyrne-hill. He will take up his position that night at Foulkes's-mill, securing the escape of the rebels between that and Clomines. †

General Johnson, on the twentieth, will move with his column to Ballymacus-bridge, †† either to unite in the attack on Enniscorthy, if necessary, or prevent their escape in that direction.

Should

* Plate III. 5. † Ibid. 2. ‖ Plate II. 6. 7. § Ibid. 8.

** Plate II. 7. †† Ibid. ‖‖ Plate III. 2. §§ Plate II. 6, 7.

*** Plate III. 7. † Ibid. 8. †† Ibid. 3.

Should the rebels have evacuated Enniscorthy and Vinegar-hill, the columns under general Dundas and sir James Duff will take up their position that day in front of Enniscorthy; and general Johnson will at the same time receive orders to take a position on the great road from Enniscorthy to Taghmon.

General Moore, in this case, on the twentieth, will move from Foulkes's-mill, and take post at Taghmon, still securing the country between Taghmon * and Clomines.

But should the enemy maintain their position at Enniscorthy, † the attack will be made on the twenty-first at day-light, by the columns under general Dundas and sir James Duff, and general Needham moving from Oulart.

The general forward movement and investment of Wexford will take place on the twenty-first, when the several columns will be so united as to receive directions as circumstances may point out.

Gun-boats. Orders are to be sent to the naval commanders to station their gun-boats and armed vessels in Wexford harbour early on the morning of the twenty-first, to co-operate in such manner as may be necessary for the attack of the town, with the gun-boats from Waterford, which will be directed to support general Moore and the corps at Clomines on the nineteenth.

Such was the judicious arrangement made by general Lake, for surrounding the rebels on Vinegar-hill, for retaking Enniscorthy and Wexford; and in short, for putting down the rebellion in that county: But before I proceed to describe the grand attack, it will be necessary to relate some events which took place previous to it in the north of that county.

After the defeat at Arklow, the enemy took their station on Limerick-hill, ‡ to the north of Gorey, in great force, and continued to spread devastation over the adjacent country, murdering such protestants as fell into their hands, and burning the houses

of those who were so fortunate as to make their escape, till the eighteenth of June, when generals Dundas and Loftus marched against them, according to a preconcerted plan.

As Kilcavin-hill, * from its declivity, afforded a much stronger post than Limerick-hill, the rebels took post on it about eight o'clock on the morning of the eighteenth of June, as soon as our two columns made their appearance. General Dundas's column moved from Balinglass, by Hacketstown and Tinnahely. † General Loftus marched by Shilela. ‡ A general action seemed unavoidable. General Dundas having resolved to move round Kilcavin-hill, sent orders to general Loftus to march on the Carnew || road, and to begin the attack by that town; but the following circumstance frustrated their design: When general Dundas had advanced a considerable way towards the point where he was to begin his attack, he suddenly found himself in a deep hollow road, with strong fences on each side. He perceived also, that he must have proceeded some time in it, before he could have extricated himself, and recollecting the fate of colonel Walpole, he very prudently ordered the column to countermarch; and at the same time sent orders to general Loftus to take such a position as to cover this retrograde movement. By this unexpected event, the two columns became united, and the rebels had a clear country to the north, the east, and the south-east, and were so strongly posted, that the main object of the generals was to protect themselves on the west side, where the position of the enemy was so well secured by a ravine in front, by large banks and high hedge-rows, that general Lake, who arrived at this time with his whole staff, thought it prudent to defer the attack till the reinforcements joined them. A brisk cannonade was maintained for some time, but without any material effect. At length, general Lake ordered the troops to march to Carnew, where they remained that

* Plate II. 3, 4.

† Ibid. 1.

Ibid. 2.

‡ Ibid. 4.

that night. Two rebel spies who entered that town were shot. Green sashes and cockades were found in their pockets.

On the nineteenth of June, major-general sir James Duff joined the army with his brigade from Newtown-barry, * and general Needham was moving on the road from Arklow to Gorey. † The troops at Carnew were under arms. A general attack was instantly to have taken place, and from the number of our troops, and the excellent disposition made by general Lake, there could not be a doubt of its successful issue; but at day-break it was discovered that the enemy had fled, Fearing to be cut off from their favourite position at Vinegar-hill, they retreated through Moneyfeed and by Gorey. Instead of taking this step, had they pushed forward with that celerity with which their movements were usually made, in consequence of having but little baggage or equipment to transport, they might have seized on the important post of Rathdrum, the key to the city of Dublin, from which they would have derived infinitely more advantage than from their retreat to cover Wexford and Enniscorthy, because our army must have pursued them; and then the excellent and well-digested plan, formed by general Lake for surrounding them, would probably have been defeated.

I have already described this in the orders issued by him; and they were exactly fulfilled by the respective general officers to whom they were directed, except by generals Needham and Moore, who were prevented by unforeseen and fortuitous circumstances, which I shall hereafter explain.

General Johnson took a position near Enniscorthy, ‡ for the purpose of driving the rebels from that town, in which they were strongly posted. Lieutenant-general Lake and the entire staff remained with general Dundas, who, as I before observed, marched to Scarawallsh-bridge. ||

Lieutenant-

Lieutenant-generals Lake and Dundas, and major-general Wilford, with their staff, and the first brigade of light infantry under the command of colonel Campbell, remained all the night of the twentieth of June upon their arms, at Solsborough, * with a large body of cavalry, within two miles of Vinegar-hill. About one o'clock in the morning, general Johnson reported his arrival on the other side of the Slaney, near Enniscorthy. General Needham's column lay about half a mile off, on the left of general Lake's army, whither he had marched from Oulart by general Lake's orders. General Duff, with his guns, advanced on the Ferns road, on the east side of the Slaney; † having that river on his right flank, and firing on the rebel lines on the hills, and throwing howitzers into them as he advanced. In this movement he was supported on each flank by the light infantry, under the command of general Loftus.

When they had arrived at the beginning of the ascent of Vinegar-hill, general Loftus was detached by general Duff to occupy a green hill in a park enclosed with stone walls, which was on the side, and composed a part of Vinegar-hill. ‡ General Loftus surprised the rebels by the celerity of this movement, because the hill was steep; and the ground which he occupied there was divided by stone walls; but by breaking open gaps, he had two guns carried over at first, and soon after four more, by having untackled them from the horses. From this position he was able to fire into the lower line of the enemy, rather on his left, with such effect, that eighty-five of them were afterwards found in their trenches killed with grape-shot. General Loftus made his movement by a narrow road on the left, diverging from the main one, and then rapidly ascended the hill. At the same time, generals Lake, Dundas and Wilford, with colonel Campbell's light infantry, were advancing up the hill || on the south-east side, and were firmly opposed by the rebels, who maintained a very brisk fire

* Plate III. 1. † Plate IV. 8. ‡ Ibid. 6, 7. || Ibid. 10, 11.

fire on them, retreating at the same time from one hedge to another, till they were driven over the hill. On that occasion general Lake had a horse shot under him. The movements of the two columns were so well timed, that they met at the same moment on the top of the hill.*

At that time, and not before, general Lake perceived how actively general Johnson had been employed, and how ably he had supported him on the side of Enniscorthy. From the numbers of the enemy, the height and the steepness of the hill, and its being intersected in many parts with enclosures, formed by high clay banks, with fosses behind them, the rebels were completely protected from our fire. It is astonishing that our troops did not suffer more, and that the rebel army were so quickly dislodged, and driven from so strong a position. They had no less than thirteen pieces of ordnance, and their infantry must have been well supplied with ammunition, as they maintained a very heavy fire. I shall refer the reader to general Lake's letter to lord Castlereagh, for an account of the action.†

Father Clinch, an Enniscorthy priest, fell in this engagement. Being of a huge stature, with a scymitar and broad cross belts, and mounted on a large white horse, with long pistols, he made so conspicuous a figure on the hill, during the action, and the day preceding it, as to attract the notice of our troops, particularly as he seemed to be constantly employed in reconnoitring them. The earl of Roden having singled him out among the fugitives, overtook him after a mile's pursuit, and received his fire, which his lordship returned, and wounded him in the neck. He then discharged his second pistol at lord Roden, on which an officer of

Vol. 2.

his

* In Plate V. the reader will see an elevation of Vinegar-hill, with the movement of the troops.

† See Appendix, No. XXI. 1.

his regiment rode up and shot him. He wore his vestments under his clothes ; he had near forty pounds in his pocket, a gold watch, and a remarkable snuff-box ; all which, it is presumed, he had acquired by plunder. He had been as active in the cabinet as the field, having constantly sat at the committee at Enniscorthy ; and mounted on his charger, and fully accoutred, he daily visited the camp.

As general Needham's column did not occupy the post allotted to it in the first arrangement for surrounding Vinegar-hill, on the south-east side of it leading to Wexford, I think it right to explain the circumstances which prevented it. He marched from Gorey on the 20th for Oulart, at six A. M. and received orders to halt about a quarter of a mile from that town, where the roads divide, till twelve o'clock, or such time as he conceived colonel Campbell, who commanded the Light Infantry, had made good his march, without interruption. This delay caused his arriving so late in the evening at Oulart, an inconsiderable village to the east of Vinegar-hill, and within six miles of that part of it where he was to take post. On that evening, when the troops had taken up their ground, and driven back some advanced parties of the enemy, and made a proper disposition for protecting four hundred carriages laden with provisions and ammunition, for the army which attended them, general Needham received an order from general Lake, about half an hour after eight o'clock, signed by the adjutant-general, desiring him to march immediately with the troops under his command, to join general Lake at Soliborough, the seat of Mr. Richards, where he had taken up his head-quarters. The guide conducted the troops to Soliborough, who passed by the road on the left

left leading directly to Vinegar-hill; and it was observed by several officers, that the column had lost their road, till they were informed of the order to march for Solisborough. The harnessing and arranging in the proper order of march such a number of carriages, occupied a good deal of time. Thus incumbered, the movement of the column was slow; particularly, as it passed through deep and narrow roads, with high and thick fences on each side, and in a country so much enclosed as to render it impossible to send out flanking parties; though, from their proximity to the enemy, there was every reason to expect an attack, which, had it been made, might have proved fatal. However, the column proceeded unmolested, and arrived at Solisborough, about half past three o'clock, on the morning of the twenty-first of July.

Major-general Needham, on reporting his arrival to general Lake, was informed by the general himself, "that he must immediately occupy the position first allotted to him, in the general orders." Thus, after a most fatiguing march, without having had any refreshment for his troops from the time he left Gorey, he was obliged to repair to the post he was to occupy by a circuitous route of eight miles.

In obedience to his orders, major-general Needham proceeded, at the head of the grenadier company of the Antrim militia, who led the column, when it was scarcely light; but soon after he discovered *that* ~~the~~ *of* the infantry who had been ordered to fall in, overcome with hunger and fatigue, had lain down again. Lieutenant Camack conveyed a message from lieutenant-general Lake to major-general Needham, while on his march, requesting to know if his column would arrive at his destination in an hour; and his answer was, that it was impossible for the infantry to be there

in

in one, or even two hours, but that he himself would proceed immediately with the cavalry, which he accordingly did, and took his post, having ordered the infantry to follow as speedily as possible; but, though they did not arrive until the action was over, it did not arise from the fault of any officer or soldier in that column.*

Major-general Needham was but six miles from Oulart to the post of attack destined for him in the original orders; and had the troops under his command been allowed to take proper refreshment and repose, at the former place, they would have attained their position in full strength and vigour, and long before the action began.

He was more than eight miles from Solsborough to the post of attack; and the counter-marching his cannon, and the turning and tackling 400 ammunition waggons, in a deep narrow road, which was almost impracticable, caused a very great delay; however, by rapidly advancing with his cavalry, he was able to cut off many of the fugitive rebels; but his infantry could not arrive in due time to share the laurels of that day, the complete and perfect success of which they would have ensured, had they been allowed to move from Oulart to the point of attack, as was first designed.

It is to be lamented, that a large body of rebels escaped at the point which general Needham was to have occupied; but as he acted precisely according to the orders which he received, no censure could be cast upon him, or on any of the ~~officers under~~ his command.

As Mr. Gordon, in his history of the rebellion, differs materially from me in his statement of this transaction, I have made the most sedulous enquiry about it, from the most respectable officers of the king's

* The reader will find a further explanation of this affair in Appendix, No. XXVI. 1.

king's troops and the yeomen ; and I have the concurrent testimony of a great number of them that my relation of it is perfectly correct.

Mr. Gordon differs also materially from me in his account of the affair at Whiteheaps, mentioned in page 56 of vol. II, of this work ; and as his history was published subsequent to mine, I thought it incumbent on me, in addition to the information which I had already obtained, to make a further investigation of that event : I therefore wrote to many of the most-respectable officers of the Military and Yeomen, and even before its publication to lieutenant-colonel Bainbridge,* who commanded the Durham Fencibles in the absence of their colonel, brigadier-general Skerret, now commanding at Newfoundland ; and they have unanimously declared, that my relation of the movements of the troops who campaigned in the county of Wexford, and of the different actions which took place there, is strictly accurate, and did not require the smallest alteration.

General Johnston was engaged with a numerous body of rebels who defended Enniscorthy ; and they would probably have been assisted by their main body on Vinegar-hill, if general Lake had not immediately made a diversion.

An immense column of the rebels which retreated from Vinegar-hill, by the position which general Needham was to have occupied, marched by the east side of the Slaney, first to Carrick-bridge,† but commonly called Carrick-ferry, within three miles of Wexford, headed by the following generals: Father John Murphy, father Kearns the priest, Anthony Perry, Edward Fitzgerald, and John Hay. After passing Carrick-bridge, one column entered Wexford, under Murphy, Kearns and Perry, where they remained about two hours, threatening the destruction

* See colonel Bainbridge's letter, Appendix, No. XXVI. 1.

† Plate III. 5, 6.

destruction of the town, and a general massacre of the remaining protestants, without distinction of age, sex, or condition; but they were partly prevented by the combination and the determined resistance of the inhabitants of the town, who feared the loss of their property, and they dreaded the approach of general Moore's army.

Having left the town, they retreated over the bridge, headed by Esmond Kyan, Edward Fitzgerald, Perry and Kearns, who took the high and direct road to the county of Wicklow; which, and the north part of the county of Wexford, they continued for some time to desolate.

The protestants who had fled from Gorey and its vicinity to Wicklow, on the defeat of colonel Walpole on the fourth of June, thinking that the victory at Vinegar-hill had restored peace and good order, were attempting to return to their respective homes, but were met by a large party of the rebels who were retreating after their defeat, and who killed thirty-six of them. For a specimen of their barbarity on that occasion, I shall refer the reader to Appendix, No. XX. 20, 21. It happened on Friday the twenty-second of June, which is now called in that country, Bloody Friday.

The other column, headed by priest Roche, John Hay and Murphy, proceeded from Carrick-bridge to the mountain of Forth, where they remained for about three hours, holding a council of war, in which, as Roche and John Hay differed in opinion, they left them, and were taken in a day or two after, and hanged at Wexford. Father John Murphy, and another priest of the same name, then led the column by a circuitous route through the barony of Forth, by Maglas,* the moor of Mulrankin, and the Scar pass of Barriestown,† over the Scullogh-gap,‡ into the county of Kilkenny, spreading desolation in their progress, having plundered and burnt the town of Castle-

comer,

* Plate III. 8.

† Ibid.

‡ Plate II. 7.

comer, and the superb mansion of lady Ormond; and massacred such protestants as they could lay their hands on.

As the part which general Johnson took in the attack on Vinegar-hill was by far the most perilous and brilliant, I shall give the reader a more circumstantial relation of it. In his march from New Ross, he met a rebel armed with a pike, who, on being informed that he deserved to be hanged for having appeared in arms against the king, replied, " You may hurt my body, but you cannot injure my soul, as father Roche has taken care of it."

The evening before the attack on Enniscorthy, he marched to Ballymacus, † about four miles from it; but wishing to have his men fresh for the onset next morning, he moved forward to Daphne, within a mile and a half of it. Soon after his arrival there, a large body of rebels, marching in columns and intermediate lines, advanced within half a mile of his army, and seemed determined to attack it, on which the general prepared to receive them; but they sent forward their sharp shooters, who maintained a very smart fire on his line, till he brought up his cannon and dislodged them with it.

The main body which marched from the town to attack him, occupied an eminence, on which three or four shots from twelve-pounders were fired; and when the balls lodged on the hill, numbers of the rebels emulously vied with each other to lay hold of them. After that some shells having been thrown on it, and a great body of them having surrounded them for the same purpose, they exploded and blew them to atoms.

Next morning, after having driven the rebels from the high ground into the town, which could not be effected without much danger and difficulty, as the rebels disputed every inch of ground, firing from behind the hedges, each of which afforded a strong post; he kept that position for about an hour, during which
he

he and the rebel army continued to cannonade each other; and he had the greater part of the Vinegar-hill army to contend with, as general Lake did not begin to attack them for some time.

In driving the rebels into the town, they made a most obstinate resistance, by their pikemen in the streets, and their musketeers, who were excellent marksmen, from the windows.

Having advanced with one gun to an open space, where the court-house * lies, a numerous body of pikemen rushed from that building, with enthusiastick vehemence, and seized and kept it for a few minutes, having overpowered the party which attended it; but it was soon retaken by a fresh column of troops, who killed most of the rebels concerned in that furious onset. The general then ordered the light infantry to charge over the bridge, and up the hill, which were occupied by a numerous body of rebels; but they having shewn an unwillingness to do so, he called on the county of Dublin regiment to perform that service, on which they gave three cheers, and led on by colonel Vesey and lord Blaney, in conjunction with the light infantry, forced the bridge and marched up the steepest part of the hill, driving the rebels before them.

Major-general Eustace, who acted on this occasion with general Johnson, displayed great spirit and gallantry.

That side of the hill which general Johnson ascended, is by far the steepest, and commands the town.

As the army commanded by general Johnson lost more men in killed and wounded than all the other troops that attacked Vinegar-hill, we may conceive the difficulties and the opposition which he must have encountered.

He sustained the following loss: Two field officers wounded, two captains killed, two subalterns killed and two wounded, two serjeants killed, one wounded,
one

one missing, sixteen rank and file killed, sixty-two wounded, five missing.

The arrival of general Moore's army at Foulkes's mill occasioned a very great alarm at Wexford and the Three-rock camp. † On the evening of the nineteenth, the drums beat to arms, and the church bell was rung. Keugh and Harvey were very busy, but seemed much dismayed. They sent all the rebel soldiers in town to the Three-rock camp. For three miles, the distance from it to the town, each side of the road was crowded with old men, women and children, on their knees, praying for their success, as they marched by. When they advanced about two miles, they met on horseback father Keane, commonly called the blessed priest of Bannow. The rabble had uncommon veneration for him, because they believed, from his superior sanctity, that he was more expert in working miracles, and had more supernatural powers, than any other priest. He was a little old grey-headed man. The rebels flocked to him with great eagerness, to obtain his benediction, which he gave, by laying his hand on their heads, and muttering a few words.

This priest having been guilty of some irregularities, soon after he was priested, retired to Newfoundland, where he exercised, for some years, his sacred function, and at the same time the apostolick pursuit of a fisherman. A boat, in which he served as a sailor, having caught great quantities of cod fish, in a harbour where it had been sought for in vain some years before, this sudden change was imputed to his benediction bestowed on it. He returned to his native country, with the title of the blessed priest of Bannow, which is his native place. During the rebellion he distributed many thousand scapulars* among the rebels; and to numbers he gave two, one to protect

† Having given the reader a description of the rebel camp on Vinegar-hill, I shall give him that on the mountain of Forth, in Appendix, No. XXI. 3.

* See in the Index a full explanation of this religious emblem; and in Plate V. a figure of one.

test them in advancing, the other in retreating. He assured the wearers of this sacred symbol, that a ball from a heretick gun could do them no more injury than a pea. He constantly visited the rebel camps, particularly that on the mountain of Forth; and a poney on which he rode, was led by two pike-men, who cried out, with a loud voice, "Make way for the blessed priest of Bannow!" I have been assured that he refused his blessing to some rebels, unless they brought him the head of Mr. Goff, of Horetown, a quaker, who was justly and universally esteemed; and it is said, that he would most certainly have been assassinated, but for the victory of general Moore, which struck terror into the rebels.

A party of them took possession of Mr. Goff's house, under the command of one Monk, and they were attended by father Byrne, a priest, who was purveyor to the party; and he compelled the Miss Goffs, young and amiable women, to bake bread, and do every other menial office to supply the rebels. A party of them one day asked his benediction, having knelt down for that purpose; but he refused to give it, only to such as produced their pikes stained with the blood of hereticks.

It was mentioned before that general Moore was to take post at Foulkes's mill, ten miles from Wexford, to prevent the rebels in their flight from Vinegar-hill from escaping by Clomines. He remained in the demesne of Mr. Sutton, of Longraige,† which is quite close to it, on the evening of the nineteenth of June.

Next morning, general Moore had a smart action with the rebels, which is described by him in a letter to general Lake.†

I have been assured by persons well acquainted with the designs of the rebel general, that this action was brought on in the following manner:

That general Roche intended to have taken possession of Ross, when general Johnson had left it; that

† Plate III. 6, 7.

† Appendix, No. XXI. 2.

that he sent one party to Horetown, to watch the motions and engage the attention of general Moore, while the main body proceeded to Ross; that the former suddenly and unexpectedly came on general Moore's army, and had a skirmish with them.

The main body having heard the firing, went to their assistance, which brought on a general action.

Roche, after being defeated, meant to have kept one division of his army in the woods of Horetown, to the north, the other in those of Rossigarland, to the south; and to have renewed the attack in the night, when, aided by the darkness which would have been favourable to the charge of his pikemen, and relying on the superiority of his numbers,* he entertained strong hopes of success; but the arrival of the 29th and the Queen's regiment as a reinforcement to general Moore baffled his expectations.

There were many priests in the rebel army, exhorting their troops, and often horfewhipping, and even threatening the runaways with swords and pistols, to compel them to return to their ranks.

Having mentioned the occurrences which preceded and occasioned the evacuation of Wexford by the rebels, I shall now relate that event, and the dreadful massacre of protestants which took place the day before, and which has cast such an indelible stain on that county, that every Irishman, who feels for the honour of his native country, should wish that its very name was expunged from the map of Ireland. From the sanguinary spirit which the rebels manifested on all occasions during the rebellion towards that sect of christians, there is not a doubt but that they meant to extirpate them as soon as they had obtained a decided superiority over the government; and their leaders never failed to practise every artifice they could devise, to make them believe they were in a fair way of attaining it: But when their delusions were removed, and they saw a very numerous and well-

* He had at least fifteen thousand. General Moore had not more than one thousand two hundred.

well-appointed army march into the county of Wexford, they were stung with despair, and resolved to indulge their fanatical hatred against protestants, by murdering such of them as were their prisoners.

Joseph Gladwin, the gaoler, declares, that Thomas Dixon, mariner, went down to the gaol about the hour of two o'clock, mounted on a large white horse, and that a man walked by his side, bearing a black flag; that when he came to the Bridewell door, he said, "Bring out the prisoners; and, as they are shot, we will pile them against the dead wall of the gaol."

I shall give the reader an account of this tragical affair, as related to me by some respectable persons who resided in Mr. Hatchel's house, * very near the bridge, where it was perpetrated, and were eye-witnesses to it.

"Between the hours of ten and eleven o'clock on the morning of the twentieth of June, we saw a body of rebels coming over the bridge, bearing a black flag, with a cross, and the letters M W S inscribed on it in white; which were supposed to mean murder without sin; and on the other side a red cross. After having made a procession through part of the town, they fixed that woeful harbinger of death on the custom-house quay, near the fatal spot where so much blood was soon after shed; and where it remained flying for about two hours before the butchery began. †

"Soon after they arrived on the quay, they seemed to disperse; however many of them remained there, and repaired to one particular place, where drink was given to them, and where a priest was very busy in distributing it, and who, they believed, remained

* Plate VI.

† Some respectable protestant ladies, prisoners at that time, assured me, that at that awful moment, they were informed, and with apparent sorrow, by some popish women, in whose houses they lodged, that the hour was come, when every person in Wexford of their religion, would be put to death. Others received this melancholy intelligence the evening of the preceding day.

remained there till they left the quay, shouting, "To the gaol! to the gaol!" when they all disappeared, but returned about four o'clock to the bridge, with a number of prisoners, whom they massacred. They thus continued till about seven o'clock to convey parties of prisoners from ten to twenty, from the gaol and the market-house, where many of them were confined, to the bridge, where they butchered them. Every procession was preceded by the black flag, and the prisoners were surrounded by ruthless pikemen, as guards, who often insultingly desired them to bless themselves. ||

"The mob, consisting of more women than men, expressed their savage joy on the immolation of each of the victims, by loud huzzas.

"The manner, in general, of putting them to death, was thus: Two rebels pushed their pikes into the breast of the victim, and two into his back; and in that state (writhing with torture) they held him suspended, till dead, and then threw him over the bridge into the water.

"After they had massacred ninety-seven prisoners in that manner, and before they could proceed further in the business, an express rode up in great haste, and bid them beat to arms, as Vinegar-hill was beset, and reinforcements were wanting. There was immediately a cry, "To camp! to camp!" The rebels seemed in such confusion, that the massacre was discontinued.

"In the moment of confusion, the reverend Mr. Corrin, parish priest of Wexford, arrived on the bridge, to divert them from their sanguinary designs, and which, it is said, he did to the utmost of his power. Soon after his arrival, he knelt down on the very spot where the blood had been spilled, and said some prayers. After which the rebels rose from their knees, and exclaimed, "Come on, boys, in the name of God, to the camp! Thank God, we

VOL. II.

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have

have sent these souls to hell!" They then accordingly set out for the camp.

"It is remarkable that the savage pikemen knelt down, lifted up their hands, and prayed apparently with devotion, before they proceeded to commit any of the murders."

A lady, who was in Mr. Hatchel's house, near the bridge, where this sanguinary scene took place, describes it thus in her diary, which I quoted before: "About three o'clock, captain Dixon came to the quay, calling out, "To the gaol!" He was followed up the custom-house lane by numbers. They returned some time after to the bridge. I thought some alarm induced them to leave the town, and sat eagerly watching, till I beheld, yes, I saw, absolutely saw, a poor fellow cry for life, and was then most barbarously murdered.

"To give an account of this hellish scene is beyond my strength, nor could any person desire to hear it. No savages ever put their prisoners to more deliberate torture. I saw a boat go to the prison-ship, and bring my friends and acquaintances (who on landing passed by our door) to torture and death. I saw the horrid wretches kneel on the quay, lift up their hands, seeming to pray with the greatest devotion, then rise and join, or take place of other murderers. Their yells of delight at the sufferings of their victims will ever, I believe, sound in my ears.

"To describe what we all suffered would be impossible. I never shed a tear, but felt all over in the most bodily pain. We expected life only till the prisons and the ship* were emptied; when an express came, to say the army were marching against Vinegar-hill camp, and that if they did not reinforce it immediately, all was lost. The town priests then, and not till then, made their appearance. The leader of the murderers called to his men, in these words,

* It was but twenty-five tons burden, and twenty-two gentlemen were confined three weeks in its hold.

words, which I distinctly heard, "Come, my lads! we will now go; blessed be God, we have sent some of their souls to hell!" They went off really as if they had been performing a praiseworthy and religious action."

Mr. James Goodall, who had been taken out of the prison-ship, and conveyed to the bridge, to be murdered, but was saved by the interference of Roche, the lay-general, declared upon oath on his trial, "That the assassins on the bridge were like a pack of starving hounds rushing on their game."

Mr. Corrin had slept the preceding night at Clonard, two miles off, to christen a child for Mr. Kellett, who was in the prison-ship, and whose wife was of the popish persuasion. She, Mrs. Bland and Mrs. Crump, earnestly entreated him to save the lives of their husbands, who were in the prison-ship, and he faithfully promised to do so. This I heard from one of these ladies.

Previous to his departure he seemed so much agitated by fear, as the king's frigates and gun-boats appeared outside the harbour, that he could scarce go through the service of baptizing the child; and he piteously besought them to protect him, as he would protect their husbands.

When they had put to death on the bridge a good many of the prisoners confined in the gaol, they sent a boat to the prison-ship and called for messieurs Cox and Turner. After having plunged two pikes into the bosom of the former, he jumped into the water from the bridge, but was shot as soon as he rose. †

Mr. Turner, a magistrate, who beheld this woeful spectacle, was next brought forward. They consulted about raising his body on their pikes, and carrying it through the streets, as they harboured the most insatiable revenge against him, because he was an active justice of the peace, and a zealous

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loyalist.

† He commanded the Taghmon cavalry, had been a captain in the 5th regiment of foot, and had retired on half pay. He was taken at Coolcliffe.

loyalist. His own postillion, Thomas Cleary, § insisted on having the gratification of shedding his blood ; but the intemperate eagerness of the pikemen for carnage operated like mercy towards him, for a number of them joined him in perforating his body with pikes, and threw it over the bridge.

Mr. Lehunte was next sent for to the prison-ship, but he fortunately happened to be in the gaol, where he eluded their search in the corner of a cell. Their mistake, and the delay occasioned by it, very fortunately saved his life, as the express arrived, and the alarm took place in the mean time.

Mr. Hore, of Harper's-town, nephew to the earl of Courtown, a most amiable inoffensive gentleman, and Mr. Kellett, were next brought from the prison-ship. The former was asked, whether he had any person who could speak in his favour ? He said, he had not, but requested time to find a person who could do so. He was then asked, whether he was not connected with Mr. Boyd, member for the town ? He answered, by saying, that Mr. Boyd was married to his sister. To which the rebels replied, that is enough ; and having immediately massacred him with their pikes, they threw his body into the river. ||

Mr. Edwards, taken out of the prison-ship, was saved, because he was married to a popish wife. It was asked by one rebel, whether he had ever prevented his wife from going to mass ? Another, who was friendly to him, answered in the negative, and said, he had often attended his wife to the chapel, and had gone for her when mass was over ; on which he was discharged.

Mr. Samuel Atkin, married to a protestant, was murdered.

Another person of the same name, and his two sons, were saved, because, it was believed, the father was married to a popish wife.

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§ See Cleary's confession in Appendix, No. XX. 21.

|| As Mr. Boyd's family were zealous loyalists, they, and every person connected with them, were peculiarly the objects of rebel vengeance.

The bloody Thomas Dixon, and his wife, were present at, and superintended this dreadful scene of carnage on horseback.

When the rebels retreated from the bridge, on the alarm given by general Roche, Dixon and his wife attempted to follow them; but their horses startled at the immense quantity of blood which was shed on the bridge, and refused to pass through it; on which they dismounted, and led their horses over the bridge; she, at the same time, holding up her riding habit, lest it should be stained with blood. She was heard to desire the rebels not to waste their ammunition, but to give the prisoners plenty of piking.

It will reflect indelible disgrace on the popish priests of Wexford, of whom there were no less than fifteen or sixteen in the town during the perpetration of these massacres, that none of them, except father Corrin, ever interfered to prevent them. They evinced the most unbounded influence on all occasions; for no protestant was ever injured who had been so fortunate as to obtain a protection from one of them. It has been said in defence of the priests, that they had been totally ignorant of the massacres, till Mr. Kellett sent to father Corrin.

It was well known, at an early hour, that the rebels meditated these scenes of savage cruelty, and their intention was announced by the procession which they made with a black flag. The assassinations began at the gaol about two, on the bridge between three and four, and ended between seven and eight. At different times, the prisoners were conveyed in numbers of from ten to twenty, surrounded by ferocious pikemen, and preceded by that ensign of death, through the principal part of the town.

When every person of humanity in Wexford was petrified with horror at such tragick scenes, which continued for five hours, could the priests alone have remained ignorant of them in so small a town as Wexford? The idea is too absurd.

I have

I have been informed, that a young man from Ross, who acted with the rebels, but who had more humanity than most of them, went to doctor Caulfield, informed him of the massacres which were going forward, and besought him to prevent them ; but he refused to interfere himself, but said he would send father Roche, his chaplain, who was present, for that purpose ; but he never was known to exert himself. The person who gave this notice to doctor Caulfield, with whom father Corrin had dined, related it to many persons who assured me of it.

Mr. George Taylor, a man of great veracity, wrote a history of the rebellion in the county of Wexford, of which he is a native ; and he tells us, " That while this work was going on, a rebel captain, being shocked at the cries of the victims, ran to the popish bishop, who was then drinking wine with the utmost composure after dinner ; and knowing that he could stop the massacre sooner than any other person, entreated him, for the mercy of God, to come and save the prisoners. He in a very unconcerned manner replied, " It was no affair of his ; " and requested the captain would sit down and take a glass of wine with him : adding, " That the people must be gratified." The captain refused the bishop's invitation ; and, filled with abhorrence and distress of mind, walked silently away.

Mrs. O'Neil went to the doctor to complain of the murder of her nephew, Mr. Turner, on the bridge : He was one of the first persons taken out of the prison-ship ; yet doctor Caulfield did not interfere, nor did Mr. Corrin, though he was present, till Mr. Kellett sent a messenger for him ; and there were many persons massacred in the interval between Mrs. O'Neil's complaint and the deliverance of Mr. Kellett.

While they were dispatching Mr. Hore, of Harper's-town, Mr. Kellett, who was the next intended victim, sent a person in the crowd, who had formerly lived with him as servant, for Mr. Corrin, who

who dined at doctor Caulfield's, the popish bishop, to let him know his perilous situation ; and he instantly repaired to the bridge, threw himself between Mr. Kellest and the pikemen, saying, that they should not kill him, without first butchering him. Having thus rescued him, he first led him to his own house, and afterwards to Clonard, about two miles off, the seat of Mr. Kellest, who kept Mr. Corrin at his house till next day, to protect him ; dreading that the rebels might have retaken and reconveyed him to prison. It was universally believed, that father Corrin's interference did not proceed from pure motives of humanity, but from a preconcerted agreement with Mrs. Kellest, for the following reasons : " He did not approach the bridge, or use any exertion till he received Mr. Kellest's message at the bishop's ; and when he led him away under his protection, he left the other prisoners on their knees in the hands of the ruthless pikemen, without offering to interfere for their preservation.

The following circumstance tends strongly to confirm this opinion : A gentleman of very great respectability, who was on board the prison-ship, assured me, that on the morning of the massacre, a servant of Mr. Crump went on board, and from the general tenor of his conversation, they could infer, that messieurs Crump, Kellest and Bland would be saved at all events ; which we may suppose was in consequence of the promise made to their wives by Mr. Corrin the evening before.

Charles Jackson, an Englishman, who had practised the trade of a carver and gilder at Wexford, was among the last party of prisoners supposed to have been saved by Mr. Corrin. He published a narrative of his sufferings, and of the events which occurred at Wexford during the rebellion. The popish clergy of that town have relied much on his veracity ; and it is most certain that his relation of the events of which he was an eye-witness is strictly true.

A popish

A popish priest of Wexford wrote a pamphlet under the signature of Veritas, with the assistance, and under the direction of doctor Caulfield, merely for the purpose of vindicating the conduct of the Romish clergy ; in which he often quoted Jackson's narrative, which gives a faithful representation of the events which occurred, except while he was in prison ; and his account of them during that period was erroneous, for the following very obvious reason : They were communicated to him by his wife, who, being a rigid papist, was completely under the influence of the priests.

He gives the following account of the escape of himself and his fellow prisoners on the bridge :

“ General Roche rode up in great haste, and bid them beat to arms ; saying, “ that Vinegar-hill camp was beset, and that reinforcements were wanting ;” that this operated like lightning on the rebels, who instantly quitted the bridge, and left Jackson and the other victims on their knees. That the mob, (consisting of more women than men,) who had been spectators, also instantly dispersed in every direction, supposing the king's troops were at hand : That the prisoners, stupified with horror, remained some time on their knees, without making any effort to escape ; That the rebel guard soon returned, took them back to gaol, telling them, that they should not escape any longer than the next day, when neither man, woman or child of the protestants should be left alive.”

Different persons at that time in Wexford, and some who lived near the bridge, have unanimously concurred with Jackson's relation of it.

A person of the utmost veracity, who was led out to execution, and narrowly escaped, has positively asserted, that he believes father Corrin would not have interfered at all, but that he imagined there was a complete reverse of fortune, in consequence of the alarm occasioned by the arrival of the messenger from

from Vinegar-hill ; but this person was ignorant of the secret compact which he had made with Mrs. Kellert.

As strong suspicions were entertained, and insinuations were thrown out, soon after the massacre at the bridge, that the popish priests in Wexford had more influence than any other persons there, and that they could have protected those whom they chose, father Corrin went to Mr. George Taylor, one of the prisoners who escaped, when Mr. Kellert was rescued, and asked him to sign a paper, containing a contradiction of it, and a general approbation of the conduct of the priesthood in Wexford during the rebellion. He refused to do so, but at his instance gave him the following certificate :

“ I do hereby certify, that the reverend John Corrin, by his humane exertion, has been the instrument in the hands of God in saving my life, and eleven others of my fellow-prisoners, the twentieth of June, being the day of the general massacre on the bridge of Wexford,

Ballywalter,

GEORGE TAYLOR.”

August 28th, 1798.

Mr. Taylor, on giving Mr. Corrin this certificate, asked him, “ What use he meant to make of it ? ” He answered, “ To employ it in my defence.” The reader will draw but one inference from this anticipated defence against an accusation which was not at that time even thought of. As messieurs Taylor and Jackson, who escaped from the massacre on the bridge, differed from each other in the relation of this dreadful event, I shall endeavour to account for their apparent contradiction.

Taylor imputes their preservation solely to the interference of Mr. Corrin : Jackson, to the alarm and confusion occasioned by the arrival of the express, in which every one concurs with him, except George Taylor. The former says, they were led away from the bridge by Mr. Corrin ; the latter, that they

they were left in the hands of the pikemen. I should give greater credit to the relation of Jackson, than that of Taylor, for the following reasons: Mr. Kellett personally assured me, that Mr. Corrin led him away from the bridge; and it is most certain, that the remainder of the prisoners were led back to the gaol by the pikemen, where they remained until the king's troops entered the town. If Mr. Corrin had influence enough over the mob to check the massacre, and to rescue Mr. Kellett, why did he leave the remainder of the prisoners in the hands of the ferocious rebels, who might have butchered them after his departure? In the state of stupefaction to which the prisoners were reduced by terror, as Jackson observes, it is very possible that Taylor might have mistaken the real cause of their preservation. They were surrounded by an immense mob, besides the pikemen; and as many spectators in the house of Mr. Hatchel, near the bridge, have unanimously agreed, that the alarm and dispersion of the rebels took place rather before the arrival of Mr. Corrin, it is possible that Mr. Taylor might have mistaken the real cause of it, particularly as he could not have seen Mr. Corrin until the multitude dispersed; besides, he is uncommonly near-sighted. I shall not pretend to dispute his veracity, as I know him to be a person of strict religious and moral principle, but I really believe he was mistaken.

The following occurrence must diminish our belief of father Corrin's having acted from pure motives of humanity: Mrs. Margaret Lett, the wife of a brewer of Enniscorthy, having been examined as a witness on the trial of Thomas Clooney, on the fifth of July, 1799, at Wexford, deposed, That she had the protection of father Corrin; that her husband was a prisoner in the gaol of Wexford; that Clooney wrote on the back of the protection, that he would go bail for Mr. Lett's good behaviour, and that he would not leave Wexford, if Mr. Corrin would

allow

*allow** him to be taken out of gaol; and that she went with the paper to Mr. Corrin, but he would not allow him to be liberated; that Clooney afterwards went to the prison, took him out, and left him at her lodgings.

In this manner they put ninety-seven protestants to death, at Wexford, on the twentieth of June. Some persons have said that the number did not exceed ninety-five; but the bloody calendar of all the protestant prisoners there, which I have in my possession, puts this beyond a doubt.

On the trials of Peter Byrne and Ignatius Rossiter, at Wexford, the former the fourteenth of June, 1799, the latter the twentieth of February, 1800, two members of the bloody committee that sat in the gaol, the following facts were proved upon oath: Kennet Matthewson, John Atkin, Richard and Joseph Gansford, protestants, and prisoners in the gaol, were led before that sanguinary tribunal to be tried. One of the prisoners having asked Rossiter, "What they meant to do with them?" He replied, that "They were on the black list." Peter Byrne, member of the committee, had a pistol in his hand, and on seeing the prisoners, exclaimed in a rage, "It is not by two or three that you are to let us have the prisoners, (meaning to execute) for if you do not let us have them by the dozen, by J—s, I will blow up the gaol in two minutes." John Rossiter, another member of the committee, shewed John Atkin the form of an oath which he said the committee had taken, and the instructions which they had received to regulate the manner of proceeding;† that early on that day, a man went to him where he was confined, and shewed him a list which he said was the black

* This shews that Mr. Corrin was considered as a person of great influence over the rebels, which he exerted on this occasion, and not for a humane purpose.

† It is evident that the monsters who composed the bloody committee were guided and governed by some superior power; that they took an oath to proceed in the bloody business, and had written instructions how to act.

black list, which he had got from the committee sitting below stairs. The prisoners were then led to the committee-room door, but were kept outside it. The man, who first accused Matthewson, rushed into the room with a party of the rebels, who dragged him out. When the bloody committee were going out to see Matthewson put to death, John Rossiter, having a regard for Atkin, and wishing to save his life, put him into the committee-room, desired him to shut himself in and not to appear at the windows, lest he should be shot. He entered the room, and saw Matthewson shot and butchered with pikes in the street. There was a table in the committee-room, on which there were pens, ink, and paper, and a green book, which, having put into his pocket, he crept under a bed, where he lay concealed, till John Rossiter afterwards, when the committee had adjourned, led him back to his cell, where he concealed the book, containing a calendar of all the protestants at that time prisoners in Wexford. The committee were much incensed at the loss of their book,* but could not account for it. The reader may well conceive the perturbation of John Atkin, who lay concealed under the bed, while the members of the committee were vowing vengeance against the person who carried off their book.

The amiable lady, whose diary I have quoted, says in it, "Mr. R——,† a Roman catholick, and one of the committee for provisions, came to us the evening of the day the massacre was committed. He was like ourselves, half dead with horror, and declared that he entreated the priests to come down with their crucifixes, and prevent the massacre; but they all refused to do so. We told him that father Broe said he had saved nineteen prisoners.

"This Mr. R—— denied, and said, it was the express that saved them. He told us, that the black flag

* See a copy of it, Appendix, No. XX. 24.

† As he is no more, I may tell the reader that this was Mr. Pat. Redmond, a man of humanity, who filled his situation with reluctance.

flag meant that every one of that party had taken the black test oath. He said, that a man went into a shop where he was, and asked another to give him the black test oath. This was refused, and the person he asked left the shop; on which the man who wanted to take the oath, said, "that fellow shall be one of the first I will kill; but as to the oath, I don't care, for another will give it to me." This oath is to be found at the end of Appendix, No. XX. 7. and was found in various places, and on different rebels who were killed.

In many instances it has appeared, that the Roman catholics, even in the meanest situation, could save protestants. The following is a notable proof of it:

John Tate, a protestant, but carrying a gun among the rebels for the preservation of his life, addressed himself to a common man, a rebel in their camp at Little Limerick, saying, "There is a brother-in-law of mine in prison at Wexford, I shall be obliged to you, when you go there, to take him out and set him at liberty." This man, whose name is James Murphy, never thought of the request made by Tate, until the day and instant they were murdering the prisoners on the bridge; when recollecting that the name of the man he wished to liberate was Isaac Stephens, he searched the different prisons until he found him among a great number in the market-house of Wexford, and not only brought him with him and preserved him, but two more loyal yeomen who were in the same prison, and begged of him, for God's sake, to save them. He brought out these three men in the midst of near one hundred pikemen who guarded the door and saved them. Their names were, Isaac Stephens, cooper, at Castle-bridge, Samuel Maud, farmer, and John Stedman, weaver.

The confession of James Beaghan,* one of the murderers of the reverend Mr. Heyden in the streets of Enniscorthy, clearly proves what part the popish priests took in the conspiracy and rebellion; and that

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* See Appendix, No. XIX. 8.

the name of orangemen was fabricated merely to make the publick believe that the sanguinary spirit of the rebels was not directed against protestants in general, but merely against such of them as were members of that political sect.

The evidence upon oath of doctor Mc. Nevin, a member of the Irish directory, before a secret committee of the house of lords, dated the thirtieth of August, 1798, proves that they were deeply concerned in it: His words are, "That the catholick priests had ceased to be alarmed at the calumnies which had been propagated of French irreligion, and were well affected to the cause; that some of them had rendered great service in propagating with discreet zeal * the system of the Irish union."

Many persons of undoubted veracity assured me, that the popish bishop, doctor Caulfield, gave his benediction to the savage pikemen as they proceeded to the massacre on the bridge; yet I should not think of inserting it in this history, if it were not authenticated on the oath of a respectable gentlewoman who beheld it; because, however sanguine the doctor might have been in the cause, I could not have supposed that he would have been so void of discretion. Mrs. Crane, sister to judge Chamberlaine, made this affidavit. †

I shall not take upon me to say, whether the doctor on this occasion acted in obedience to the councils of Lateran, Constance, Toledo or Trent, all which are mandatory on persons of his persuasion to extirpate hereticks; or whether he acted according to his oath of inauguration, which requires that he should, to the utmost of his power, persecute and impugn all hereticks, schismaticks, and rebels, against his sovereign lord the pope; but in writing a history of the rebellion, I thought that I could not leave so extraordinary a transaction unrecorded.

On

* He puts those who acted with discreet zeal in contradistinction to those who appeared without disguise and in a military capacity.

† See Appendix, No. XX. 23.

On Monday, the nineteenth of March, 1800, doctor Caulfield wrote a letter to Bryan Murphy, a priest of Taghmon, reproving him for having presumed to give absolution for sin, without having obtained a faculty for that purpose. This letter, and two more on the same subject, one from said Murphy to a protestant clergyman, and the other from father Kelly, parish priest of Taghmon, to doctor Caulfield, the reader will find in Appendix, No. XX. 23. Bryan Murphy is the person alluded to in Michael Askin's affidavit relative to Scullabogue, Appendix, No. XX. 9.

It is most certain, that a respectable inhabitant of Wexford sent a message to the friary, near the chapel, to request the friars would order the rebels to desist from the massacres; but they said, that they would advise but not order them to do so.

A protestant clergyman of Wexford assured me of the following fact: About six o'clock on the morning after the massacre, one of the friars expressed great joy to him on the prospect of peace, (as the defeat of the rebels at Foulkes's mill was known;) and he expressed great concern that the priests happened to be out of the way, and were ignorant of the massacre, for otherwise they *could have stopped it*; but soon after he said, "We knew from the talk of the people in the morning, that we could not have saved Mr. Turner."

The black flag was carried in procession again on the morning of the twenty-first of June by Thomas Dixon, and his band of assassins, as a signal to murder the rest of the protestant prisoners; but the large army which had surrounded Vinegar-hill the day before, and the victory obtained by general Moore the preceding evening at Foulkes's mill, had intimidated the blood-hounds so much, that they, fearing lest they might provoke the vengeance of the royal army, resolved to sue for mercy.

Doctor Jacob and his family were not molested for the following reason: Being a gentleman of great
medical

medical skill, not only as a physician, but as a surgeon, and as the rebels compelled him to take care of their sick and wounded men, as before-mentioned, they were not only anxious to preserve his life but shewed considerable respect for him, his family, and such of his friends as were lodged in Mr. Hatchel's house.

The news of the victory at Foulkes's-mill having been received at Wexford the same evening it was gained, a number of rebel leaders, who had been present at the massacre, assembled at governor Keugh's house, and concerted measures of conciliation, in hopes of procuring an amnesty. Next morning they waited on lord Kingsborough, requesting that he would be their mediator, and write to the different general officers to spare the inhabitants of Wexford and their property, on laying down their arms, and returning to their allegiance; which he agreed to do, on their investing him with the military command of the town, and reinstating the civil magistrates.

During this negotiation, the bloody Thomas Dixon, and many other rebel officers and privates, flocked to his lodgings, and implored his protection, in consideration of their humane conduct in having saved the lives of many protestants.

General Keugh and his friends having acceded to lord Kingsborough's desires, his lordship agreed to forward the following proposals made by them to the different general officers:

“ That captain Mc. Manus * shall proceed from Wexford towards Oulart, † accompanied by Mr. E. Hay, appointed by the inhabitants of all religious persuasions, to inform the officer, commanding the king's troops, that they are ready to deliver up the town of Wexford without opposition, lay down their arms, and return to their allegiance, provided their persons and property are guaranteed by the commanding

* Captain Mc. Manus of the Antrim was a prisoner. E. Hay, was a rebel leader, who went to protect him.

† Plate III. 2.

manding officer; and that they will use every influence in their power to induce the people of the country at large to return to their allegiance also. These terms, we hope, captain Mc. Manus will be able to procure.

Signed by order of the inhabitants of Wexford,

MATT. KEUGH."

Captain Mc. Manus was to have gone to general Needham to Oulart; but finding that he had changed his position, he repaired directly to general Lake at Enniscorthy, where he found captain O'Hea and captain Burke of the North Cork regiment, who were sent on the same errand, the former to general Lake, and the latter to general Moore.

Soon after the departure of captain Mc. Manus, the rebel leaders being uneasy lest the victorious army of general Moore should arrive before their terms had been accepted by general Lake, urged lord Kingsborough to send a second messenger to general Moore, to request he would encamp at Carrick-bridge,* before he advanced to the town. His lordship employed for that purpose ensign Harman of his own regiment, who was attended by one Carthy, a rebel captain.

Soon after he left the town, he was met by father John Murphy, and one Whelan, his aid-de-camp, who were leading a large rebel column from Vinegar-hill. Murphy asked Harman, (who unfortunately was in full uniform,) whither he was going? he answered, to propose terms to general Moore on the part of the people of Wexford. Murphy said, in a great rage, "I will hear of no terms:" Then addressing his aid-de-camp, and pointing to Harman, he said, "That fellow ought to die, for he has been condemned by a committee:" on which Whelan drew a pistol, and shot Mr. Harman through the head.

As captain O'Hea met one of the rebel columns retreating from Vinegar-hill, I give the reader his description of it: He was accompanied by two rebel

VOL. II.

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captains,

* Plate III. 5, 6, now called Carrick-ferry.

captains, one of the name of Clooney, as guides and protectors. The column which he met was very numerous, and many of the men who formed it were well armed with muskets, pistols, and blunderbusses, and the remainder with pikes. General Edward Fitzgerald, who commanded, and rode at the head of the column, on seeing captain O'Hea in his regimentals, halted it; and after a cool salute, demanded his dispatches, which he read and returned, with an appearance of dissatisfaction. Many of the rebels cheered him, and seemed much pleased with the idea of peace; but a few cursed the idea, and said, they would still fight. At the rear of the column he met Edward Roche, the lay-general, who saluted him, and suffered him to pass, when Clooney had explained the purport of his embassy.

General Lake gave the following answer to Keugh's letter:

"Lieutenant-general Lake cannot attend to any terms offered by rebels in arms against their sovereign; while they so remain, he must use the force entrusted to him, with the utmost energy, for their destruction."

"To the deluded multitude, he promises pardon, on their delivering into his hands their leaders, surrendering their arms, and returning with sincerity to their allegiance."

Enniscorthy, 22d June, 1798. G. LAKE."

The inhabitants of Wexford, who saw this rebel column advancing at a great distance, were much alarmed, dreading that they would plunder and burn the town.

When lord Kingsborough was invested with the command of it, he sent a note to Scallion,* who was on board the prison-ship, to desire he would bring Mr. Solomon Richards of Solsborough to him, as he wanted his advice and assistance, in the critical situation in which he then stood. The rebels attempted to sink the boat in which he went, as he passed under the

* He was created an admiral by the republic, for having taken his lordship prisoner.

the bridge, which was very high, by darting their pikes through it; and would have effected it, but that they were prevented by Scallion.

Soon after Mr. Richards waited on lord Kingsborough the rebel column entered the town, headed by father Murphy, who advanced to his lordship's lodgings, mounted on a fine horse fully caparisoned, having a case of pistols and a broad sword. Lord Kingsborough addressed him from his window, and told him he would endeavour to obtain favourable terms for him and his friends, provided they conducted themselves properly; and said, he hoped he was coming to give up his arms: On which, the sacerdotal hero, in a paroxysm of rage, dismounted, and ascending to his lordship's apartment, asked him, with much rudeness and petulance, who he was? and on being informed, he said, with great indignation, "I had you tried and condemned this morning at the camp at Vinegar-hill, and I'll have you taken out and executed this night."

Doctor Caulfield, the titular bishop, who had just arrived, began to expostulate with him; on which lord Kingsborough desired him to respect his bishop; but Murphy flourished his hand over the bishop's head, saying, "I was once your priest; but I am now a general." However, when his anger cooled, he knelt down, kissed his hand, and acknowledged his superiority.

Whelan, Murphy's aid-de-camp, who was present, had a large whiskey bottle in his pocket, and a pistol in his hand; and he boasted that he had just shot his officer outside the town, alluding to the murder of ensign Harman. He also said, he would shoot lord Kingsborough; on which his lordship cocked his pistol, presented it at his breast, and declared he would shoot him, if he moved his hand, which prevented the perpetration of his sanguinary design.

Mrs. Richards, her sister, and some officers wives, had sought an asylum in his lordship's lodgings at this critical and alarming moment; and fearing that

they should all be massacred if lord Kingsborough shot Murphy, or his aid-de-camp, one was in hystericks, another fainted, and another fell on her knees to deprecate his lordship's anger.

While they were in this state of perturbation, Perry the rebel general entered his lordship's apartment, and carried Murphy and Whelan off; and soon after he led the band of rebel assassins out of town, but left his two aid-de-camps, who were wounded, with lord Kingsborough, who had them taken care of.

The sudden flight of the rebels is principally to be imputed to their fear of the king's troops, who were advancing; and the sudden arrival of a few brave yeomen, which I shall describe, and whom they took for the advanced guard of our army, occasioned their precipitate retreat.

It is certain that Dr. Caulfield used every means in his power, and succeeded, in preventing the rebels from murdering lord Kingsborough; partly by his spiritual authority, and partly by telling them that he was a valuable hostage; and that by preserving his life, and conciliating him, he would probably obtain favourable terms for them and their friends, and prevent the soldiers from desolating the town and the country.

When general Moore's army was within about two miles of Wexford, they perceived the house of a protestant in the suburbs on fire, from which they concluded, that the rebels were burning the town. Mr. James Boyd, representative for the town, who commanded the Wexford cavalry, trembling for the fate of his wife and children, asked permission of the general for him, and as many of the yeomen cavalry as would accompany him, to push forward to the town, and to make a desperate effort to save their families and their property. The following persons, with great magnanimity, volunteered in that perilous service, and ran a risk of devoting their own lives to save the property and lives of the protestant inhabitants

tants who remained in the town ; they were all members of the corps but one. Captain James Boyd, member of parliament, lieutenant Perceval, high sheriff for the county, corporal John Stetham, corporal William Hughes, A. H. Jacob, of the Enniscorthy corps, and the following privates, John Tench, Joseph Sutton, Archer Bayly, Marcus Doyle, Abraham Howlin, John Byrne, and William M'Cabe, Mr. Boyd's servant. Christopher Irwine, permanent serjeant of the troop, followed them rapidly on foot, his horse having been shot. They dashed into the town with a degree of valour bordering on despair, and announced with a loud voice, that the army was at their heels. This gave the rebels such an electric shock, that, panick struck, they fled in all directions, some over the bridge, others to the barony of Forth. Their consternation was so great, that very few of them attempted in their flight to injure the inhabitants of the town. One rebel fired at messieurs Jacob and Rudd, but the latter soon dispatched him. A rebel fired at lord Kingsborough in the street, for which another person, a loyalist, instantly shot him.

During this scene of confusion which their flight occasioned, the bloody Thomas Dixon, mounted on a very fine horse which he had taken from Mr. Cadwallader Edwards, rode through the streets, with a broad sword drawn, and upbraided the rebels for their timidity and their dilatoriness ; and said, " If you had followed my advice in putting all the heretics to death three or four days ago, it would not have come to this pass." Mrs. Dixon, who accompanied him on horseback, with a sword and a case of pistols, clapped the rebels on the back and encouraged them, by saying, " We must conquer : I know we must conquer : " and she exclaimed repeatedly, " My Saviour tells me we must conquer ! "

They repaired to the bridge to stop the retreat of the rebels, but in vain, though Mrs. Dixon drew a pistol and swore vehemently that she would shoot any
one

one of them who would refuse to return with her to put the remainder of the hereticks to death. They endeavoured to raise the portcullis of the bridge to prevent their retreat, but were unable to do so.

Governor Keugh came into the street, and cried aloud, "Gentlemen, fly to the camp at the mountain of Forth; you have nothing else for it: Go there and defend yourselves." Some of them, as they were retreating (but particularly young M'Gaulley, of Oulart, who was afterwards hanged) cried out, "Let us set fire to the town!" but they had not time to do so, for in a few minutes there was not a rebel in it.

A very respectable lady informed me, that father Roche, the general, on horseback, and with a drawn sword, harangued the rebels in the street, and endeavoured to inspire them with courage, before her window. He told them, "that they were of the only true faith, which was the faith of Jesus Christ, and that if they would support him in the extirpation of hereticks, they would soon have but one religion;" but they were deaf to his exhortations, and some of them said, "By my soul, father Roche, we have stood by you too long; we are sorry we ever came to you, for you have deceived and ruined us!" I have already quoted the journal of a respectable lady, who resided near the bridge. I shall now give the reader her observations on the events which took place the day that the town was evacuated. She mentioned before, that the black flag had been carried about in procession, to announce that the massacre was to be renewed.

"About four o'clock Mr. Redmond and doctor Jacob came to us. They had been fired at in the street. The doctor was as composed as I am now; but I really never saw such firmness of mind as he possesses on all occasions. Mr. R—— said, "The general massacre is going to begin, and that he came to save us, or rather to share our fate, for he feared we could not escape;" however he had got a boat, with

with men on whom he thought he could rely, to the end of our house, that we should try to get into it, stand the fire of the rebels from the quay and in passing under the bridge; and if we got clear, throw ourselves on the mercy of the gun-boats. This was truly desperate: I walked up stairs, and went to a window; the rebels were settling themselves as before, on the bridge, and sending a boat to the prison-ship; when, conceive my astonishment, I saw them all begin to run. I flew down stairs, doubting my senses, to tell doctor Jacob. He came to the window. It was no illusion; run they did, in such confusion, that I was amazed numbers were not trampled to death. A general cry, "The army are come, they are in the town," explained their flight.—Wretches ran out of the infirmary in their shirts. In an incredible short space of time the streets were almost clear. Above fifty armed rebels rushed into our house, tore out their green cockades, threw their arms under the beds; and hoped to escape by being found under doctor Jacob's roof. He put on his regimentals, and went into the street. A villain that was going off, turned about, and fired at him, but missed him.

"Mr. Perceval, the sheriff, galloped down the quay to our door, and said, "Here are twelve thousand soldiers with us." Imagine, if you can, our feelings! I never shall forget Elizabeth's countenance as she came down stairs and shook us by the hand. The boat that was sent to bring them * to torture and to death, brought them to liberty and to rapture. Several came to us. No kind of decorum was observed. Nothing but kissing and embracing. Most of the men cried violently. I saw above five thousand men fly from one horseman. It was supposed that four thousand of them fled from one end of the town. My bridge acquaintances are those who, under the command of Perry and Fitzgerald, have since spread misery and destruction over the counties of

* The prisoners from the prison-ship.

of Wexford and Wicklow. We never learned what became of Dixon. None of us saw him go over the bridge; and as he is a very large man, and rode a tall white horse, he could hardly escape the observation of twelve of us who were anxious to see him depart. Mrs. Boyd told me, that she and lady Ann Hore were sitting in their lodgings, expecting the entrance of the murderers, when they heard a horse gallop and stop at their door."

The lady whose journal I quote, and many others who were in Wexford at that time, have declared, that the preservation of the town and protestant inhabitants can be imputed to nothing but the determination of the rebels to murder lord Kingsborough, to whose lodging they repaired with father Murphy, and that that object diverted them from their nefarious design, till the alarm, which I have mentioned, occasioned their general dispersion and flight.

About eight o'clock in the morning of the twenty-first, the day of their deliverance, father Broe the friar, having visited the prison-ship, and recommended to the prisoners to be christened, as he said it might be the means of saving them from the rage of the rabble, about fifteen of them consented. He gave those who submitted to that ceremony the following certificate:

"I hereby certify that A. of B. in the parish of C. has done his duty and proved himself a Roman catholic, and has made a voluntary oath that he never was an orangeman, nor took the orange oath. Dated Wexford, June twenty-first, 1798.

F. JOHN BROE."

This unquestionably proves that father Broe knew that a second massacre was intended; and that there was no safety for any person but a Roman catholic.

As the rebels were retreating over the bridge, one of them fired at the gentlemen on the deck of the prison-ship, but the ball passed over their heads.

General Moore having sent the Queen's regiment into Wexford, between eight and nine o'clock, encamped

camped that night about two miles from it, on the south side of the Slaney. The army under generals Lake and Dundas encamped on the north side of the Slaney, between Temple-hill * and Carrickferry. † As they were encamping, they found in the hedges about fifty rebels, with their pikes, who had fled from Vinegar-hill, whom they shot; which induced them to search some brushwood which was contiguous, and they found there many more, whom they also put to death.

General Johnson remained on the south side of the Slaney, and not far from general Moore. General Lake entered Wexford on the morning of the twenty-second of June, and established his staff in Keugh's house, where he, as governor of the town, and a rebel general, had held his staff a few hours before.

As many false and scandalous reports were propagated by the disaffected, that several wanton and barbarous outrages were committed by the king's troops on their entering Wexford, that many persons were immediately and without any criminal process put to death, I think it proper to observe, that such infamous calumnies were perfectly groundless; that peace and good order were preserved there; and that none but those who took a very active part in the rebellion were punished. I give the reader, in Appendix, No. XXI. 4. a list of the delinquents who suffered there during the space of two years after, and general Lake's humane proclamation.

To palliate the atrocities committed in Wexford by the rebels, it has been falsely insinuated, that they were provoked to perpetrate them by lord Kingsborough's having violated the terms which he had made with them, but this is totally without foundation.

Keugh on his trial made a very able and manly defence, during the whole of which he was cool and deliberate, and so eloquent and pathetick, as to excite the most tender emotions in the breasts of his auditors. Lord Kingsborough, Mr. Lehunte, and other respectable witnesses, proved that he acted on all occasions with singular humanity, and endeavoured to prevent

prevent the effusion of blood ; and that they owed their lives to his active interference. He said, " That after the massacre on the evening of the twentieth of June, he was sitting in his own house, when he received the following message from the commander in chief : " Roche, the priest, by Thomas Dixon ;—that as he was leaving town, on particular business, he ordered him under pain of death, on the next morning before twelve o'clock, to put to death one hundred more of the prisoners * in the same manner that ninety-seven had suffered that day." He then stated, that his brother, who had lived many years in his house, and had long served the king with reputation as an officer, † was as noted for his loyalty as for every moral virtue : That on hearing the sanguinary mandate of Roche, delivered by Dixon, he ordered himself to be put to bed, as from feebleness and decrepitude he had not been able for many years to move from one place to another. The next morning he crept, all fours, to the governor's apartment, in his absence, where having found a case of pistols, he blew out his brains. He was frequently interrupted in the course of this doleful narration, by crying and fobbing. He declared that his only object was to reform and improve the constitution ; but that popish fanaticism had defeated his designs, and borne down every thing. He lamented that he had totally neglected the cultivation of the protestant religion, in which he had been bred ; however, he was attended in his last moments by a protestant clergyman. After having prayed devoutly on his knees, he rose and then prayed aloud and fervently for the king and the royal family, and that his majesty might long sit upon the throne, and that the constitution in church and state

* This shews that the massacre intended next morning, which was announced by a second procession with the black flag, was a deliberate act, and planned by the rebel leaders.

† Being an amiable old man, and very loyal, he was filled with horror at the situation to which his brother was reduced.

state might never be overthrown. His pathetical eloquence and strength of argument on his trial moved the audience so much, that a general officer, who was present, ran hastily to general Lake, and requested that he might be respited; but he assured him, that he found among his papers sufficient indications of his guilt. See in Appendix, No. XXI. 5. a list of rebel leaders found among them. Roche, the priest and commander in chief, one Fenlon, a school-master, and two obscure persons, were executed at the same time with Keugh. The former, about forty years old, was tall and corpulent, and had a ferocious countenance. While Keugh and the other prisoners were on their knees, he continued motionless, and shewed no appearance of devotion, except that when they were preparing for his execution, he knelt down and kissed the ground.*

Soon after Roche was suspended, the rope broke, and he fell senseless on the ground; but on recovering, he arose and exclaimed, "G—d's blood, what are you about? why do you pull my stock so tight?" He then mounted the fatal step a second time, and was launched into eternity!

Some of our officers who conversed with him, while in prison, assured me that they thought he was born a general, from the judicious remarks which he made on some actions, particularly that of Vinegar-hill. He said, that they were very much deceived in the county of Wexford, as they imagined that the insurrection would have been general all over the kingdom, and then they must have succeeded. He allowed that the object of the Irish union was the subversion of the constitution.

John Hay, the rebel general, was taken at his own place, hiding in a shrubbery, by general Dundas's army, who encamped near it on the 22d of June, and was hanged next day. He was of an ancient popish family, and the son of Mr. Harvey Hay of Ballankeelee,† noted for his hospitality. He had lived a great while in France,

* A common practice among his savage sectaries. † Plate III. 3.

France, and had served in the French army. Though his manners were polished, and he appeared generous and liberal, he was a bigot, and displayed a most cruel and sanguinary disposition during the rebellion. He was so besotted with superstition, as to wear a scapular, which was found hanging on his breast when they were going to execute him.

On the trial of general Edward Roche, Thomas Hatchell proved that he heard Mr. Hay at Vinegar-hill propose the murder of all the protestants, and that Roche opposed it. The cold-blooded murder, committed by him of Gray Thomas, at the same place, was also proved on Roche's trial. † Thomas Smithson confirmed the evidence of Thomas Hatchell.

The arrest of B. B. Harvey and John Colclough was attended with some curious circumstances, which I shall relate. On the flight of the rebels from Wexford the twenty-first day of June, they retreated to the largest of the Saltee islands, † which Mr. Colclough rented from Mr. Grogan. Doctor Waddy, a physician, who served in the yeomanry, having got intelligence of their retreat, applied to general Lake for a proper party, and an armed vessel, to go in quest of them, which he readily obtained.

About three o'clock on Sunday afternoon the twenty-third day of June, he set sail in the Rutland cutter of ten guns, commanded by captain Willoughby, with lieutenant Turner of the Queen's, a detachment of his regiment, and a man of war's boat, with a party of sailors well armed. The island is about six leagues from Wexford, and four or five miles from the southern coast of that county. The weather was so tempestuous, that they were obliged to reef their sails; and the wind being adverse, they did not descry the island till about four o'clock in the morning, and could not cast anchor along side it till eight. When they were approaching it, they saw a small boat pass from the island to the main land. As it is surrounded with high precipices, and is inaccessible but
in

in one place, and as they expected to be opposed by a party of armed rebels, who it was believed had accompanied Harvey and Colclough, capt. Willoughby prepared to cover their landing with the cutter's guns, and they were attended for the same purpose by the man of war's boat. On landing, they repaired to the only house on the island, occupied by one Furlong; who rented it from Mr. Colclough. They found there an excellent feather-bed, with fine sheets, which were warm, a handsome tea equipage, some genteel wearing apparel, belonging to both sexes, particularly, a pair of pantaloons, which doctor Waddy had seen on Mr. Colclough before the rebellion; and near the house some silk shoes and other articles, hid in high ferns. They searched every suspected spot in the island, particularly a place called the Otters' cave, but in vain; though they had not a doubt of their having been there, as they had found, among other things, a chest of plate concealed in a place belonging to Colclough.

The doctor resolved to make another effort, by going round the island in a boat, for the purpose of reconnoitring the sides of it. In doing so, he perceived, on the edge of a high precipice, one rock lighter-coloured than the adjoining ones; and as the earth near it seemed to have been recently stirred, he suspected that they had been making preparations there for their concealment. He therefore again ascended the island, and found that the approach to the place which he wished to explore was steep, serpentine, and through some crags. The light-coloured stone covered the mouth of the cave, and above it there was an aperture to let in the light. The doctor called out to Colclough, and told him, that if he did not surrender immediately, and without resistance, he should receive no quarter. Colclough asked, "Is that doctor Waddy?" and on his saying, "Yes," he said he would surrender; and soon after he, at the doctor's desire, gave up his arms through the hole in the cave. The doctor threw down the precipice the

the stone which covered the mouth of it, which fell with a monstrous crash; on which Mr. and Mrs. Colclough came forth, dressed in the meanest habits of peasants, for the purpose of disguising themselves. Then B. Harvey came out, saying, "My God! my God!" and so pale and weak from fatigue and anxiety of mind, that the doctor was obliged to support him. He also had a chest of plate concealed, which he gave in charge to the doctor and his party.

They arrived in Wexford harbour about nine at night; but as the tide was out, the prisoners could not be committed till next morning.

Messieurs Harvey and Grogan, and Patrick Prendergast, a rich maltster, were executed at the same time.

The former was a weak man, who fell a sacrifice to the malign influence of base and designing men, who cherished in him disaffection to the state, which made him a sanguine advocate for reforming our constitution; the various excellencies of which he was as incapable of discerning, as an insect is the grandeur and elegance of a magnificent edifice.

Mr. Grogan, who was executed at the same time, denied his guilt, and declared on his trial that he had acted by compulsion, which was certainly true, though it was proved that he had been frequently seen with a green cockade, marching in and out of Wexford, at the head of a large body of rebels; and that as commissary to the republick, he had seized the provisions of different people in its vicinity, so as to leave their families quite destitute.

Mr. Harvey, in his defence on his trial, said, "That he became a member of the Irish union three years before; that he imagined the only object was to reform the constitution; but that he did not till recently discover that the popish priests were deeply concerned in it, and that the extermination of protestants was their main design.* That having opposed their sanguinary views, he was deposed, and the command

* This was kept a profound secret from the protestant leaders,

mand was given to that infamous villain father Roche : That he was then carried to the Three-rock camp as a prisoner, where he remained a few days, and was so far at liberty as to be allowed to walk about ; but so closely watched, that, with every wish to make his escape, he found it impossible, till the evening the rebels fled in every direction on the approach of the king's troops."

He died in a very decent manner, having been attended by a protestant clergyman, and prayed most fervently. A short time before his trial, a particular friend of his and mine, having asked him, how he came to consent to the bloody business of Scullabogue; he, very much shocked, replied, " That it was brought about by an infamous sanguinary popish faction."

Mr. Harvey wrote the following letter to lord Kingsborough, a short time before his execution. It was the last grasp for life, and shews manifest signs of perturbation :

" My lord,

" I take the liberty of requesting your lordship will let me have an opportunity of seeing your lordship before you leave Wexford. You cannot but recollect how repeatedly I wished to speak to your lordship alone; that I was always prevented by fear; and whenever I met you and was allowed to speak to you, I was ever ready to accede to proposals of restoring order and government.

I am, with submission,

Your lordship's most obedient,

B. B. HARVEY."

Mr. Harvey, in a numerous company, and at the house of a relation in Dublin, in the year 1796, began to broach some of his republican opinions, which I endeavoured to refute. At last, I said to him, with much emphasis, " Beware that your life and property do not fall a sacrifice to your absurd republican notions !"

The

The following fact proves that he was a man of humanity: The reverend Mr. Wilson, minister of the parish of Mulranken, in which he lived, and such of his protestant parishioners as could not make their escape, were taken prisoners, and sent to Wexford gaol on the first of June; but Mr. Harvey ordered them home, on their taking the united Irishmen's oath.

From the following incidents we may infer, that, with the best military talents, and the warmest zeal in the rebel cause, his power could not have been of any duration. Mr. Solomon Richards assured me, that a priest refused to grant him a protection, the day after our troops evacuated Wexford; but on applying to B. Harvey, he gave him one, which afforded him liberty and security till Mr. Harvey's power began to decline, and then no respect was paid to it, and he was committed to prison.

Matthew Green, an inhabitant of Wexford, who was hanged there for being a rebel captain, and for having been concerned in the murder of Murphy on the third of June, went on board the prison-ship, and said, with an air of insolence, to Mr. Richards, "So, you would not take my advice in joining us, and in taking a command. See whether B. Harvey's advice or mine is best, and whether he or I will be the greatest man in a day or two; but mark my words, that he and all the protestant generals and prisoners will go, for we will have but one people. I doubt whether you can escape with your life."

John Colclough, of Ballyteige,* died with much decency and firmness. He was the only person of his name who was a papist, and who was publicly accused of being a rebel. He was descended from John Colclough, who became a convert to popery about the beginning of the 18th century, and who from his great bigotry was called the Saint. He left only one child, an infant son, who he desired might be bred a protestant; conscious, I suppose, that the religion

* Plate III. 9, 10.

religion which he professed, would have a tendency to make him a bad subject of a protestant state. With a loud voice, and much composure, he exhorted the bye-standers to avoid the absurd prejudices and opinions which had brought him to an untimely and ignominious death; and he expatiated on the extreme folly of endeavouring to overturn a regular and well-established government; and he ended with these notable words, "From what I have seen these last three weeks, I am not sorry for dying." Alluding, I suppose, to the massacres.

Fanaticism had made the lower class of people so blind to their own interest, and so insensible to danger, that some of them were convicted in Wexford, soon after the king's troops arrived there, of using seditious language, and of endeavouring to seduce them; though so many of their fellow-traitors had recently suffered capital punishment.

Some attempts of this kind were made on the Queen's regiment, the first which entered the town on the twenty-first of June, though it consisted of Englishmen. Thomas Graham, an inhabitant of Wexford, was convicted of trying to seduce John Nailor of that regiment, while a sentry on his post, a few days after the regiment had landed in Ireland.

The sailors continued so disaffected, that they refused, in the autumn of the year 1798, to convey goods from Dublin to Wexford for a Roman catholic merchant of that town, because he was notorious for his loyalty, though he had offered a very high price for the freight. This spirit of disaffection and combination was investigated, and fully proved, before a committee of the house of commons.

Soon after the massacres at Wexford, on the twentieth of June, the following sentences were carved on the rails of the portcullis of the bridge, the place where they were perpetrated; and they were legible in the month of June, 1799: "Sacred to the christian doctrine of sending orangemen to the meadows of ease, June 1798: The holy hereticks that were slain."

The rebel column, which, after the defeat at Vinegar-hill, had retreated to the north of the county of Wexford, and the county of Wicklow, were joined by a large body belonging to the latter, headed by Garret Byrne, of Ballymanus, and his brother William, and continued to spread desolation there, burning the houses of protestants, and murdering such of their occupants as fell into their hands. The first achievement which they endeavoured to perform in this new scene of action, was an attempt to destroy Hacketstown. *

As numbers of the people of the country were seen, on the twenty-fourth of June, assembling on all the adjacent hills, no doubt for the purpose of joining the column which I have already mentioned, the garrison, consisting but of forty of the Antrim militia, commanded by lieutenant Gardner, and fifty of the Hacketstown infantry, commanded by captain Hardy, sent intelligence of it to the officers commanding yeomen corps in the neighbourhood.

At six o'clock on the morning of the twenty-fifth, captain Chamney, with thirty of his infantry, captain Hume, with thirty of the Talbot's-town cavalry, and lieutenant Braddell, with twenty-four of the Shillelah cavalry, reinforced the garrison, and marched with them a short distance from the town, to meet the rebels, who were thought to be thirteen thousand strong, and were commanded by generals Garret and William Byrne, messieurs Perry, Mc. Mahon, Michael Reynolds, and Edward Fitzgerald. The garrison had gone but a short distance from the town, when the rebels began to file off on each side, for the purpose of surrounding them. In consequence of this, the Talbot's-town and Shillelah cavalry were obliged to retreat, for fear of being cut off, by the road to Clonmore, and could not afterwards return to assist in defending the town.

In the retreat, captain Hardy, a brave and intelligent officer and a most amiable gentleman, and four men,

* There was an attack made on this town the twenty-fifth of May, by a numerous body of rebels; but they were repulsed by the yeomen and a small party of the Antrim militia.

men, were killed. The infantry, about one hundred and twenty in number, took post in the barrack, part of them having lined a breast-work which the captain had raised some days before in the rear of it. The remainder defended the front.

The reverend James Mc. Ghee collected nine protestants, and with them occupied and resolved to defend a house which commanded the main street, and one side of the barrack, which was thatched, and which those inside it could not defend. The family of Mr. Mc. Ghee, all the protestant women of the town, and even the wife of general Byrne, (whom, it is said, he wished to get rid of,) took refuge in it. Mr. Mc. Ghee barricaded the lower part of the house, placed four of his men in its rear to prevent it from being burnt, and the other five in the front, not only for its defence, but to cover the side of the barrack which was exposed.

The town was soon surrounded by a prodigious number of pikemen, who set fire to it in different quarters, and one thousand and fifty musketeers commenced a heavy fire on it. In about two hours the whole town, except the barrack and two houses more, was in flames, which presented a dreadful scene, the horrors of which were much heightened by the incessant fire which the rebels maintained, and the very thick smoke in which the town was involved, and which entered even into the house, so that its defenders could scarcely see each other. About one o'clock the houses fell in, and a wind having sprung up which dispersed the smoke, they were able again to see the rebels; who finding that they could not set fire to the barrack, which was ably defended by captain Chamney, without having burnt the house in which Mr. Mc. Ghee kept garrison, they relinquished the former, and approached the latter in great numbers, and with dreadful yells, crying, "Liberty or Death!" Having their colours flying, and sounding their bugle-horns, they pushed cars before them with feather beds in them as breast-works, to cover their approach.

approach. A well-directed fire from the house, for about twenty minutes, made them retreat, leaving behind them their cars, and twenty-eight men killed.

During the engagement, which lasted from six in the morning, till half after three in the afternoon, the loss of the protestants was but eleven men killed and fifteen wounded. It was universally believed, that no less than five hundred of the rebels were killed. They carried off upwards of twenty car-loads of dead and wounded. When any of their men were so badly wounded as to be unfit for service, they threw them into the flames, in which they also burned many of their killed. It was a common practice with the rebels to put their wounded men to death, lest they might turn informers.

Next day great numbers of dead bodies were found in ditches; and immediately behind Mr. Mc. Ghee's garrison they found fifty dead men with their pikes, and thirty over whom a little clay had been thrown. That gallant party would have been unable to defend themselves for want of ammunition, had not lieutenant Fenton, of the Talbot's-town cavalry, been providentially prevented from attending his duty by a contusion, occasioned by a fall from his horse, as he sat behind a pier between two windows making cartridges; and to the immortal honour of Mrs. Fenton, she continued to go about the house, and to supply the besieged with refreshment during their laborious and perilous service; and when their stock of balls was exhausted, she broke up her pewter plates, and cast bullets of them with her own hands, which her husband made up into cartridges.

The garrison were obliged to retreat to Tullow the evening of the action, for the following reasons: They were exhausted with fatigue; their ammunition was expended; and all the houses in the town, except three, were consumed, and the rebels returned and burned them. Thus circumstanced, had they waited for a second attack in the night, which the enemy meditated, it must have been fatal to the garrison.

This

This body of rebels burnt every protestant house within six miles of Hacketstown, in every direction, and murdered such of their inmates as they could seize.

Wherever they encamped, they, as usual, sent out parties in quest of protestants, whom they murdered. Mr. William Byrne, of Ballymanus, frequently was present at, and gave orders at the massacres, for which he was soon after hanged.

Isaac Langrell, a protestant, was piked near Gorey; after which, as some signs of life appeared in him, a ruffian, with a hay knife on the end of a stick, gave him a stroke across the neck, which almost severed his head from his body; on which William Byrne, who was present with a drawn sword, and seemed to command the party, ordered them to march off, saying, "For the heretick will rise no more."

The following fact was proved on a court-martial at Wexford, the 19th of May, 1800: Henry Hinch, a protestant, was taken from his own house, near Gorey, by a band of assassins, and conveyed to the rebel camp, where Mary Forde saw him on his knees, begging his life; when Mary Redmond, his neighbour, whom he had regarded as a friend, insisted that he should be killed; on which he was shot, and when he fell she struck his body with a stone, and called him an orange rogue. Then a rebel of the name of Philips fired another shot at him. This poor man, who had lived by his industry, left a wife and nine children.

As that column still continued to infest the country contiguous to Gorey, * general Needham, on the morning of the thirtieth of June, sent Hunter Gowan, captain of the Tinahely cavalry, with a part of his corps, to reconnoitre near Moneyseed.† From a hill near that town, about three o'clock in the morning, he perceived the rebels in a hollow under him in very great force, having received large reinforcements since their flight from Vinegar-hill. He sent intelligence

* Plate II. 4.

† Plate II. 3, 4.

gence of it to general Needham, who ordered colonel Puleston, of the Ancient Britons, to join him immediately with detachments from his own regiment, the 4th and 5th dragoons, the Ballaghkeene, Gorey and Wingfield yeomen cavalry. The latter, before the reinforcement arrived, killed eight or ten scattered rebels, and among them one Brien, who the day before went to general Needham, pretended to return to his allegiance, surrendered a pike, and in consequence of it obtained a protection; but on that day he was armed with a musket.

The rebels advanced to Tinahely,* and having turned off to Wingfield,† burned the old mansion there, and then proceeded to Moneyseed, where our troops first got sight of them. From thence they pursued them for two miles, to a place called Ballyellis,‡ where the rebels, being closely pressed, placed their baggage and their cars in the road, and posted a number of pike-men in their front. As soon as our cavalry came in sight of them, at the turn of a road, they charged them with great impetuosity; but when they were within a short distance of them, the pike-men leaped over the hedges at each side, on which the horses in front were entangled in the cars; and those in their rear pressing on them, a shocking scene of confusion ensued; both men and horses were involved and tumbled over each other: The rebels fired on them from behind the hedges and a park wall which was near, and while they were in this state of embarrassment, killed numbers of them with their muskets, and piked such of them as happened to be unhorfed.

Colonel Puleston, whose horse they shot or piked, was with difficulty saved by his men. Captain Giffard, of the Ancient Britons, and Mr. Parsons, adjutant of the Ballaghkeene cavalry, who had served with reputation abroad, and about sixty privates of the military and yeomen, were killed.

I have

* Plate II. 1.

† Ibid. 2.

‡ Ibid. 4.

I have been assured, that this action would have been more fatal to the loyalists, but that the Wingfield corps, who were on the right, went through a lane to a hill which commanded the rebels, whom they put into confusion by a well-directed fire, and of whom they killed from twenty to thirty.

The design of the rebels was to surprise the town of Carnew, which was about a mile distant, to have killed fifty yeomen, who garrisoned it, and to have burnt the few houses which they had not destroyed before ; but the garrison having been apprised of their design by some of the cavalry in their retreat, took post in a malt-house, and defended the town so well, that the rebels, unable to pass through it, retired to Ballyellis, * and in their retreat burnt a fine new house of Sir John Jervis White.

They then took post on Kilcavan-hill, || near Moneyseed, and to the north west of Gorey, where the Wexford rebels separated from those of the county of Wicklow, who were commanded by Garret Byrne of Ballymanus ; for, soon after the battle of Vinegar-hill, they had united and co-operated. This separation was occasioned by a dispute between their leaders. They repaired from Kilcavan, where they remained but an hour, to Ballyraheene-hill, which lies between Carnew and Tinahely.

In their progress they killed twelve protestants, among whom was a farmer of the name of Driver, and burned some houses. They were pursued by detachments of the Wingfield and Shillelah cavalry, the Tinahely infantry commanded by captain Morton, the Coolatin by captain Chamney, and the Coolkenna by captain Nixon, the whole making about one hundred and twenty. They endeavoured to gain the hill of Ballyraheene, which was high and steep, before the rebels, but could not succeed. However, though they were posted on an eminence,

* Plate II. 4.

|| Ibid. 3, 4.

eminence, and behind hedges, and notwithstanding their great superiority of numbers, the brave and loyal yeomenry, with a degree of valour bordering on rashness, attacked and engaged them for three quarters of an hour ; but were at last obliged to retreat, as the rebels were endeavouring to surround them. Captains Chamney and Nixon, and seventeen privates, were killed, and many were wounded. Though Garret Byrne had been the particular friend of captain Chamney, he ordered his house, which was within a quarter of a mile of the action, to be burnt ; but lieutenant Chamney having taken post in it with forty yeomen, defended it all night against the whole host of rebels, of whom they killed great numbers. One of them was shot in endeavouring to set fire to the hall-door, bearing a feather bed on his back for his defence. This engagement took place the second of July, two miles from Tinahely, and four from Carnew.

Garret and William Byrne of Ballymanus, who headed the banditti, which committed these outrages and barbarities, piqued themselves on the antiquity of their family. Garret, the eldest brother, had an estate, and was reputed a gentleman, from his birth, property and education. Edward Fitzgerald also was a man of independent fortune, and had received a good education.

On the fourth of July, general Needham, who was stationed at Gorey with a small force, received information that this body of rebels had for two nights been assembled at the White heaps, * a very elevated spot, which had an extensive plain on the top. It is about six miles to the north of Gorey, and near the village of Coolgreney. Thinking it a very favourable opportunity for attacking them, he concerted measures for that purpose with general sir James Duff and the marquis of Huntley ; the former commanded at Carnew, † the latter at Arklow. §

General

* Plate II. 1, 2.

† Ibid. 4.

§ Ibid. 1,

General Duff's column was destined to cut off the retreat of the rebels by the Wicklow gap, that of the marquis of Huntley was to occupy the summit of Croghan mountain, * which lies to the north of Coolgreney, and to intercept their flight by that ascent.

General Needham was to make the attack. At dawn of day he approached within half a mile of the White heaps, when his advanced guard was perceived by some videttes of the rebels, posted near a farm-house, in which several of the rebel leaders had slept the preceding night. These videttes gave the alarm to the main body, and it unfortunately happened that soon after a fog arose, so thick as to retard the movement of our troops, and to afford a cover to the rebels to escape. When general Needham arrived on the White heaps, he found very visible marks of the enemy having slept there the night before ; however he met but a few stragglers, who were put to death. About twelve o'clock, the fog clearing off, he observed the rebels ascending Croghan mountain, where, meeting by surprise the marquis of Huntley's corps, they descended rapidly, and endeavoured to escape by Wicklow-gap, which lies to the south-west of Croghan ; where, approaching in the fog, close to sir James Duff's column, a few rounds of grape shot compelled them to change the course of their flight towards a hill near Moneyfeed, where they were closely pursued by sir James, when, on the dispersion of the fog, they were perceived by general Needham, who, though at two miles distance, joined in the pursuit ; and finding that his infantry could not advance with sufficient celerity, he pushed on his cavalry, which joined that of sir James Duff. At length the rebels, after having been pursued and harassed by our cavalry for above twelve miles, and finding themselves unable to proceed, resolved to try the issue of a contest, and for that purpose

pose formed behind hedges, and under cover of a coppice wood, at Ballygullen, near Mount Nebo, * and three miles from Gorey.

They waited our attack, which began by grape shot, from four six-pound currie guns, but finding that our guns were protected by cavalry only, and the few gunners who worked them, they made many desperate efforts to take them, having maintained a very heavy fire of musketry, and advanced a numerous body of pikemen ; but they were repulsed by the singular bravery and steadiness of lieutenant Hemmings, who commanded the artillery, and captain Ledwell with a detachment of lord Roden's fencibles. At length the head of sir James Duff's column arriving, the rebels were soon routed, and a vigorous pursuit was made, in which the earl of Roden, † at the head of his regiment, acted with his usual spirit and gallantry. About three hundred of the rebels were thought to have fallen. On that day the yeomen cavalry, under captain White, cut off great numbers of the rebels.

Some farmers and labourers, who were concerned in this affair, declared to their landlords, after an amnesty had been granted by government, that in this pursuit they threw away their clothes to lighten themselves ; and that they were so much overcome with hunger and fatigue, that they wished for death. After this defeat the rebels never appeared in any part of the county of Wexford in such force as to meet the military or the yeomen in a pitched battle ; but many bands of assassins continued to rob and murder. Part of those who were dispersed on this occasion, went into the counties of Kildare, Carlow and Meath, under Fitzgerald, Aylmer, Garret Byrne, Perry and Kearns, and spread desolation in their progress. The two former surrendered

* Plate II. 4.

† That gallant nobleman was in the most perilous service during the rebellion, and volunteered whenever his regiment was not on duty.

rendered themselves at the castle ; the two latter were hanged at Edenderry. Many of their followers died by the sword and the gibbet ; others turned robbers ; and but few returned to their respective homes.

The mountains of Wicklow continued for many months after the asylum of a desperate banditti, who, under Holt and Hacket as leaders, committed plunder and assassination in all the adjacent country. That county, from the strong posts and fastnesses which its steep craggy mountains and deep defiles afford, was the last place in Ireland in which rebellion was subdued in the reigns of Elizabeth, Charles I. and king William.

Some persons of acute discernment in the counties of Wexford and Wicklow have made the following observations to me, which prove that the war was a religious one : That no papist ever lamented, or does so to this hour, the relations they have lost in the rebellion : No wife was ever seen to shed a tear for the death of her husband, or a father or mother for the loss of a son. In one instance only, nature prevailed, and a tear started from the eye.

Another circumstance observed by the same persons proves it to have been founded in religious bigotry : That men who bore formerly very excellent moral characters, were guilty of murder, robbery, and perjury without remorse ; and that numbers were persuaded, contrary to the sentiments of nature, and the obligations of true religion, not only to neglect, but to violate all the ties of duty, friendship, gratitude and humanity in prosecuting the war.

In the course of the rebellion, some parishes were more cruel and sanguinary than others. Wherever the rebels happened to be encamped and to have the country at their devotion, they massacred protestants for some miles round them ; which is fully proved by the atrocities perpetrated by them in the vicinity of Carrickbyrne, Enniscorthy, and Gorey.

In the parishes of Killan, Rosdrait, Clomnora, Adamstown, and Newbawn, no protestant was spared.

In the former, which lies near the west side of the Black-stair * mountains, the rebels were on the point of committing the following barbarous act: A band of assassins were sent out to collect all the protestant women and children in it, in order to burn them in the church. They drove the victims into an out-house, belonging to a Mrs. Kelly, within gun-shot of it, where they were to be kept till they could procure a sufficient number of faggots to accomplish their horrid design. The ruffians who were employed in it, frequently called the church the protestant pie. In this dreadful situation were these helpless and miserable women, embracing each other, and pressing to their bosoms, for a last farewell, their innocent babes, when Providence interfered, and saved them in a most miraculous manner. The army commanded by general Johnson, in their way to Enniscorthy, drove the rebels from Lackenhill. One of them, a native of Killan, fled home in great consternation with the news, and added that the king's troops were close at his heels. The guilty keepers, fearing the just punishment of their crimes, forsook their charge and fled. A few, more brutal than the rest, detained twelve of the youngest girls all night, and forced and dreadfully abused them. Four of these assassins were afterwards convicted of these crimes at Newtown-barry, and, by the orders of general Taylor, were executed in the village of Killan, on the twenty-eighth of November, 1798, opposite to the house where they had committed that brutal act, and not far distant from the spot which gave them birth. All these circumstances were proved on the trial of these monsters by the concurrent testimony of the sufferers.

Michael M'Grath proved, by affidavit, that a few days before the action at Vinegar-hill, he saw five protestant girls, viz. Eliza and Hannah Shields, Anne and Hannah James, and Rachael Murphy, all in tears, in custody of Christopher Drohan and four other men; that

* See Plate III. 1.

that he asked Drohan, where he was conducting them? that he answered to Killan prison; and that at the risk of his life, he rescued them from said persons.

Rachael Murphy, Anne and Hannah James swore on the trial of these men, that Drohan, while they were his prisoners, informed them, that their intention was (meaning himself and his party) to ravish them, viz. the said five girls, that night, and to burn them next morning; and that, previous to this, their fathers had been murdered.

The following paper was found in the pocket of a rebel, who was shot near Coolgreaney, by captain Hugh Moore, of the 5th dragoon-guards:

“ Jesus I H S Maria

“ I trust a Thee.

“ This is measured of the wounds of the side of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was brought from Constantinople unto the emperor Charles, within a gold chest, as a relief most precious to that effect, that no evil or any thing might take him which reads it, hears it, wears it, cannot be hurted by any tempest, fire, water, knife, sword, lance or bullet. Neither the devil shall hurt him; he shall be victorious, and never die an unnatural death, and shall be a sure safety to women with child.”

Many of the same purport were found in the county of Wexford during the rebellion. One of them was found on Pat. Prendergast, a rebel in the county of Mayo, while the rebellion raged there. One of them is to be seen in doctor Bernard's history of the siege of Drogheda.

Another piece of superstition to which the common people in Ireland of the Romish religion are much attached, is the scapular, a religious order, the mysteries of which are various and profound.* Its sectaries wear on their shoulder or breast, and next to their skin, a piece of cloth, about three inches square, with

* They are to be found in a little book called the Scapular, published by Elfaner Kelly, in Dublin. The form of one of them is to be found in Plate V.

with IHS worked on it ; meaning *Jesus hominum Salvator*. It is supposed to avert much moral and physical evil ; and that it will prevent a person from dying, though shot through the heart, till he receives the rites of his church.

I mentioned before a practice of putting red tape on the necks of popish children : It prevailed much in that part of the county of Carlow bordering on the county of Wexford.

A popish schoolmaster at Tullow inflicted a severe punishment on a protestant boy, for having worn it. A magistrate received information that John Hannigan, parish priest of the parishes of Coolkenno and Clonmore, ordered pieces of red tape to be put on the necks of popish children, to distinguish them from protestants ; and that he knew that a massacre of the protestants was to take place.

Some officers who, when on duty, traversed many parts of the county of Wexford, assured me, that they saw, in various places, the sign of the cross on the doors of some dwelling-houses ; and on others, the following words : " Protection for this house." They were inscribed on the house of Mr. Devereux, of Carrigmannon, and even on the gates leading to it ; which, it is believed, was done because he was a Roman catholic.

In the neighbourhood of Gorey, the chapels of father Francis Kavenagh and some other priests, who had acted very treacherously and cruelly towards the protestants, were burnt by the latter, who compelled them to fly to Wexford, where they continued to receive their parochial dues. During their residence there, the priest of each parish announced, by letter, to his parishioners, that he would say mass precisely at a certain hour ; and they went regularly at that hour to the walls of their respective chapels, where they prayed, and went through the ceremony of mass, at the time appointed, with as much devotion as if the priests were present, on a supposition that they were acting in unison with them.

The

The following calculation of the inhabitants of the county of Wexford, will in a great measure shew the reader their number, and the proportion of those who were in actual rebellion against the best of kings, and the only constitution in Europe that affords its subjects any degree of rational liberty. It will also prove, by induction, that the population of Ireland is much less than is generally imagined.

A hearthmoney collector, well versed in calculation, made an exact census of the people in three baronies and a half, so late as the month of March, 1800; and he included in it the populous town of Wexford. These baronies contain at least one-third of the population of the county, and they were less depopulated than any other parts of it; besides, this calculation has been made since the rebellion.

I consider the county of Wexford, which is very populous, a good average from which to deduce the number of inhabitants in Ireland, according to the quantity of square acres which it contains, in proportion to those in the kingdom at large; and I conceive that it is nearly a thirty-fourth part of it. The following table will in a great measure establish the positions which I have made:

Baronies.	Population.	Total.	Population of the county Wexford.
Wexford,	7,405		
Forth,	5,575		
Bargy,	6,072		
Shelmalier, west of } the river Slaney }	3,977	23,029	69,087
Acres in the county of Wexford.	Acres in Ireland.	Population of Wexford.	Population of Ireland.
343,000	11,607,650	69,087	2,348,958
		Dublin	200,000

Total of the population of Ireland 2,548,958

On the trial of Mr. William Byrne, of Ballymanus, at Wicklow, on the twenty-fourth of July, 1799, it was proved, that he, Perry and Redmond, who were leaders,

leaders, made a regular muster of the rebel army before they marched from Gorey to attack Arklow, and that they amounted to thirty-one thousand.

The inhabitants of the county of

Wexford*	- - - - -	69,087
The army that attacked Arklow,	31,000	
There were three large rebel camps besides, one at the mountain of Forth, one on Vinegar-hill, one on Carrickbyrne, and allowing 5000 for each,	15,000	
Allow for small rebel posts	3,000	
		49,000
		20,087

On the same trial it was proved, that when the rebel army under William Byrne went to burn Tinahely in the night, they ordered such of the inhabitants as were Roman catholicks to put up lights in their houses, which they did; and none of them, in consequence of it, were burnt, but that all those of the protestants were. It was proved also, that father Toole, a priest, said mass near the town, while it was in a state of conflagration.

It is astonishing how successful the rebels were in their endeavours to seduce the king's troops, and they never failed to exert themselves for that purpose, though they might have been quartered ever so short a time in one place.

Lord Blayney assured me, that there was a dreadful mutiny in the 4th light brigade of militia under his command, at Ferns, † in the month of August, 1798: That he discovered one morning, that they were to have risen that night, and to have murdered him and all the protestant officers and privates in the brigade;

* A great number of the rebels in the county of Wexford came not only from the adjacent counties, but even from the metropolis and parts of Munster.

† Plate II. 6, 7.

brigade; but he seasonably defeated their design, by suddenly marching them off to another camp at Scarawalsh-bridge.† It appeared that they had been plentifully supplied with money, and had a constant and unremitting intercourse with a neighbouring priest, who lord Blaney had the strongest reason to think was active in seducing them.

The following proofs appeared of the mutinous state in which they were, by the examinations of serjeant Mc. Man, and other soldiers of the Antrim regiment, sworn before Cornelius Wallace and William Moore, esquires, both magistrates, on the thirteenth of August, 1798; that there was a conspiracy in the 4th light brigade of infantry quartered at Ferns, to murder their officers and all orangemen, and that lord Blaney was to be the first murdered.

By informations sworn before colonel Hugh Clinton, it appeared, that they were to have attacked and stormed the camp at Ferns, and then to have proceeded to that of Scarawalsh; and that part of the Clare, Kildare, Queen's county, Antrim, Kilkenny, and Donegal regiments, were engaged in it; and that one Doherty, a soldier in the latter, said he must go and consult the priest about it.

Patrick Mc. Mahon, of the Clare militia, stated in his examinations, sworn before William Moore, esquire, the thirteenth of August, 1798, that Murray and Gallagher, privates in the same regiment, asked him, in the church yard of Ferns, to be sworn to be true to them and their cause, meaning an insurrection; but added at the same time, that if he had any understanding of his religion, there would be no occasion to swear him.

By a court-martial, held at Waterford, the thirteenth of November, 1798, by order of general Johnson, the mutiny of the 4th light battalion was proved in the clearest manner: That it was to have taken place the night they marched from Ferns; and that they were to have murdered their officers, and all the orangemen and protestants of the regiment.

It is surprising how similar the rebellions in Ireland have been in their origin and progress, and how uniformly destructive in their effects.

The county of Wexford was desolated in the year 1641; and the houses of the bishop of Ferns and Mr. Ram of Ramsford, were destroyed as well in the rebellion of that period as in the late one; which appears by an affidavit, sworn by Mr. Ram the twelfth of January, 1641, and lodged in Birmingham-tower.*

The rebels, who escaped from our troops after the battle of White-heaps, fled into the county of Kildare, under the command of Garret and William Byrne, Edward Fitzgerald, general Perry, and Kearns, a popish priest, having been induced to join their fellow-traitors there by Michael Reynolds, who being reinforced by them, was encouraged to undertake, what he had long meditated, an attack on the little garrison of Clonard,§ defended by a few yeomen, commanded by lieutenant Tyrrell, of Kilreny, high sheriff of the county, and of whom I made mention before.

A report having prevailed, that they had this in contemplation, lieutenant Tyrrell acted for some time on the defensive. At last, about eleven o'clock on the morning of the eleventh of July, his nephew, Mr. Richard Allen, who was a member of his corps, galloped into the yard, and announced that he had been closely pursued by a large party of rebels, that he narrowly escaped being taken, and that he was sure they were advancing to Clonard.

It unfortunately happened that some of the guards were absent, not having the most remote suspicion that the garrison would be attacked. Lieutenant Tyrrell, notwithstanding his utmost exertions, could muster but twenty-seven men, three of whom were his own sons, the eldest not seventeen years old, the youngest but twelve. He had no sooner closed the gate of the court-yard, than the firing began.

Though

* See it in Appendix, No. XXI.

§ Plate I. 6, 7.

Though lieutenant Tyrrell had never acted in any military capacity, the coolness, the skill, the good sense, and energy of mind, which he shewed in this critical and perilous situation, would have done honour to a veteran. He stationed in a turret in the garden, which commanded the road by which the rebels were expected to advance, six of his corps, including Mr. Allen and his son, only fifteen years old. After fixing some other out-posts, he retired into the barrack, with the main body, of whom he selected the best marksmen, placed them at those windows from which they were most likely to annoy the enemy, and desired them not to fire without taking good aim.

The advanced guard of the rebels, consisting of about three hundred cavalry, approached towards the turret, in a full trot, without apprehending any danger. Their leader, one Farrell, was mortally wounded by the first shot fired by young Mr. Tyrrell; and the main body having been thrown into confusion by a general volley, fled out of the reach of their fire. The rebel infantry then coming up, passed by the turret under cover of a wall, and part of them having taken post behind a hedge, maintained a constant fire on it, but without effect. The remainder joined another party, who came by a cross road from a different quarter, for their object was to have surrounded the town. They then stationed a guard on the bridge, to prevent any reinforcement from arriving in that direction. The marksmen from the windows soon dispersed and put to flight that guard, after having killed about a dozen of them. This proved afterwards to be of the utmost consequence to the little garrison, as it preserved a communication with the western road.

The rebels, disappointed in their attack both on the house and the turret, resolved to make one desperate effort to storm the latter. A party of them having penetrated into the garden, rushed into the turret. The yeomen stationed there had the precaution to

draw up through a trap-door the ladder by which they ascended to the loft. The rebels endeavoured to mount to it on each other's shoulders, but were constantly killed in the attempt. Some fired through the floor, others drove their pikes through it, but without effect. The rebels persevered in the attempt with inflexible obstinacy, though twenty-seven of them lay dead on the ground-floor. At last they set fire to a large quantity of straw under the turret, which was soon in flames.

Two of the besieged, Mr. George Tyrrell, and Mr. Michael Cusack, were shot in endeavouring to make their escape, by rushing through the smoke. The remainder eluded the vigilance of the rebels, and arrived safe to the main body, by leaping from a very high window, and passing under cover of a wall.

Afterwards they set fire to the toll-house, and some cabbins near the bridge, and threw some of the dead bodies into the flames, for the purpose of consuming them, lest their numbers should be known.

The conflict had now lasted six hours, and the rebels seemed determined to maintain it; but very fortunately an event happened, which at the same time that it depressed their courage, inspired the loyal garrison with renovated valour. One of the guard, who had been excluded on the sudden shutting of the gates in the morning, fled to Kinnegad, and informed the garrison there of the perilous situation of his friends at Clonard; on which, eleven of the Northumberland fencibles, under a serjeant, and fourteen of the Kinnegad infantry, under lieutenant Houghton, marched for Clonard.

Lieutenant Tyrrell, with great gallantry, sallied forth from the house, and formed a junction with them. After having posted this reinforcement in the most advantageous situation, to gall the enemy, he, with a few picked men, undertook to drive the rebels from the garden, which about four hundred of them still continued to occupy. Some of them were on a mount thickly planted with fir trees, which afforded them a protection,

protection, and prevented them from being seen; the remainder were intrenched behind a privet hedge. Lieutenant Tyrrell, with great gallantry, dislodged the latter, who fled to their friends on the mount.

The conflict then became very warm, the rebels appearing determined to maintain this advantageous post; and the yeomen, but few in number, though six of them were badly wounded, and the remainder were overcome with fatigue, resolved to die sooner than retreat.

Mr. Richard Allen received a ball which passed through his arm, and lodged in his side.* At last, lieutenant Tyrrell's party, after having displayed prodigies of valour, routed the party on the mount, and drove them out of the garden; and the Northumberland and Kinnegad corps killed many of them in their flight. This victory, obtained by a handful of loyalists over a numerous body of rebels, was one of the most splendid achievements, performed in the course of the rebellion. No less than one hundred and fifty of the rebels were killed, and a great many wounded.

During the engagement, the rebels plundered the houses of lieutenant Tyrrell at Kilreny, and Mr. George Tyrrell at Ballinderry, and destroyed the whole of the furniture in both.

The joy which lieutenant Tyrrell and his garrison might have felt, on gaining so splendid a victory, was lost in their great solicitude for Mrs. Tyrrell, who had gone in her chaise to her house at Kilreny that morning, about some domestick concerns; and on hearing that the rebels were approaching, she drove back, and endeavoured to arrive at Clonard before them: But she had not gone far, before she heard the noise of musketry, which convinced her of the impossibility of accomplishing it, and therefore turned back; but was soon overtaken and stopped by two men on horseback with drawn swords, who, after many oaths and imprecations, compelled the postilion to turn about, and proceed towards Clonard;

They

* He died of his wounds.

They met in their way two hundred men armed with swords, pikes and muskets, who searched the carriage for arms. Then three men, armed with muskets, mounted the boot of the chaise, and three behind it, attended by the rest, compelled the servant to drive to the other end of the village of Clonard, where they had a warm altercation about the treatment which Mrs. Tyrrell should receive ; some urging that she should be treated with civility, others with brutality. At last she prevailed on them to permit her to go into a cottage, where two men armed with muskets were posted over her as sentinels. She remained there, till the whole body of them, when retreating, stopped at the cottage ; and one of their officers approaching her, informed her, that she must go into her carriage, and accompany them. She implored them in the most pathetick manner to let her remain behind, and as an inducement to do so, she offered her carriage and horses to general Perry : At first he seemed obdurate, but on her falling on her knees, he granted her request. Soon after he left her, a common fellow seized her by the arm, dragged her to the door, and said, she must attend them on horseback, as some of their wounded men must go in her chaise. She addressed herself again to the officer, who had been so kind to her before ; but he said, that she must go and remain with them as a hostage, till the fate of one of their general officers, a prisoner at Clonard, was determined ; but added, that she would be permitted to go in her chaise.

When they had proceeded about a mile, general Perry requested to join her in the carriage : Soon after, a low fellow stopped it, and got into it, saying, " That he had a right to it, as it was he that first obtained it ;" and notwithstanding the rank of general Perry, he could not prevent his intrusion, nor check his insolence. At last, one Kearns, a popish priest, rode up to the carriage, and as he had been kindly and hospitably entertained at different times by

by Mrs. Tyrrell for a week together, she implored him to interfere in obtaining her release; but he coldly answered, by saying, "Oh! yes, madam!" and having retired, she saw no more of him. At last, Mrs. Tyrrell was liberated by a captain Byrne,* and permitted to return to her family at Clonard, but on foot.

The rebels, after their defeat, retreated to Carbery, where they got possession of lord Harberton's house, which they plundered of various articles, and passed the night in drinking what liquors they found in his lordship's cellars.

On the twelfth of July, they marched into the county of Meath, by Johnstown and the Nineteen-mile house. They were pursued by colonel Gough, who, with but sixty infantry and twenty cavalry, attacked and routed them with considerable slaughter. They were next pursued by general Myers, with detachments of the Dublin yeomanry and Buckinghamshire militia, and though he was not so fortunate as to overtake them, he drove them towards Slane, where general Meyrick encountered and killed many of them. They were afterwards attacked by different detachments of the military, who in the course of a few days cut off great numbers of them, and finally dispersed them.

Perry and Kearns made their escape into the King's county, where attempting to cross a bog near Clonballogue, they were apprehended by messieurs Robinson and Ridgeway, of the Edenderry yeomen, who conveyed them to that town, where they were tried and executed by martial law. Perry was cheerful and communicative, acknowledged the part he had taken in the rebellion, and seemed to glory in it. Kearns was sullen and silent, except when he upbraided Perry for his candour in frankly confessing his guilt.

This reverend gentleman was at Paris in the year 1794, when in the administration of Robespierre, the French

* This was Mr. Garret Byrne, of Ballymanus, who afterwards obtained his pardon on surrendering himself.

French were extirpating the Romish clergy. He was actually hung up at Paris, but the weight of his body (as he was of a huge stature) bent the iron of a lamp-post to which he was suspended so much, that his toes touched the ground, and prevented animal life from being extinguished. An Irish physician, who perceived this, had him conveyed to his house, and recovered him. Having fled to his native country, he was appointed curate of a chapel near Clonard. From the vehemence with which he unremittingly inveighed against French republican principles, and the warm encomiums which he bestowed on our constitution, he was regarded as a steady loyalist, and a good subject ; in consequence of which he was well received, and even at times domesticated in the houses of some of the most respectable gentlemen in the counties of Meath, Kildare, and the King's county.

As the defenders were at that time formidable in those counties, he was not only admitted to the conferences of the magistrates, but even assisted them in their nightly patrols against those miscreants.

It having been discovered that he betrayed the counsels of the magistrates to the rebels, he was excluded from their conferences ; and positive information having been received, that he had incited some persons to commit a murder, he fled into the county of Wexford, where he became a rebel leader.

On Sunday morning the second of June, intelligence having been received, that a number of rebels had appeared in force near the Scalp and Enniskerry, in the county of Wicklow, the drums beat to arms, and in less than three hours, a large body of yeomen, consisting of detachments from the Stephen's-green and Rotunda divisions, the Lawyers and Attornies cavalry and infantry, with their usual spirit and alacrity, set out to meet the insurgents, under the command of general Myers.

On June the ninth, a detachment of captain Beresford's corps patrolling near Rathfarnham, came up

up with a party of rebels who were on their way from Dublin to the Wicklow mountains, conveying ammunition to the banditti who infested them. They were armed, had a green flag, and green cockades in their hats. Three or four of them were killed, and three who had acted with singular treachery by firing after they had surrendered themselves, were hanged at Rathfarnham; five more were led into town as prisoners.

A numerous body of rebels who escaped from Vinegar-hill retreated into the county of Kilkenny, under the command of father John Murphy, of Boulavogue, by the Scullagh gap,* and thence they proceeded to Castlecomer, destroying the houses and property of protestants, and murdering such of their inhabitants as fell into their hands.

Lieutenant Dixon, of the Wexford regiment, was stationed at Gore's-bridge,|| a neat village on the river Barrow, and county of Kilkenny, with twenty-five of his own regiment, and a small party of the 4th dragoon guards.

On the twenty-second of June, they received intelligence that father John Murphy's column was in motion, and on that night they burned the village of Kil Edmond. An express was sent to sir Charles Asgill, to Kilkenny, escorted by all the dragoons quartered at Gore's-bridge, to inform him of their movements; but as the hedges at each side the road were thickly beset with rebels, who kept up a constant fire on them, they were under the necessity of returning. This was towards the morning of the twenty-third. Lieutenant Dixon being determined to protect the village of Gore's-bridge, and to prevent it from sharing the fate of Kil Edmond, stationed his men on the bridge, which crosses the river, not suspecting that the main body of the rebels were near him. He had no sooner taken his post, than he saw the adjacent hills covered with them, and

at

at the same time saw a column, of which he could not discover the extent, move along the road from Kil Edmond. Not knowing that the river was fordable, which it happened to be in many places, he thought there might be a possibility to maintain his position till a reinforcement should arrive; but he soon perceived their intention to surround him, having crossed over the river for that purpose, and that they meant to break and embarrass his party, by driving a number of cattle against them, which they were collecting in the adjacent fields; a common expedient among the rebels. Wishing to provide against this artifice, he procured a number of cars, and made a barricade of them in his front.

But he soon perceived from the greatness of their numbers, and the smart fire the rebels kept up, that they had no other resource but to retreat. Besides, the rebels had brought a swivel to bear on the bridge, and had also planted some large pieces of cannon in a commanding situation. When they had retreated to Low Grange, they were surrounded by the rebels, who assured them, they should receive no injury if they laid down their arms. At that moment, lieutenant Dixon was so fortunate as to make his escape, having mounted behind a quarter-master of dragoons, who was retreating; and at the same time he heard the rebels exclaim, "Have we got the officer?" The rebels then proceeded to Kellymount, where they put nine of their protestant prisoners to death, with circumstances of savage cruelty.

It appeared by the joint information of the soldiers who escaped, sworn before lieutenant-colonel Ram, that the following circumstances attended the murder of the soldiers: That Walter Devereux, who said he was commander in chief in the absence of the general, (meaning father John Murphy,) ordered the protestant prisoners to be selected from the rest; and they were pointed out by one of their own soldiers, of the name of Bruton, of the Romish persuasion: They were surrounded by a circle of about
eight

eight thousand rebels, when Devereux ordered corporal Orange to be dragged out of the circle and shot, having said, insultingly to him, "Orange by name, and Orange by nature."

They proceeded in the same manner to put to death six of the Wexford regiment, and two dragoons: That they remained prisoners with them till the twenty-sixth of June, when the rebels were routed with great slaughter at Kilcomney, near Gore's-bridge, where the Wexford soldiers made their escape: That while they remained prisoners with the rebels, they had no other food but raw meat and water.

Walter Devereux had been principally concerned in the massacre at Scullabogue, and yet he remained unnoticed till the month of November, 1798, when being on the point of embarking on board a ship at the Cove of Cork, to sail for America, he was fortunately recognised by some of the Wexford soldiers, who had been his prisoners, was apprehended, and afterwards hanged. When arrested, he had the protections of five general officers.

The rebels, in their progress to Castlecomer,* massacred two more of the Wexford soldiers.

The prisoners declared, that they received the most savage treatment from this band of traitors. Half-famished, and overcome with fatigue, they were hurried on precipitately without rest, except when their priests stopped for a few minutes to say mass; which they frequently did, for the purpose of kindling fanaticism in them, as their courage emanated from no other source, and as it never failed to animate them, even when overcome with the want of food and sleep.

On Saturday morning the twenty-third of June, a man arrived at Kilkenny, and informed sir Charles Asgill, that he had been taken prisoner by the rebels at Gorey, and had been obliged to repair with them

to

to their camp at Vinegar-hill ; that he had been compelled to attend a numerous body of them, thirty thousand in number, as he believed, who had fled from thence, and who under the command of father John Murphy had marched into the county of Kilkenny, through the Scullagh-gap, and that he was detained by them till that morning, when he made his escape ; on which sir Charles Asgill ordered the garrison under arms, and marched from Kilkenny in pursuit of the rebels, between eight and nine o'clock ; and having proceeded about three miles, in the line where the rebels were supposed to be, he halted, and called the honourable viscount Loftus and the honourable colonel Howard, whose regiments were on that service, and conferred with them and the other field officers on the plan which he intended to adopt.

On deliberation, they concluded it would be imprudent to proceed farther, without knowing the number of the enemy, and the route they had taken, as sir Charles had left in Kilkenny a large quantity of ammunition, and had well-grounded apprehensions that its disaffected inhabitants only waited for an opportunity of rising ; besides, should he miss the rebels in pursuing them, they might have slipped by him and come to Kilkenny, and have plundered and burnt it in his absence. He had sent, in the mean time, major Lawder, a gallant and intelligent officer, with a party of dragoons across the country towards Leighlin-bridge, to reconnoitre the rebels, and bring intelligence of their movements. Just before he returned, the wives of some of the men who had been taken by the rebels at Gore's-bridge, and had escaped, arrived, and informed him of their position, and of their numbers, which appeared to have been much less than he imagined ; and soon after major Lawder arrived, and confirmed their account. On this he ordered the troops to move forward to Kelly-mount, but they had quitted it, and proceeded towards Castlecomer.

As the troops had been fasting and under arms all day, he returned to Kilkenny, after he had sent a large detachment of the cavalry to reconnoitre them ; and they having approached very near the rebels, would have attacked them, but that a bog happened to intervene.

I shall now proceed to describe the progress of the Wexford rebels, who found in the county of Kilkenny the popish multitude as much disaffected as themselves. The town of Castlecomer being contiguous to extensive collieries, it was to be apprehended that the persons who worked in them would be very susceptible of being infected with the doctrines of united Irishmen, as they are under little or no control of their employers, as they are led, from the nature of their laborious occupations, to use strong liquors, and they are more prone to turbulence, discontent, and combination, than any other set of men.

ATROCITIES COMMITTED AT CASTLECOMER AND IN ITS VICINITY.

On the night of the twenty-third of May, the colliers first appeared in arms, and attacked the barrack of Doonane, (about three miles from Castlecomer,) in which there was a company of the Waterford militia. The object of the rebels was, it is said, after taking the barrack, and putting all the loyalists to death, to march to Carlow, and join the body destined for the attack of that town. It unfortunately happened, that most of the Waterford were billeted through the village of Doonane ; however, the few that were in the barrack, though taken by surprise, completely beat the rebels off, consisting of at least seven hundred men. Several of the soldiers turned out of the barrack in their shirts, and kept up a smart fire for a few minutes, when the rebels fled precipitately. As they carried with them their killed and wounded, it never was ascertained how many fell in that action.

The

The honourable James Butler, brother to the earl of Ormond, who commanded the Fassagh-dineen yeomen cavalry, as soon as he got intelligence of the attack on Doonane, collected as many of his corps as were near the town of Castlecomer; and, together with a detachment of the Waterford militia then quartered in the town, marched with the utmost speed to the relief of Doonane; however, too late to come up with the rebels, who by that time had gained the mountains, and were dispersing.

It providentially happened, that the protestants of Castlecomer were not attacked that night, while the garrison had marched to Doonane; as they must have inevitably fallen a sacrifice to their savage fury. Had they succeeded in the attempt on the barrack of Doonane, they would unquestionably have afterwards attacked the town.

On the twenty-fourth of May, captain Butler's yeoman corps was ordered on permanent duty; and the day after a troop of the 5th, or Royal Irish dragoons, under the command of captain Green, marched in, to strengthen the garrison. With this reinforcement, they conceived themselves tolerably secure.

Early in the month of June, sir Charles Asgill received information against several of the Fassagh-dineen cavalry, as rebels, and in consequence seven of them, all papists, were lodged in Kilkenny gaol. The people of the neighbourhood continued to give up their pikes, and to take oaths of allegiance, in order to lull the magistrates and protestant inhabitants into a supine and fatal security.

They were frequently alarmed by reports of the rebels coming to attack them, and the garrison were several nights under arms; but those reports were generally occasioned by ill-grounded apprehensions. The minds of the people were in such a state, that any unusual noise at night occasioned infinite alarm. However, at length they heard that a body of rebels, who escaped from Wexford, were making their way

to

to that country, in order to join the colliers, and then proceed to attack Kilkenny.

In the course of Saturday the twenty-third, several loyalists from the mountains, between Castlecomer and Leighlin-bridge, brought intelligence, that the rebels were bending their course that way. They still remained in heedless security. They had often been alarmed by false reports, that they would not now believe the approaching danger, though each successive express strengthened the former; and though a poor man who was most dreadfully mangled and left for dead by the rebel advance-guard was brought into the town, to have his wounds dressed. It is impossible to describe the distressing scene which on that evening presented itself, all the protestants with their families flying from the mountains and the colliery. For several hours the roads were crowded with those unfortunate fugitives, with infancy and decrepitude in their train, dreading the spirit of fanaticism.

On Saturday night the garrison was reinforced by a troop of the 4th dragoons, a company of the Waterford militia from Doonane, a company of the Downshire, twenty of the Cullinagh infantry, and forty of the Cullinagh cavalry, so that the whole might consist of nearly three hundred, but being mostly cavalry, they were not at all calculated for that country, where the ground is much broken up with colliery pits. That night, the rebels slept at a place about five miles from Castlecomer, on a ridge of mountains, near Leighlin-bridge.

Among the loyalists who fled from the colliery and the adjacent country, there were about one hundred who had arms, but very little ammunition. They were ordered out in different parties, to watch the movements of the rebels, many of them with not more than six rounds of cartridge. The whole force was drawn out on the bridge, and in the main street; and a reconnoitring party, consisting of one hundred men, was sent out about four o'clock in the morning.

morning, to watch the rebels motions. There was such an immense fog early on Sunday morning, that it was utterly impossible to discern objects at twenty yards distance.

About four o'clock, the rebels arrived at a place called Gurteen, near three miles from Castlecomer, * where they heard mass. It being St. John's day, they had prayers again about two miles off, where they halted. They had proceeded under cover of the fog, so that the troops, who were sent to reconnoitre, were fired on before they could see them. At length the fog began to disperse a little, which opened to the astonished troops a view of not less than from eight to ten thousand rebels, those armed with muskets in the front, the pikemen in the rear. The main body had halted on the road, and two wings were extending themselves on each side, the whole forming a crescent. In order to understand the perilous situation of our troops, it is necessary to observe, that for nearly two miles of the road to the town of Castlecomer, there is a long range of wall on each side; and about half a mile of it is planted. While the fog was so thick, the troops could not perceive that the wings of the rebel army had considerably spread themselves, and were advancing in a smart trot to surround the town, while the main body remained stationed in the road; so that captain Green, judging from their numbers that all resistance was fruitless, ordered a retreat; and the rebels, who had got before them and lined the walls, kept up a smart fire on them. The retreat was very disorderly; and many of the infantry were overturned by the cavalry, and left exposed to the rebels fire.

An instance of uncommon audacity occurred within a few perches of the town: A rebel captain, with a green sash, rushed out from a by-road on horseback, and accosting the honourable captain James Butler, brother to the earl of Ormond, at the head
of

* Plate I. 8, 9.

of his corps, desired him to surrender, and that he, his men, and the town, should be saved. Captain Butler missing fire at him, the rebel wheeled about, fired without effect, and was shot by a yeoman within a few yards of the rebel army.

The retreat of our troops had not been so precipitate, but that many of the rebels had rushed to the bridge, almost as soon as the soldiers; but with such a confused rapidity did the retreating party gallop into the town, overturning every thing before them, that the rest of our force that was posted on the bridge joined the throng, and fled up the street. A very few of the Waterford and Downshire militia kept their ground on the bridge for a few minutes, killed several rebels, and gave the whole a check. At length they took refuge in four houses which were next to and completely flanked the bridge; and, together with a few loyalists of the town, kept up a warm fire from the houses. The right wing of the rebels forded the river above the town, and, being joined by the traitorous inhabitants, set fire to the suburbs.

The perilous situation of the loyal few in those houses already mentioned, can be better imagined than described; the bridge crowded with rebels, yelling with rage, crying out for blood, and not a soldier to oppose them; the back-houses all on fire. Here, amidst surrounding flames, and to the very breasts of the rebels, might be seen the gallant captain Butler, single and unsupported, riding down the street, within a few yards of the rebels, endeavouring to rally the scattered force, calling them back in words that would animate the dead. Amidst balls thick as hail, twice did he ride up and down the street, with an heroic intrepidity, as laudable as it was unavailing. And now commenced a very sharp, but ill-directed fire from the rebels on the bridge, which was as warmly and more effectually answered from the houses; for three hours and a half this fire

was kept up, and not a rebel was suffered to cross the bridge alive. At length when their ammunition was almost expended, general father Murphy, who had kept aloof from the heat of the action, near the church where they tried their prisoners, sent a black servant of the countess of Ormond, whom they had taken prisoner, to inform those who fired from the houses, "That if they marched out with their hats on the top of their guns, their lives should be saved; that it was in vain to resist any longer, as he expected a reinforcement from Ballyragget immediately." They detained his ambassador for some time, and at length sent the reverend general word, that they would submit if he would by the same messenger send them a written assurance of mercy. This they did to gain time; and soon after they observed the troops from Kilkenny lining the hills, and taking their positions to attack the rebels. General sir Charles Asgill, with nine hundred men, went to their relief, and a few rounds of grape-shot soon dislodged the rebels, who retreated the way they came, in a slow pace, and in an irregular manner.

When sir Charles arrived near the town, he sent a detachment of the Wexford, under lieutenant colonel Ram, (which were soon joined by the grenadiers of the Wicklow) and a party of cavalry, to take post on a bridge contiguous to it, and on the Doonane side of it; and after firing a few rounds of grape into Castlecomer, they marched into it. At that time the rebels, a few stragglers excepted, had abandoned it; but two of them, who remained under the bridge, fired up the street several times, and wounded two of the Wicklow regiment. Lady Ormond's mansion, and several other houses in the town were then in a blaze; and the heat was so great, that the bombardier of the Wicklow regiment requested that sir Charles would change his position, as he was afraid that the guns might go off; upon which

which he took post on an eminence which commanded the town.

The family of Mr. Kane, agent to lady Ormond, had been in a deplorable state. The females had been prisoners in their own house, which the rebels locked up and set on fire; and they retired to the cellar to avoid the flames, but the troops arrived and liberated them before it was consumed. They had previously taken Mr. Kane prisoner, and carried him before father Murphy, who continued in the body of the church, trying, as orangemen, such protestants as they had taken prisoners; and two of whom they massacred before sir Charles arrived. He tried and would have had Mr. Kane put to death as an orangeman, but that some poor women of the colliery, by their tears and entreaties (as he is a gentleman of great humanity) prevailed on the reverend general to let him escape.

Sir Charles, having taken an elevated position, posted his guns so as to rake the woods, in which he killed a good many of the rebels; who composed the rear guard of the main body, at that time two miles out of the town, and supposed to be between six and seven thousand men.

As sir Charles Asgill returned to Kilkenny without leaving a soldier in Castlecomer, the protestants were obliged to desert their houses, and leave them and their property to the mercy of those, of whom they soon found they had formed but too just suspicions. To remain in the town, without military protection or ammunition, would surely have been madness; for at the time of the general's orders to return, the rear of the rebel army was still in view.

I shall not attempt, for I could not describe, the heart-breaking sight of all the protestants quitting their homes. The whole road, from Castlecomer to Kilkenny, was one continued and melancholy train of fugitives, men, women and children, who but a few hours before were possessed of peace and comfort,

now outcasts from their houses, seeking an asylum among strangers, from the merciless hands of their popish neighbours. That evening the rebels of the town burned every loyalist's house; for, infuriate with the plunder of lady Ormond's cellar, they committed every excess. From Sunday to Thursday those savages rioted in the pillage of the town, when at length sir Charles Asgill, on the twenty-eighth of June, sent a party of the Glengarry fencibles and the Fassaghdieneen cavalry, who surprised them in the midst of their excesses, killed about twenty-four, and took several prisoners, from whose confession it appeared, that a party of Castlecomer rebels, all Roman catholics, had gone to meet the Wexford army on Friday the twenty-second, and induced them to come on to attack it. Most of these have since been hanged or transported.

It would be tedious to mention the several instances of atrocity which occurred at that time in Castlecomer and its vicinity: I shall, however, subjoin a few undoubted facts, which are well known.

On Sunday morning the twenty-fourth of June, James Anderfon, who was a vidette in the colliery, was met by the advanced guard of the rebels, as he was returning from his watch, not suspecting that the rebels were in the neighbourhood. They asked him if he was a *christian*; on answering that he was, they desired him to *bless himself* as a proof of it. This he could not do; they then dragged him into a house on the road side, drove a pike through him, under his arms, raised him up from the ground on their pikes, and stabbing him under the ear, bled him like a pig, in a crock which had milk in it. He was a quiet, inoffensive man. He was not an orangeman, but, what was the same in the eyes of the rebels, a protestant.

An instance occurred, which very strongly marks the designs and sentiments of the rebels: A poor man, of the name of Coogan, was pursued by a party

party of rebels through lady Ormond's plantation; he was overtaken, and most miserably mangled with pikes; when almost expiring, he begged of them to send for the priest. They cursed him for a stupid vagabond, that he did not tell them at first that he was a christian,* and they would not have used him so. This poor man luckily survived to tell the story.

Arthur Williams, a quiet industrious tradesman, was taken prisoner in Mr. Kane's house in Castlecomer, was brought to the church, and there was on the point of being shot, when the army appearing in view, they took him with them to Wolf's-hill, where his distracted wife followed him, and endeavoured to have him saved by the interference of a rebel captain; but as father Murphy was not then on the spot, he could not be released.

The Downshire militia from Maryborough appearing at a distance, the whole rebel army moved off about seven o'clock in the evening (Sunday) to Doonane, and thence to the Ridge, bringing Williams along with them. Here they put him on his knees, and in the act of prayer, they run him through with pikes, and then shot his face almost off. This happened on Monday morning; his wife could not find him till Saturday after, when she discovered him in a lonely part of the mountain, two miles off the road, so disfigured, that she could scarcely recognise him: He was not an orange-man.

Two men, of the name of Conn and Salter, having taken refuge in Castlecomer the night before the attack, brought their families with them. In the bustle and confusion of the engagement they were separated from their wives and children: When the action was over, anxiously looking for their families, they met a man who had been a servant for many years to the former (Conn), who told

* Meaning thereby a papist.

told them that he would shew them where their wives and children were; when bringing them about two miles from the town, collecting near twenty rebels, and snatching a gun from his old master's hand, he shot him almost in the presence of his wife, and then they piked both him and Salter: They buried them immediately; the latter not quite dead: They then took the bodies up, scooped out Salter's eyes, and buried them in a place where they could never since be found.

William Bradley, his daughter Catherine Nesbitt, and nephew, David Leycock, going from their house on Wednesday the twenty-seventh of June across the hills, in order to reach Kilkenny, were pursued by a party of Castlecomer rebels, robbed and barbarously murdered: The woman was pregnant.

Their bodies were not discovered until the Christmas after. Neither Bradley nor Leycock were orangemen.

The county of Wexford rebels, after having burned Castlecomer, encamped within four miles of Athy, intending to attack it next morning, and thence to have joined Doorly, the traitorous yeoman and assassin of Rathangan, and William Aylmer, at Prosperous.

General Dunn, at that time quartered at Monastereven, hearing the perilous situation of Athy,* with that spirit which he displayed on all occasions, flew to its assistance, with a six-pounder and one hundred of the city of Cork militia. His arrival gave such spirit to the yeomanry, that they only wished to be led against their enemies. The general selected one hundred of the yeomen, in addition to the city of Cork detachment, and conscious of the goodness of his cause, at twelve o'clock at night marched to the attack of the rebel camp. His intentions were frustrated, as the moment he arrived at Athy, the reverend Mr. K——, a popish priest, was

was seen posting to the rebel camp with great expedition, to inform them of the intended attack.

When the general arrived there, he found it had been deserted at an early hour in the night, and that they had retraced their steps. He pursued them for many miles without any success, except that in flying from him, they fell into the tract of the gallant major Mathews of the Downshire, who, with four hundred men, pursued them; and having apprised sir Charles Asgill of it, he joined in the pursuit, overtook them at Kilcomney, near Gore's-bridge, and completely defeated them.

A body of troops having marched from Maryborough, on the twenty-fourth of June, by order of sir Charles Asgill, for the purpose of co-operating with him, proceeded towards the collieries of Castle-comer and Doonane, and on the road they saw Castle-comer on fire, after sir Charles Asgill had retreated from it to Kilkenny; they consisted of four hundred of the Royal Downshire militia, commanded by major Mathews, captain Poole, with the Ballyfin yeomen cavalry, and captain Gore, with the Maryborough corps.

As soon as they arrived at Moyad, they saw the rebels under father Murphy in great force, on the high grounds above Doonane. As it was late in the day, they resolved on retiring to Timahoe, and to attack them early next morning. Soon after they received an express from sir Charles Asgill, desiring them to return to Maryborough; but they answered, by proposing to him to attack the rebels next morning on the Doonane side, and that they would attack them on the road from Timahoe in the opposite direction: Sir Charles answered them next morning, at seven o'clock, by saying that his troops were too much fatigued to co-operate with them, but that they might engage the rebels, should circumstances prove favourable for that purpose.

They

They then returned to Moyad, with an intention of attacking the rebels next day; but the cavalry, who were sent out to reconnoitre, having brought intelligence that the rebels had retreated to the bridge of Old Leighlin, they again pursued them, but were disappointed in their design of bringing them to action, as they had marched to Gore's-bridge. The cavalry having proceeded to Old Leighlin,* captain Poole sent an express to sir Charles Apgill of the enemy's motions, and of their intention of attacking them the first opportunity that offered. At Old Leighlin they met Mr. Vigors, an active and intelligent officer, who had retired from the service; and he supplied them with a number of cars to carry their men, as some of them were overcome with hunger and excess of fatigue; and he also accompanied them to the scene of action, giving them at the same time his advice, and every assistance in his power.

About twelve o'clock at night they arrived at Leighlin-bridge, and in two hours after received an express from sir Charles Apgill, desiring them to meet him at Gore's bridge, at five o'clock in the morning. They instantly marched in pursuit of the rebels; but soon after, major Mathews, having received intelligence that they had bent their course towards the mountains, changed his route for the purpose of intercepting them; and sent intelligence of his design to sir Charles Apgill, by Mr. Moore, collector of Leighlin, who, with his brother, Mr. Pierce Moore, attended them, and to whose advice and assistance major Mathews attributed their having intercepted and overtaken the enemy.

After a march of three hours, they came in sight of the rebels posted on Kilcomney-hill, near Gore's-bridge,† and fired some cannon shot at them, on which they retired about a mile and a half, to form their

their line. Our troops followed them in column, with the cannon in front, and the cavalry in the rear. They no sooner formed, than they heard sir Charles Asgill's cannon on the other side of the hill. After a few discharges of our artillery, the rebels were broken and fled, and our troops continued to pursue them for six miles with great slaughter.

All their cannon, baggage, horses, stores and provisions, fell into our hands, and some unfortunate soldiers and protestants, who happened to be their prisoners, were retaken. The remainder of the rebels fled into the county of Wexford, through the Scullagh-gap.

Father John Murphy, a priest, who acted as aid-de-camp to the great sacerdotal hero, John Murphy, of Boulavogue, and who had accompanied him from Vinegar-hill, fell in this action. He had a dove and a crucifix on his buttons; and letters directed to him were found in his pocket, recommending to him proper places for encamping.

Father John Murphy, the commander in chief, who fled from the field of battle, was taken at an alehouse by three yeomen, one of them of the name of Mc. Cabe, and was led a prisoner to Tullow, † the head-quarters of sir James Duff. He was introduced into a room where the general, his aid-de-camps, colonels Foster and Pigot, the earl of Roden, captain Mc. Clintock, and in all about twenty officers were sitting. Major Hall having asked him some questions which gave him offence, he in a violent rage made a blow of his fist at the major, which would have knocked him down, but that he warded it off with his arm, on which he received a severe contusion. On searching him, they found in his pockets his vestments, and some letters from Mrs. Richards and other ladies, prisoners at Wexford, imploring him to save the lives of their husbands and relations. He

was

was hanged on the same day. His body was burnt, and his head was fixed on the market-house of Tullow. He was about forty-five years old, light complexioned, bald pated, and about five feet nine inches high : He was well made, uniting strength and agility : He was irascible, and, when in a passion, had somewhat the aspect of a tiger. His pix, his oil-stock, and a small crucifix were found in his pocket.

In order to do away in some degree the stain which his infamous conduct might bring on the Irish priesthood, it has been sedulously propagated that he was excommunicated ; but this is absolutely false, for he continued to exercise his clerical function, and was regarded as a pious and learned priest, till the breaking-out of the rebellion ; when,

“ He did so ill translate himself,
 “ Out of the speech of peace that bears such grace,
 “ Into the harsh and boisterous tongue of war,
 “ Turning his books to glaives, his ink to blood,
 “ His pens to lances ; and his tongue divine
 “ To a loud trumpet, and a point of war.”

SHAKSPEARE.

It is no less singular than true, that the lower class of Irish papists never think that their priests can suffer any stain or contamination from the commission of crimes, how heinous soever ; just as Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego remained uninjured from the flames.

Father Nicholas Sheehy is added to the bead-roll of their saints ; and I need not give any other proof of the reverence in which the memory of that famous sacerdotal hero, John Murphy, is held, than the following :

A piece of superstitious trumpery is now printed by William Jones, No. 75, Thomas-street, Dublin, entitled, “ Revelations revealed to saint Augustine, saint Bridget, and saint Anne, by our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.” The second part of it is said to explain the twelve golden Fridays in the year ;
 and

and the devotions, together with some solitary acts, by the late reverend father John Murphy, D. D. In this he points out the number of paters and aves that are to be said each golden Friday, and on certain holy days ; and it is stated in it, " That what man or woman soever shall carry it about them, shall be not only free from our enemies, but also from a sudden and unprovided death ; and if any woman travailing with child, shall wear it about her, she shall be not only safely delivered, but likewise be free from the fear of death in child-bed ; and what house or place it is kept in, shall be free from evil spirits. To him or her who shall carry it about them, the blessed Virgin shall appear to forewarn them of their future blessed state : The devil shall have no power over them at their last hour : They shall see our blessed Saviour nailed to the cross, (in the same manner as he suffered for our redemption,) before their death."

This curious piece is in the hands of the popish multitude in the county of Wexford, who regard this church-militant hero as a martyr in the cause of French republican liberty and religion.

EXPLANATION

EXPLANATION OF THE PLATE.

- No. 1. Where the rebel columns from Ballyclare and Templepatrick joined.
2. The rebels in close column with a six-pounder in front, when the curricule guns under lieutenant Neville opened their fire on them.
3. Lieutenant Neville, with two six-pounders, flanked by the yeomanry and dragoons under colonel Lumley firing on the rebels.
4. Colonel Lumley charging the rebels after passing the church-yard:
5. The church-yard lined with rebels, who are represented by the dotted lines, firing on the dragoons, charging as they passed, and among whom they did great execution.
6. The guns under lieutenant Neville, after retreating from No. 3, firing on the second column of the rebels advancing up Bow-lane.
7. The second rebel column.
8. The dragoons, after charging, drawn up under the dead wall of lord Massareene's garden, and covered on their left flank by a demi bastion.
9. The yeomanry firing over the wall on the rebels who attempted to get possession of the guns at No. 6, after the artillery had abandoned them, and the dragoons had retreated across the river.
10. The watering-place over which the dragoons retreated.
11. The entrance to lord Massareene's court: The dotted lines from it represent the road the yeomanry retreated to take post in the garden where they could only be attacked by the narrow walk through which they got in.
12. Lord Massareene's castle.
13. Lord Massareene's domain.
14. Lord Massareene's walled garden.
15. The Six-mile water.
16. Colonel Durham with the Monaghan militia, and captain Coulson of the artillery, firing on the rebels retreating by the Ballymena road.
17. The light battalion from Blaris camp under colonel Clavering drawn up.
18. Distillery.
19. Barracks.
20. Doctor Macartney's.
21. Flour-mills.
22. Market-house with the prisoners.
23. Little guard-house, behind which lord O'Neil was killed.
24. The rebel column under colonel Orr.

THE

THE BATTLE OF ANTRIM.

The conspiracy had been more alarming in the north than in any other part of the kingdom, as numbers of presbyterians concerned in it there had more improved intellects, more courage, and knew better the use of arms, than the inhabitants of Leinster and Munster ; but the conciliatory measures used by government had detached numbers from the union, and the salutary coercion used by the general officers in disarming the multitude, abated the spirit of the conspirators, by diminishing their hopes of success.

For these reasons we may suppose, the conspiracy did not break out in the North for some days after it explored in the province of Leinster. Though the detention of the mail coaches had been the signal for a general insurrection, the presbyterians, wary and cautious, hesitated to rise, till they had heard that their friends in the south were actually in arms, and yet had made preparations for that purpose ; but in Leinster, the war being purely religious, and the people being blinded by fanaticism and impelled by the irresistible influence of their priests, rushed into action on the night of the twenty-third of May, appointed for the general rising.

Lord O'Neil, who resided at Shane's-castle in the county of Antrim, having received certain intelligence that an insurrection was shortly intended, as governor of the county, summoned by publick notice the magistrates of it, to meet at Antrim, on the seventh of June, 1798, for the purpose of concerting measures to prevent it. To counteract his design, the leaders of the conspiracy resolved to bring forward the rising on that day, to attack the town of Antrim, to seize his lordship and the magistrates, and to keep them as hostages ; and they intended at the same time to have seized a quantity of
arms

arms surrendered at different times, which were deposited in that town.

General Nugent, having received intelligence of their intentions, sent orders to Blaris camp for the second light battalion, consisting of the 64th regiment, and the light companies of the Kerry, Dublin, Tipperary, Armagh, and Monaghan militia, and one hundred and fifty of the 22d light dragoons, with two curricule six-pounders, and two five and a half inch howitzers, to march to Antrim with all possible dispatch ; and two hundred and fifty of the Monaghan militia, a troop of the 22d light dragoons, and the Belfast cavalry, under the command of colonel Durham, to march to Antrim, by Carmoney and Templepatrick ; and the light battalion from Blaris, commanded by colonel Clavering, and the dragoons by the honourable colonel Lumley. He also dispatched orderly serjeants to major Seddon at Antrim, to inform him of the intended attack, and of the reinforcements which were going to his assistance.

The orderlies arrived at Antrim at nine o'clock, but did not perceive any extraordinary movement in the country, or any indication of insurrection. However, the drums immediately beat to arms, the yeomanry assembled in a short time, and the inhabitants of the town were called on to turn out in its defence. In sending the summonses through the town, it was discovered that all the notorious united Irishmen had left it early in the morning, which convinced major Seddon that general Nugent's information was well founded. Of four hundred men, capable of bearing arms, two hundred turned out on the occasion ; but they could be supplied with no more than eighty stand of arms, as there were no more serviceable ; and there was so great a scarcity of ammunition, that after borrowing eight hundred rounds from major Seddon, the yeomanry had but twelve rounds a man, and those who volunteered but five.

About

About ten o'clock, many persons came in from different parts of the country, with intelligence that the rebels were forcing great numbers to join them, and that the mass of the people were in motion.

At twelve o'clock, James Stewart Moore, esquire, captain of the Dunscoverick cavalry, and Mr. Gamble, lieutenant of the same, with fifteen men, came into Antrim from Ballymena, after having cut their way through about two hundred rebels near Kells : Both these gentlemen were magistrates.

Lord O'Neil slept at Hillsborough the night of the sixth of June, on his way from Dublin to Antrim, and passed through Lisburn at ten o'clock in the morning of the seventh, without being known, and got to Antrim at half past twelve. He did not perceive any movement in the country, though his servants, who were about ten minutes after him, were robbed of their arms by the rebels. Had lord O'Neil been known in Lisburn, he would have been prevented from proceeding, as general Nugent had sent orders to have the intended rising communicated to all the magistrates in that neighbourhood, and to prevent them from going to Antrim.

The plan of the rebels was, to advance with four columns, one from the district between Antrim and Belfast, and to enter the town by the Belfast road ; * the second from Ballynure, Ballyclare and Doagh, to enter by the Carrickfergus road, and join the Belfast column at the end of the Scotch quarter ; a third from Connor, Kells, and Ballymena, and to enter it by Paty's-lane ; a fourth from Shane's-caste, Randalstown, and Dunoilty, to enter by Bow-lane. The three first columns were to make their attack at half past two o'clock ; and at the same moment, the fourth, under the command of colonel Samuel Orr, brother to the famous William Orr, was to make its attack

attack a few minutes after. The two first columns reached the end of the Scots quarter, just as the advanced guard of our second battalion was coming over the bridge from Lisburn, which is at right angles with the main street, and nearly the centre of the town.

The advanced guard was commanded by the honourable colonel Lumley, and consisted of one hundred of the 22d light dragoons, and two curriple guns, which opened with case shot from the centre of the main street, opposite the bridge, and were flanked by the yeomanry. The cavalry were drawn up in the rear.

The town of Antrim is nearly a mile long, and that space from the Scots quarter to the market-house, is about two-thirds of its length, and nearly a straight line. The main street is a continuation of the Scots quarter, and is at right angles with the wall of lord Massareene's garden, which is about forty yards from the market-house, and lies nearly in the centre of the street. The wall of the garden completely commands the main street, and the entrance to the market-house, which is a square building, supported by stone pillars, and very difficult to set fire to. The guard-house was there, and a number of prisoners confined in it. There was a second wall at right angles with the garden wall, which flanks it, and commands Bow-lane. The two walls are joined with each other, and with one part of an old fortification. The wall is about fifteen feet high towards the street, and being but four feet high on the garden side, forms a good parapet or breast-work. The church is about half way between the market-house and the end of the Scots quarter. It is built on a rising ground, and is surrounded by a wall, which is about eight feet high towards the street, and four on the inside. The church is nearly in a line with the houses on one side of the Scots quarter, and part of the wall is parallel to the houses
at

at the opposite side, and the distance between it and the houses is about twelve yards.

The church is about seventy yards from Massareene-bridge, where the guns began to play on the rebels, who were at that time about seventy yards above the church, advancing from the upper part of the Scots quarter, in a close column of about twenty-two in front, and about four thousand strong. Their front was composed of about eight hundred musketeers, who were excellent marksmen. Whenever they came within sight of the dragoons and yeomanry, they commenced street-firing, and by the time they came within one hundred and fifty yards of the army, they filed to the rear. Their six-pounder * was then in front, with which they fired two rounds of grape shot, and did great execution, having killed and wounded three yeomen, two artillery men, and four or five dragoons. The recoil of the second shot disabled the gun so much, that they could not fire any more. The case shot from our curriple guns did such great execution, that the rebels perceived they could not advance without immense loss. However, their musketeers pressed on, and got possession of the church-yard, from whence they maintained a heavy fire.

The greater part of the pikemen went across the fields, and formed in Bow-lane, to take our army in the rear, which, being perceived, the gunners were ordered to retreat under lord Massareene's wall, where the guns could play on the rebels advancing up that lane; and at the same time the dragoons were ordered to charge, in order to cover the retreat

VOL. II.

H

of

* They brought this gun from Temple-patrick, where they had it, and another brass six-pounder, concealed under one of the seats of the dissenting meeting-house. They cut a tree, of which they made a trail, and they mounted the gun on the wheels of Mr. M'Vickar's carriage, lord Templeton's agent, and had wedges to elevate and depress it. It was formerly attached to the Belfast volunteers, but lay concealed for six years. They had originally eight, which also lay concealed, but six of them were discovered by general Nugent about a week before.

of the guns ; but before they could reach the rebel column, they had to pass the church-yard, within four or five yards of the rebel musketry, planted in security behind the wall. About eighty dragoons, headed by the honourable colonel Lumley, having made the charge, near twenty of them were killed and wounded. However, they bravely cut their way through, totally broke the rebel column, returned and renewed the charge by the church-yard wall, after leaving seventeen men dead in the street, about thirty wounded, and forty horses killed, all in the space of about two minutes. The officers who made that charge, were colonel Lumley, major Seddon, captain Baker, cornet Dunn, cornet Reid, and Mr. Gamble of the yeomanry, of which, cornet Dunn and Mr. Gamble were killed ; the former shot through the heart, the latter had his horse shot under him, and was afterwards perforated with pikes. Colonel Lumley, major Seddon, and cornet Reid, were wounded ; the two latter with pikes. The former was shot through the ankle bone. Quarter-master Simpson was likewise killed. The yeomanry retreated, and took possession of lord Massareene's garden, from whence they could command the main street and Bow-lane, and in some degree protect the guns, which were under the wall along with the dragoons. Lord O'Neil and the reverend doctor Macartney, of Antrim, had remained in the street, with a party of dragoons, during the whole of the action.

When the rebels came within the range of the case shot in Bow-lane, they were warmly received. However, they continued to advance with great intrepidity ; on which, colonel Lumley, who was wounded, seeing the loss he had sustained in the charge, ordered a retreat, and the guns to be abandoned. He then retreated across the river, and proceeding by the shore of the lake, to the Lisburn road, joined the second battalion of our troops who were within

within two miles of the town. Lord O'Neil's horse having been wounded, became restive and refused to advance. Doctor Macartney staid with him a considerable time, after the dragoons had retreated, endeavouring to get him to proceed with him ; but finding it impossible, he galloped his horse through the rebels ; and being unable to overtake the dragoons, he joined Mr. Staples, member for the county, and got with him into a boat, rowed across to the county of Tyrone, and informed general Knox, at Dungannon, of the events which had taken place at Antrim, and of which he had been ignorant until that very moment. The general immediately assembled all the yeomanry of the country, marched to Toome with one thousand five hundred of them, and prevented the county of Derry rebels from rising, and joining the other insurgents.

Lord O'Neil, while endeavouring to get his horse forward, was knocked down by a pikeman, and then mortally wounded, within thirty yards of the yeomanry behind the wall. His lordship shot one of the men who attacked him, and the yeomanry two more ; but the man who had given him the mortal wound escaped.

On the retreat of the dragoons, the rebels, flushed with success, rushed on with a horrid yell, and seized the curricule guns ; but every man of that party was killed by the yeomen, and the remainder retreated into the houses and by-lanes of the town. On that, Mr. John Macartney, * lieutenant of the Antrim yeomanry, assisted by his brother, Mr. Arthur Macartney,

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cartney,

* At that time this young gentleman was little more than sixteen years old, and his brother was but in his eighteenth year. The courage and the loyalty of these amiable gentlemen render them an honour to their parents and their country. Mr. Arthur Macartney displayed great spirit and patriotism, in detecting and opposing the base designs of some traitors who had insinuated themselves into the university of Dublin. Their father, the reverend doctor Macartney, a gentleman highly respectable, was the first person

cartney, lieutenant of the Royal Irish Artillery, who volunteered on the occasion, made a sally from the garden, with twenty of the Antrim corps, and drew up, in the midst of the rebel fire, the guns and the ammunition cart; and having planted them on the garden wall, they dislodged the rebels by a few discharges of round shot; however, they assembled again in several places round the town, to renew the attack; but colonel Orr, frightened on hearing the cannon, marched his column, which was one thousand five hundred strong, back to Randalstown.

Before the rebels had arranged matters for a second attack, the reinforcement from Blaris and Belfast arrived, on which they fled in all directions. But a great many of them were killed by the dragoons and the light companies of the Armagh and Monaghan militia, who were detached across the fields to cut off stragglers. Colonel Durham on arriving over the town, was informed that the rebels were in possession of it; and therefore opened his guns on it with round shot, and was on the point of doing much mischief before he found his mistake. The rebels left about one hundred and fifty dead in the town, and nearly two hundred were killed in the pursuit, in which lieutenant Murphy of the dragoons was severely wounded with a pike.

It has been since discovered, that a considerable number of rebels had got into the town previous to the action, in small parties, through lanes and the back doors of the houses. About one o'clock, and before the rebels arrived, several pikes were discovered in a garden in the Scots quarter: in consequence of which, the house to which the garden belonged was set on fire, and the flames communicated to seven more, which were consumed. The rebels having
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person who gave any important information to government on the alarming state of the conspiracy in the North. It consists of papers inserted in the report of the secret committee of the house of commons, under the head of papers seized by a magistrate in a distant part of the county of Antrim.

ing perceived the fire as they were marching towards the town, halted for near half an hour, doubtful if they should make the attack, not knowing the real cause of the fire. During that delay, there arose a dispute among the Roman catholicks and protestants of Orr's column; the former insisting on putting the orangemen in Antrim to death, but were opposed by the latter, who declared they would not consent to any act of cruelty.

The attack upon Antrim was made a quarter before three o'clock. The reinforcements arrived at four. If the rebels had not halted on seeing the fire, they would have been in Antrim before colonel Lumley arrived: and of course would have taken the town.

Nearly one half of those who joined the rebel force which attacked Antrim were compelled to do so by terror. In their flight they left behind them about three thousand pikes and muskets; and as they could not mount the two six-pounders at Templepatrick, they fell into the hands of our army on the ninth of June.

The rebels attacked Randalstown at half past one on the seventh of June, and got possession of the lower part of the market-house, in which there were fifty of the Toome yeomanry, and set fire to it; on which they surrendered, and were taken out of the windows by ladders.

Colonel Clavering and colonel Durham marched to Shane's-castle the evening of the seventh. The rebels evacuated Randalstown at ten that night, and marched to Toome, where they remained two days; and on seeing general Knox advancing towards them, they broke down the bridge to prevent him from crossing the Bann. The rebels went from Antrim* to Ballymena and Donegore hill, where they remained till Monday the eleventh, when colonel Clavering granted them an amnesty, on surrendering their

* Plate I. 3.

their arms, and promising to return to their allegiance. The rebels posted at Ballymena, said to be ten thousand strong, attacked Larne on the morning of the seventh, but were repulsed by a detachment of the Tay fencibles, aided by the yeomanry, and the loyal inhabitants.

The death of lord O'Neil was universally and deservedly lamented, as he possessed in a very eminent degree every good and amiable quality. He was generous and humane, warm and steady in friendship, and so mild and beneficent, that he was ever ready to forgive injuries. He had such innate goodness and philanthropy, that he could scarce be induced to think ill of others; and he had such fine feelings, that he never heard a tale of woe without sympathising with the sufferer, and wishing to administer to his relief. It might be truly said, that,

“ He had a tear for pity, and a hand

“ Open as day for melting charity.”

After the battle of Antrim, the rebels collected in considerable force at Toome-bridge, one arch of which they broke down. The inhabitants of a district of the county of Antrim called the Montagues, most of whom are Roman Catholicks, were observed to employ a number of fishing boats in conveying men across the lake towards Toome.

The orangemen in the neighbourhood took a favourable opportunity of seizing the boats, which they brought up the Lagan navigation; and having communicated what they had done to general Goldie, commanding at Lisburn, and requested his instructions respecting the boats, he warmly applauded their spirit and activity in performing this important service, though unprovided with arms, and ordered them to be destroyed, to prevent any communication by the lake between the rebels in the counties of Antrim and Derry.

BATTLES

BATTLES OF SAINTFIELD AND BALLYNAHINCH.

As a report prevailed on the ninth of June, that there was a rising at Newtownards* in the county of Down, colonel Stapleton marched with a detachment of the York fencibles, and some yeomen cavalry and infantry, and two pieces of cannon, towards Saintfield, and was informed between Comber and that town, that there was no appearance whatever of a rising. The main body of the rebels lay in ambush, in a hollow way, through which he was to pass, within a quarter of a mile of Saintfield. The hedges on each side were very high and numerous, and the rebels, who were concealed behind them and in some plantations, having suffered the principal part of colonel Stapleton's party to pass un molested, opened a very heavy fire on their rear, consisting of the yeomen cavalry, whom they threw into confusion, as they were exposed to the enemy in a narrow road, where they could not deploy, or make any movement for their defence. The reverend Mr. Mortimer, vicar of Portaferry, his nephew, and seven or eight yeomen, who had just joined them, were instantly killed. Those who attempted to cross into the fields to form, were butchered with pikes. At last, colonel Stapleton, with the most cool intrepidity, dismounted, went into the fields, and formed the grenadiers there. Captain Chetwynd, lieutenant Unit and ensign Sparks, in attempting to follow him, were killed. Colonel Stapleton, having attacked the insurgents with the grenadiers and the cannon which he brought to bear upon them, repulsed and killed three hundred and fifty of them.

The rebels having retreated towards Newtownards attacked, next day, a small party, consisting mostly of invalids and old men, who were posted in the market-

market-house there, to guard a quantity of baggage and ammunition, and who repulsed them; but, expecting next day to be attacked by a much larger party, they capitulated, evacuated the town, and marched to Belfast, eight miles off.

The rebels, flushed with their success, and with the acquisition of a considerable quantity of ammunition, formed a committee, and having laid a plan for their future operations, sent a horseman round the country, to summon their friends, and by force compelled those to join them who shewed an unwillingness to do so.

In consequence of this, a large body having assembled, they, on Sunday, entered the town of Bangor, where they compelled great numbers to join them, and plundered Mr. Ward's house of arms. The reverend James Clewlow, with laudable fortitude, and in the most pathetick manner, represented to them the fatal consequences of their conduct, and advised them to lay down their arms; but could not succeed. They then repaired to a hill near Newtownards, where, having disagreed, the Bangor people quitted them, returned and restored Mr. Ward's arms to Mr. Clewlow, in hopes of his getting for them a protection from general Nugent; to obtain which, he repaired to Belfast; but before he could return, two presbyterian clergymen, messieurs Townsend and Hull, abused them as cowards and traitors to their cause, compelled them to re-assume their arms, and marched them to a hill called Scrabo, near Newtown, and thence to Saintfield, where they took possession of the houses of messieurs Price and Clewlow, which they plundered. They sent a party from Saintfield to the house of one Mc. Kee, a farmer in the neighbourhood, and having set fire to it, he and his whole family perished in the flames. He was obnoxious to them, because he had prosecuted some United Irishmen. He, at first, with very great bravery, beat off a party of about twenty, but was
over-

overpowered by a large reinforcement. Though old, he displayed great spirit, having been seen firing at them in the midst of the flames.

A numerous body of rebels kept possession of Saintfield, till Monday the eleventh of June, when they marched to Ballynahinch, and joined the main body, who were posted in what they called a camp, on the lawn before lord Moira's house, which was a favourable position, on a commanding eminence, and skirted with thick wood. The commander in chief was general Henry Munroe, a linen-draper, and an inhabitant of Lisburn, who had been formerly adjutant to a volunteer company, and acquired some reputation for military knowledge.

On the morning of the twelfth of June, general Nugent marched against them from Belfast, with the Monaghan regiment of militia, part of the 22d dragoons, and some yeomen infantry and cavalry; and was joined by lieutenant-colonel Stewart, near Ballynahinch, with his party from Downpatrick, making in all about one thousand five hundred men. Information having been received at the rebel camp, that general Nugent was on his march to attack them, a party of five hundred was detached by Munroe, under the command of one Johnson, to annoy the general, and retard his progress. They advanced near four miles to Creevy-rocks, at the Ballynahinch side of Saintfield, but were dispersed by the flanking parties of the army, and did not return to their friends at Ballynahinch.

A numerous body of the rebels were posted on the Windmill-hill, about a quarter of a mile from the town, but were soon driven from their position by the discharge of the artillery, and joined the camp at lord Moira's house. On that occasion, one M'Culloch, a rebel colonel, was taken prisoner, and immediately hanged. General Nugent and his party then occupied the Windmill-hill, where he halted
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that night, and made proper dispositions for attacking them next morning.

A council was held in the rebel camp, in which the expediency of an immediate attack was debated with some warmth. Munroe advised them to wait till morning, and his recommendation ultimately prevailed.

Between two and three o'clock on the morning of the thirteenth, colonel Leslie and the Monaghan militia marched into the town, and were vigorously attacked by a detachment of the rebels, and obliged to fall back. They, however, immediately rallied, and repulsed them with considerable slaughter. The rebels were so furious in their charge as to lay their hands on the carriages of the battalion guns, and some of them were almost burnt to a coal by their explosion.

The detachment under lieutenant general Stewart, consisting of a part of the Argyleshire fencibles, and some of the 22d dragoons, and some yeomanry corps, were likewise attacked; but they defeated the rebels, and killed a great number of them. The dispersion now became general, and though the retreat was made in a confused and irregular manner, it was much favoured by the woods and the nature of the country, which prevented the cavalry from any long or effectual pursuit. Near five hundred rebels are said to have been killed. The town of Ballynahinch was burned by the military.

Munroe fled towards the mountains without any guard or escort, and was afterwards accidentally discovered and taken by three orangemen, as he lay concealed in a potatoe furrow, under some litter, in an open field, about six miles from Ballynahinch. He offered them forty guineas to let him escape; but the loyalty of his captors was not to be corrupted. They brought him to Hillsborough, together with a young man of the name of Kane, taken with him in the same furrow, and who was formerly employed as a clerk in the office of the Belfast Northern Star.

They were sent under a guard to Lisburn, where Munroe was tried by a court-martial, and executed opposite to his own door. His head was fixed on a pike, and placed on the market-house. Just before he was suspended, he said that he wished to settle an account with a neighbour, to whom he was indebted. He accordingly got a pen and ink, and adjusted it with all the coolness of deliberation.

The rebel army at Ballynahinch chiefly consisted of presbyterians, and other denominations of protestant dissenters, with few, if any, Roman catholics, as 2000 of them deserted the night before the battle, * which inflamed the presbyterians very much against them.

On the night of the ninth, and the morning of the tenth, the insurrection from Newtownards to Portaferry was general; and a body of rebels, to the number of one thousand, attacked the latter about four o'clock in the afternoon. They were said to be chiefly under the direction of one Warwick, a presbyterian probationer, since hanged; and they were headed by one Mc. Mullin, of Portaferry, a shopkeeper, and two farmers in its vicinity. The town was gallantly defended by that brave veteran, captain Charles Mathews, and the Portaferry yeomanry, who took post in the market-house, and converted it into a garrison.

Captain Mathews having received intelligence in the morning that the town was to be attacked, had the arches of the building filled up with a dry temporary wall, to prevent the rebels from setting fire to the loft, which their leaders had resolved to do. Captain Hopkins, being in the river, with the revenue cruiser which he commanded, rendered the most important service on the occasion with his guns. The
loft

* They remained about two miles off, on the Seaford road, and could not refrain from expressing their satisfaction that the protestants were mutually destroying each other. These Roman catholics belonged principally to the parish of Loughin-island, and the adjoining country.

loss of the rebels was considerable, while not a single yeoman was hurt. Three volunteer loyalists, who worked two swivels outside the market-house, having no cover, were killed.

The event of this action was of the utmost consequence, for had the rebels succeeded in it, they were to have crossed the lake at Strangford; and the rebels in the barony of Lecale, who were numerous, were to have joined them. * Downpatrick must have fallen, and an immense force, thus prevented, would have increased the army of Ballynahinch.

The boldness and courage which the insurgents in the North displayed during the very short period that the rebellion existed, prove how dangerous and formidable it would have been, but that government very wisely and seasonably averted the horrors of it, partly by conciliatory measures, and partly by coercion; and the dreadful and cold-blooded massacres of protestants perpetrated in the South, having convinced the northern rebels of the cruelty and treachery of their Roman catholick confederates, and that their own destruction would be involved in that of the constitution, detached them from the union, and completely extinguished the flame of rebellion in the North.

Dickey, a rebel leader, who was hanged at Belfast, declared a short time before his execution, that the presbyterians of the North perceived too late, that, if they had succeeded in subverting the constitution, they would ultimately have to contend with the Roman catholicks.

Some respectable gentlemen of the county of Donegal have assured me, that the presbyterians and Roman catholicks of a large and populous district in it, called Fanet, were so jealous and suspicious of each other, as soon as the massacres in the South were known, that they continued for some time watching each other, without going to bed at night ;
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the former dreading the fate of the protestants in Leinster, and the latter fearing that the presbyterians would be revenged of them for the massacre of their brethren. Numbers of presbyterians, who had been united, deserted their associates, joined the yeomanry, and became orangemen.

The judicious disposition and active exertions of lord Henry Murray, under lord Cavan, from Coleraine, in June, 1798, aided by the yeomanry of the town, and the like conduct on the part of colonel Leith, aided by the Londonderry and Beagh corps of cavalry, not only checked the designs of the ill-affected in the country which they occupied, but completely checked the progress of the Antrim rebels, and kept them at the Antrim side of the Bann; all the bridges of that river having been well secured, and the boats drawn on shore to the Derry side by a party of orangemen.

The massacres of the South alarmed and animated many thousand protestants, who suddenly volunteered, armed themselves, and joined general Knox, whose approach from Money more towards Toome convinced the Antrim rebels, that they had no business to quit their own country; and he would have given them a complete overthrow, and have extinguished, for a century, a disposition to rebellion in that county, but that colonel Clavering, who had made terms with them at Ballymena, went express to stop the general's approach. The tranquillity of the county of Armagh is chiefly to be imputed to the zeal and activity of the orangemen.

The amnesty granted to the rebels by colonel Clavering, though it was done with the best intentions, has been condemned by many northern gentlemen of very good sense, as it was said to have fed the flame of rebellion in the county of Antrim for many months after it took place, as much as general Dundas's negotiation did in the county of Kildare.

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It should be remembered with the liveliest sense of gratitude by the loyal subjects of Ireland, that so many regiments of English militia, feeling for their danger and distress, voluntarily offered to go to their relief and assistance; that some of them went there so early as the month of June, 1798, and that no less than thirteen of them arrived there in that year.

It will reflect immortal honour on the marquis of Hertford and the marquis of Buckingham, that the first set the example, and arrived in Dublin early in the month of June, at the head of their respective regiments.

It should also be remembered with gratitude, that our present amiable viceroy, the earl of Hardwicke, volunteered on that occasion, and arrived in Ireland with the Cambridge regiment, which he commands.

THE REBELLION IN THE COUNTIES OF MAYO AND SLIGO.

The gentlemen and landholders in the province of Connaught piqued themselves on the peaceable demeanour, and a respect for the laws, which the lower class of the people there continued to evince, when most other parts of the kingdom were disturbed by the United Irishmen. But it has since appeared, that the mass of the people were universally infected with their malignant doctrines, though they had not broken out into acts of open outrage; for at a provincial committee held at Dungannon,* the fourteenth of September, 1797, it was stated, that the province of Connaught was in a tolerable state of organization; that a great number of United Irishmen had been made there, and more since the proclamation.†

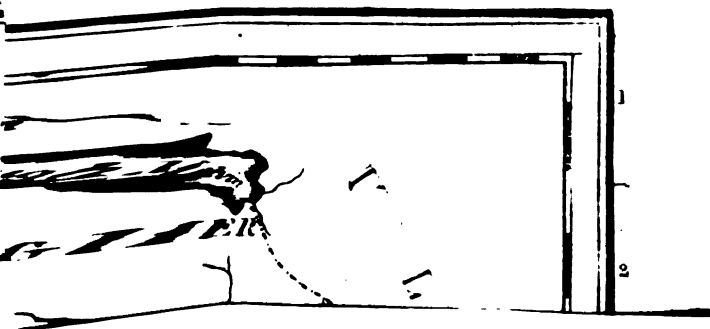
* Report of the secret committee, Appendix, No. XIV.

† This alludes to the proclamation of the seventeenth of May, inviting the people to return to their allegiance, and offering an amnesty to such as should do so; and it proves the contumacy of the traitors in spurning at the benign and conciliating measures of government.

~~These~~ Nearly fatal to the catholics.

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* In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, such prophecies were used during the civil wars, to rouse the people, as may be seen in Spenser, Morrison, Temple, Laurence, and Harris.



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In the beginning of the year 1798, a number of fugitive families arrived in the counties of Mayo and Sligo, from the north of Ireland; who, as they alleged, sought for protection from the orangemen, who were persecuting them on account of their religion. They were all Roman catholicks, and from their appearance of decency and industry, the plausibility with which they represented their sufferings, and the knowledge which they possessed of the linen manufacture, they readily obtained an asylum from the gentlemen of the country, and were considered as a great acquisition to it. They had also an apparent solemnity and sincerity in their manners, and shewed such attention to the duties of their religion, as not only procured them the esteem of persons of their own persuasion, but excited the pity of protestants, who considered them as an innocent and persecuted people.

This was the general idea entertained of them; but some gentlemen, who conceived that their improper conduct must have been the cause of their alleged persecution and expulsion, were not inclined to encourage or protect them. Nevertheless some hundred families of them spread themselves over the country, particularly near the sea-coast, and for some time demeaned themselves in a peaceable and industrious manner.

But it was soon discovered, that they were much addicted to speculate on politicks; that they held clubs and meetings, where newspapers, for which they subscribed, were constantly read; and that they were perfectly well versed in all the political subjects which were then the topics of conversation. They also brought with them a number of strange and absurd prophecies, which they pretended were delivered by the ancient Irish bards and prophets, foretelling the wars and calamities which were shortly to take place in the country, and which were to prove nearly fatal to the catholicks.*

In

* In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, such prophecies were used during the civil wars, to rouse the people, as may be seen in Spenser, Morison, Temple, Laurence, and Harris.

In one of these it was asserted, that the upper part of the county of Mayo, particularly the mountain of Croagh Patrick, near Westport, * would be the safest place of refuge, whenever these calamities would commence; which induced numbers of people to repair there, some for protection, others to perform pilgrimage, and to do other pious offices, as it has always been considered as a holy place.

These prophecies † have a very great effect on the minds of the lower class of people, who are persuaded that the events predicted must necessarily come to pass; and they were ready to catch at every rumour which seemed to correspond with the ideas which they had inspired. They breathed nothing but death, bloodshed and devastation, painted the rivers as running crimson with blood, and a pestilence raging through the country, occasioned by the effluvia of putrid carcases, which remained unburied; with every other horror which a dreadful civil war produces.

Such prophecies were one of the many artifices used to excite hatred in the popish multitude against protestants, who were figured under the title of the black army, and were destined to commit those atrocities against the catholics, and to furnish a pretext of massacring them, whenever an opportunity should present itself.

These northern families were but a short time in the county of Mayo, when a person of high respectability informed the magistrates and country gentlemen, that they were deeply concerned in the conspiracy then carried on in the North, and that most of them, conscious of their crimes, fled from a country where they were closely watched, and dreaded the vengeance of the law, to one where, not subject to suspicion, they might easily execute their designs.

Orange

* Plate X. 6.

† I have already mentioned that many popish families had emigrated from the county of Tyrone to Connaught, in consequence of prophecies.

Orange societies had at that time commenced in the North, whose avowed object was, to protect themselves and their country from the machinations of a set of popish traitors, who had bound themselves by the most solemn ties to overturn the constitution and extirpate the protestants, and that in so secret a manner, that many thousands were united before a discovery could be obtained. At their secret meetings, which were generally held at night, they methodized their operations; employed emissaries to propagate their doctrines; collected money for the purchase of arms and ammunition; laid plans for attacking the houses of protestants, and taking away their arms; and finally concerted the means of a general rebellion and massacre, in conjunction with the rebels of every other part of the kingdom.

The gentlemen and magistrates of the country were well aware that such mischiefs were hatching, but found it very difficult to procure full and convincing proofs to substantiate the facts, and to bring the traitors to punishment.

It was in this critical state of things, that the spirit and promptitude of the orangemen, alive to the interest of their country, and attached to that constitution for which their ancestors fought under king William, associated under the strongest bonds of loyalty and affection; and relying on the goodness of the cause in which they had embarked, they, without fear or restraint, hunted these traitors to their dens, developed their dark proceedings, and dragged them to punishment. By their well-timed and spirited exertions, they delivered that part of the kingdom from those horrors which were ready to burst upon the heads of the loyal inhabitants.

This was the persecution which the disaffected so much complained of, and which afforded a plausible pretext for the outrages afterwards committed by the rebels.

The conduct of these northern families on the landing of the French proves with what malignant designs they were originally actuated; for, when that event took place, they threw off the veil of religion, and the cloak of humility, boldly assumed the iron front of war, pressed forward to receive arms and ammunition from their new deliverers, chose leaders among themselves, erected the standard of rebellion, and plundered and desolated the houses and the property of their protestant friends and benefactors.

It is very remarkable, that these men, despising the want of courage and abilities in the Connaught rebels, refused to serve promiscuously with them, but formed a separate corps, who kept together during the rebellion.

The peasantry of the counties of Mayo and Sligo, (I mean of the Roman catholic persuasion,) are savage, ignorant, and superstitious; and though they were organized and sworn to assist the French on their landing, yet I am convinced that they would not have had spirit or resolution enough to rise in rebellion, if that event had not taken place, however well inclined they might have been.

The gentlemen and men of landed property, with but few exceptions, were protestants of the church of England, and consequently loyal, and strongly attached to the established government. To these were added an equally loyal and very respectable protestant yeomanry, mostly freeholders, and planted rather thickly over the country. All these were tolerably expert in the use of arms, having served in the volunteer and yeomanry corps.

These two bodies, united in common interest, and roused by the danger which surrounded them, would have continued to overawe and restrain an ignorant and unarmed rabble, without men of property or consequence at their head, and stimulated to action only by some low emissaries from other countries, or
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by their weak and infatuated clergy, many of whom were found among the foremost in joining the enemy, and in strengthening the ranks of rebellion.

The landing of a little more than one thousand French, achieved, almost instantly, what the united Irishmen could never have effected, notwithstanding all their arts, to make the popish multitude rise in rebellion.

Struck with a sudden panick at the unexpected appearance of the French, the loyalists, for the most part, abandoned their houses; the rebels, armed and encouraged by the French, elated with their first success, and animated with a desire of vengeance, and the hope of plunder, entered sword in hand into the deserted abodes of the fugitive loyalists, where, not content with pillage and rapine, they, with the most savage barbarity, like the Goths of old, sacrificed to wanton revenge every thing valuable, which art and science had formed and collected for the comfort and delight of the virtuous and intelligent; and in a few days defaced those ornaments and improvements which human industry had been raising for a century before.

Another circumstance which contributed to promote the cause of rebellion in those counties, and to cement its votaries, by a bond still more binding than the oath of the united Irishmen or defenders, was the propagation of the mysteries of the Carmelites among the Roman catholics. This was originally a religious order, which was said to have been instituted for the advancement of piety and morality, but it was now perverted to the purpose of associating men for the express purpose of committing treason, murder, sacrilege, and robbery, with every other inferior crime, which depravity might suggest, or opportunity afford.

As its malignant influence operated much stronger in Connaught than in the province of Leinster, where also it was made a vehicle of rebellion, I shall

give the reader a more minute description of it. In the neighbourhood of Ballina,* there were some mendicant friars, who were led, by the poverty of their situation, to convert the credulity of the popish multitude to their benefit, by inducing them to believe, that an admission into this fraternity would ensure them eternal happiness; and this foundation being once laid, it was not difficult afterwards to persuade them to pay a small sum of money for its attainment.

At their initiation they received a square piece of brown cloth, with the letters I H S inscribed on it, meaning Jesus hominum Salvator,† which was hung round the neck with a string, and lying on the shoulder next to the skin, was, from its situation, called a scapular. The price of it on initiation was, to the poorer class, one shilling; to those who could afford it, higher in proportion to their ability. This distinguishing badge of the order, having received the priest's benediction, was supposed to contain the virtue of preserving the disciple, not only from outward dangers and injuries, but also from the attacks of the ghostly enemy. They ascribed to these scapulars the power of protecting a house, in which one of them happened to be, from being consumed by fire, or of extinguishing one on fire, if thrown into the flames; while the sacred extinguisher would remain perfectly safe from the power of the fire, like the three Hebrews in the Babylonian furnace.

The ignorance and credulity of the popish multitude were imposed on by the following device: The cloth of which these scapulars was originally made, being composed of the Asbestos, possessed a quality to resist fire; and on receiving the priest's benediction, they were committed to the flames, where, to the astonishment of the beholders, they were found to preserve themselves safe and entire; and

* Plate X. 3, 4.

† Jesus, the Saviour of mankind. See it in Plate V.

and having undergone this fiery ordeal, the supernatural power which produced it was ascribed to the priest's benediction.

Many of these were cut off the necks of the rebels when taken prisoners, and their virtue was put to the test by exposing them to the fire, where they gave a convincing proof of their frailty, by being (as the inventors themselves have long since been) reduced to dust and ashes.

The parish priests in the counties of Mayo and Sligo, either convinced of the efficacy and utility of this order, in promoting the cause of religion, or seeing that the sale of scapulars was very profitable, procured a power from the friars before mentioned to dispose of them, and admit candidates into this holy order. Bags of them have been often sent to fairs and markets, and sold to the credulous multitude.

The officiating priest at Ballina, curate to the popish bishop, was the person then intrusted with the distribution of this sacred symbol, a large number of which he conferred on the worthy claimants.

This soon became the signal by which those of the true faith were to know each other, and the rallying point for those devotees who carried on the crusade against the hereticks; and a shop was opened soon after the landing of the French, where all the sons of Erin, * with their pikes in their hands, were supplied with scapulars at regulated prices.

These were intended, not only to unite them more strongly against the common enemy, but to arm them with fresh courage, and protect them from danger in the hour of trial. Good God! will that day ever arrive, when a pure, a simple, a rational, and undefiled religion shall be established among the deluded natives of Ireland; when the clouds of superstition and ignorance, which so much obscure the human mind, shall be dispelled by religion and reason, those bright luminaries which the Deity has benignly afforded

* The Irish for Ireland.

forded to erring man, to direct his wandering steps through the thorny paths of life, and to guide his feet in the ways of peace?

We may say to the popish multitude of Ireland, in the words of holy writ, "Ye do err, not knowing the scriptures." Mat. xxii. 29.

The better to inflame the passions and awaken the fanatical fury of the popish multitude against protestants, a report was universally propagated in the counties of Mayo and Sligo, some months before the French landed, that the orangemen had combined, and were determined to massacre the Roman catholicks, a device which was practised in every part of Ireland.

At Balle, near Hollymount, * in the county of Mayo, a patron was held some time in the month of July, when the dissemination of that report had such an effect on the inhabitants of that town and its vicinity, that they remained in large bodies all night in the fields, where the leaders of rebellion organized and swore them.

An active intelligent magistrate informed me, that he expatiated on the dangerous tendency of such reports to the parish priest of Foxford, † some time in the month of July, 1798, and recommended to him to undeceive his flock, by assuring them, from the altar, that they were false and groundless; but he objected to it, alleging as an excuse, that it would offend some of his most respectable parishioners.

The leaders of rebellion had recourse to another very curious invention, to incense the minds of the Roman catholicks against the protestants, and inflame them with a spirit of revenge; and though the absurdity was more likely to excite ridicule than serious attention, it had the wished for effect on the semi-barbarous rabble.

A few days before the French landed, a report was industriously circulated, that the protestants had entered into a conspiracy to massacre the Roman catholicks,

* Plate X. 7.

† Ibid. 5.

catholicks, and that they would not spare man, woman, or child. It was said that, for this purpose, a large quantity of combustible stuff had been introduced by the orangemen, who made a kind of black candles of it; that they were of such a quality, that they could not be extinguished when once lighted; and that in whatever house they should be burnt, they would produce the destruction of every person in it.

It was said also, that this deleterious system was to be carried into effect through the whole country in one night; and the people in the villages were cautioned not to sleep in their houses, lest they should be surprised.*

Multitudes, impressed with this idea, sat up all night, or slept in the fields.

The magistrates, finding that this report was universally credited by the lower class of people, posted up an advertisement at Ballina to undeceive them, and convince them of the futility and absurdity of this report; but they were taught to believe that this notice was only an artifice to lull them into security, that they might more easily become a prey to their persecutors.

As soon as the French landed, one Crohan, who served as clerk to a popish chapel, was seized in the act of proclaiming in the parish of Kilmeckshalgan, in the county of Sligo, that the orangemen were murdering the Roman catholicks.

Most of the parish priests in the counties of Mayo and Sligo, to disarm the suspicion, and lull the vigilance of government and the magistrates, collected their flocks, and with them swore oaths of allegiance before magistrates, whom they solicited to administer them.

In the month of April, 1798, father O'Donnell, parish priest of Kilmeckshalgan, asked Mr. Hillas, of Seaview,

* This imposition was practised in the county of Wexford.

Seaview, to attend him and his flock for that purpose ; and they, in the presence of him and counsellor Webber, gave that test of their loyalty ; yet as soon as the French landed, that same priest seized Mr. Hillas's best horse, and joined them.

The priests of different parishes, after the French landed, were heard to say to their flock, from the altar, " God help you, poor people ! Pray for your souls ; I cannot answer for your safety ; the king's troops and the orangemen will put you all to death."

In the course of the summer of 1798, it was observed, that the petty shop-keepers, mechanicks and servants, of the popish persuasion, used to hold frequent meetings at the low tippling houses in Ballina, and its vicinity, which induced well grounded suspicions that they entertained designs of a treasonable tendency ; particularly as such associations were constantly attended by some of the northerns, who were active and zealous in making proselytes to their pernicious doctrines. They also kept up a constant intercourse with their friends in the North, by means of emissaries, who passed and re-passed in the guise of hawkers and pedlars. This intelligence having been privately communicated to the reverend Mr. Neligan, of Ballina, a very active and intelligent magistrate, (whose zealous exertions on this and other occasions became a source of many future calamities to himself and his numerous family) he and a few friends, in whom he could confide, were constantly on the watch, in order to detect and counteract the treasonable plans of this party ; but they were conducted with such secrecy, as to elude their vigilance, and prevent them from receiving any certain information of their real designs ; however it had the good effect of filling them with alarm and diffidence, and of preventing them from disseminating their doctrine in as wide a circle, and with as much rapidity as before.

Mr. Neligan, ever attentive to the duties of his office and the peace of society, having learned that

an idle young man of the name of Reynolds, who often frequented the town of Boyle, * as a pedlar, was deeply concerned in the machinations of those traitors, wrote to a friend there, to have him arrested, and interrogated on the subject. On his examination, he assumed an appearance of the most perfect innocence, and denied every charge which was brought against him ; but a few lashes of a cat-o'-nine-tails having been inflicted on him by order of the officer commanding at Boyle, he discovered the whole plot, and those who were associated with him. The information having been sent to Mr. Neligan, he was astonished at the number and respectability of the persons concerned in it ; however, the events which took place in the course of the rebellion verified his allegations ; for the persons whom he charged were the most dangerous and desperate in it.

From the very critical state of the country, it would have been very dangerous to attempt the arrest of so many persons of the before mentioned description ; for there was no military in the country, except a small detachment of the carabineers, a troop of yeomen cavalry, and a company of yeomen infantry ; and above one half of the latter, according to Reynolds's evidence, were united Irishmen, having, regardless of their oath of allegiance, enlisted merely for the purpose of procuring arms, and joining the French when they should land ; an event which was strongly and earnestly expected. It was then thought prudent to dissemble, and conceal a knowledge of the business, and to arrest but a few of the leaders, which might cast a damp on the spirit of the party. Eight only then were taken up, and among these two of the name of Walsh, who were sent to general Taylor at Sligo † for examination ; but they were discharged by the intercession of some gentlemen and magistrates of the neighbourhood, who assured him of their upright characters, their loyal

* Plate X. 5.

† Ibid. 2.

loyal and peaceable deportment, though it was declared upon oath, that they were the principal persons to whom the rebels in the barony of Tyrawly were to look up to for advice and instruction. Two of these magistrates had soon reason to retract their opinions of their liberated friends; for the elder, dreading the punishment due to his crimes, fled to America, after having defrauded one of the magistrates at whose instance he was liberated. The younger Walsh was apprehended in the house of the other gentleman, who had been his encomiast, with a predatory party in arms, ready to establish liberty and equality, at the expense of his benefactor.

This fact affords a persuasive lesson to men of property and influence, with what caution they should interpose between the criminal and the laws of his country, particularly when their interference is intended, not to elucidate the innocence of the accused on his trial, but to rescue him before it takes place from the hands of justice.

From the following circumstances, which preceded the arrival of the French, no person can doubt but that they were expected by the rebels of Mayo and Sligo :

They had an immense quantity of pikes in readiness : To inflame the Romanists against the protestants, they spread the usual reports about orangemen and their sanguinary designs ; and their priests and their congregations were very eager to take oaths of allegiance, in imitation of those of the county of Wexford, to put the magistrates off their guard, and to prevent the introduction of troops into the country.

As some of the Romish clergy and their flocks in the county of Mayo expressed a desire of testifying their allegiance by taking oaths for that purpose, doctor Stock, the bishop, and some of the magistrates, desirous of encouraging so laudable a desire in them, supposing that it would tend to keep the common people quiet and steady to the government, held a meeting at Ballina, early in the month of June, 1798, entered

entered into resolutions, and formed a committee for carrying their intentions into effect.

An active and intelligent magistrate of my acquaintance entertained a very different opinion of that measure, well knowing that treason was then hatching among the people, and that it would soon burst forth into action; and therefore he absented himself from the meeting, though he had been appointed one of the committee, as he had strong reasons to doubt the sincerity of the Roman catholicks.

According to the plan adopted, the magistrates divided the country into districts; and in order to accommodate the lower class of people, they attended at the popish chapels on successive Sundays, where the priests were directed to have their flocks assembled, and where they had the oath solemnly administered to them, beginning with the priest, and going through the whole of his congregation. By these means, (aided also by the several landlords who took care to bring their tenants forward) almost the whole of the inhabitants, clergy and laity, had the oath administered to them. The magistrate, to whom I alluded, would not attend, because he had many documents to prove, and was even informed by one of their own persuasion, that they meditated the subversion of the constitution, and that the favourite toast at their convivial meetings was, "A total extirpation of the protestants!"

Similar perfidy, but still stronger, took place in a yeoman corps, commanded by captain Jones, of Ballina. The magistrate whom I mentioned, received positive information, that about thirty of them, who were Roman catholicks, had all been united men, and had been sworn to join the French on their landing, which he communicated to their commander, but he could not be prevailed on to give credit to it. He, however, having mentioned it to them, they seemed very much hurt, and proposed that a very strong test, in addition to the oath of allegiance which they had

had sworn, should be framed and administered to them; and captain Jones having complied, they all took it with the greatest readiness. This served as a mask to their treachery for the present, but which they soon threw off, when an opportunity was afforded them of joining the French, which they all did, except three, adding desertion, perfidy and perjury, to the crime of treason.

There are two priests in the neighbourhood of Ballina, who have not been taken up or put on their trial. One of these constantly visited the French and rebel generals at Killala, and gave directions and orders to them; and when an alarm was given one day, while he was celebrating mass, that the king's troops were approaching, he ordered every man who had arms, and was able to march, to repair without delay to the French standard to oppose them. The other lived in a parish the most notorious for disaffection in the county of Sligo, and a letter from him was discovered, written to a rebel commander at Killala, communicating the state of the country, and mentioning the necessity of sending a quantity of spirituous liquors to keep up the courage of his people, and to make them ready for service.

There were at least a dozen Romish priests who went to pay their respects to the French, and lived in habits of intimacy with them at Killala, and other places, eating, drinking, and making merry with them, on the spoils of the unfortunate protestants who had either fled or had been imprisoned; whilst none of the Romish persuasion, though reputed loyal, were known to fly the country, through apprehension of danger, or to join the king's troops, or the armed loyalists.

It was not uncommon to see some of these spiritual guides introducing into the court-yard of Killala some of their half-naked raggamuffins, taking cloaths out of the stores, which were kept there for that purpose, and arraying them for actual service. There
were

were two, however, of this class, who could not be induced, either through fear or promises, to partake with their flocks in the rebellion, but strongly exhorted them to continue in their allegiance, and to attend to their industry, forewarning them of the consequences of their disloyalty. One of these was Mr. Conway, priest of Ardagh; the other, Mr. Grady, priest of Rathrea; of whom the latter was treated with great severity, and dragged from the altar by his rebellious flock, because he refused to partake in their wickedness, and accompany them to Killala. He had even the boldness to denounce vengeance on their guilty heads, should they persevere in their treasonable schemes.

The persecution levelled against the protestant clergymen, was not confined to the imprisonment of their persons, joined to the insults and menaces offered to them, and the destruction of their houses and property, but was extended even to the demolition of their churches, which they gutted of all the timber and carpenter's work, and most wantonly and insultingly abused and tore the books which they found in them.

Amongst the churches most damaged were those of Lackan, Easky, Killmactige, and Enniscrone, in the parish of Killglass, and county of Sligo. Of the latter they tore up the floors, demolished the pews and the communion table, rifled the tombs with great indecency, and insulted the remains of the reverend Mr. Valentine, who had been vicar of and resident in that parish, fifty-three years, and who died in the year 1765, in his ninetieth year, noted and universally revered for his humane and charitable disposition. He left 600*l.* for the support of the widows of the clergy of the diocese, and 400*l.* for maintaining a charity school in the parish, and for apprenticing the children who were instructed in it. Doctor William Cecil, bishop of Killala, had a monument erected to him, on which his virtues and good qualities

qualities were inscribed, as an example to his successors.

The meeting-house belonging to the dissenting congregation of the Moy Water, near Ballina, fell a prey to their destructive rage. This was a colony brought there by sir Arthur Gore, from the North, near one hundred years ago; and from their preserving their primitive manners and dialect, and not holding much intercourse with the common people of the country, they were more odious to the Roman catholicks than the protestants of the established church, and were treated with great severity. They were distinguished by the name of Albanaugh.*

The treatment which Mr. Little, vicar of Lackan, met with from these savages, deserves particular notice: This gentleman resided constantly at his glebe-house, and a great part of his time was employed in enquiring into, and relieving the wants of his poor parishioners, of every religious persuasion. He applied himself very much to the study of physick, and went to no small expence in purchasing medicine for their relief, which he bestowed liberally on them. The Roman catholicks (who, from their numbers and poverty, were most likely to be the objects of his bounty) soon forgot the kind offices conferred on them, and requited his benevolence with unrelenting cruelty. Though he and Mrs. Little were in a very feeble and declining state of health, they forced them from their house without a horse to carry them, and scarcely cloaths to cover them, and then plundered them of every thing worth taking, wantonly destroying a valuable library, and every other article which they could find no use for; and joined to all this, they demolished his church.

The reverend Mr. Neligan, of Ballina, a gentleman of elegant taste and extensive learning, and an active

* This is much of the same import with Sassinagh, which signifies equally Protestant and Englishman; but alludes more particularly to the Scotch.

active and intelligent magistrate, narrowly escaped from that town with some more loyalists; and after having passed through a country infested by banditti, who were roaming in quest of protestants,† and after much peril and difficulty, arrived at Seaview, the seat of Mr. Hillas, in the county of Sligo. On his arrival there, some of the popish servants of Mrs. Hillas informed her, that she would run a great risk of having her house demolished by harbouring a protestant clergyman.

At length, the event so eagerly wished for by the Mayo and Sligo rebels arrived; for on the twenty-second of August, 1798, three French frigates appeared in the bay of Killala,* a small town, in the county of Mayo, which is the residence of the bishop; and as they had English colours, messieurs Edwin and Arthur Stock, the bishop's sons, and Mr. James Rutledge, the port surveyor, were tempted to visit them, and were not undeceived till they were made prisoners.

As the bishop held a visitation at that time, and the town afforded but very bad accommodation for strangers, his lordship had a very numerous company in his house. Soon after dinner, a messenger arrived in the utmost consternation to announce that three hundred French troops had landed about a mile from the town, and were marching towards it.

Two carabineer officers, who dined there, rode off instantly to their quarters at Ballina, to convey intelligence of their landing, and to transmit it to Castlebar.

The prince of Wales's fencibles, and the yeomen of the town, in all about fifty, resisted them for some time; but as they would soon have been overpowered by the great superiority of numbers, they retired into the castle,‡ but not until Mr. Kirkwood, who

† This practice prevailed as much in Mayo and Sligo as in Wexford.

* Plate X. 3.

‡ The bishop's palace is so called.

who commanded the yeomanry, after standing many shots, had fallen into their hands, and two of his corps had been killed.

The reverend doctor Ellifon, of Castlebar, one of the bishop's guests, with great gallantry, appeared in the ranks, with a musket, and received a wound in the heel from a spent ball.

Mr. Edwin Stock, and many other prisoners, appeared at the gate, following general Humbert. The enemy entered the court yard of the castle, and made prisoners captain Cills and a party of the prince of Wales's fencibles, but not without a very spirited resistance on the part of the captain, who wounded, in two places, the officer who led them on, and then shut the gate. After having entered the yard, they called for the bishop; and on his lordship's appearing, the general declared, that he came to give them liberty, and to free them from the English yoke.

They put in requisition all his lordship's horses, and some of his cows and sheep, saying, at the same time, that he should be paid for them by the Irish directory, which would be immediately established in Connaught.

The French officers gave the following account of the expedition: That about eighteen days before, one thousand five hundred men, some of whom had served under Bonaparte in Italy, the rest had been of the army of the Rhine, embarked on board three frigates at Rochelle, and of a very dark night eluded (beyond their expectation) the vigilance of the English fleet, which was close behind them. Two of them had forty-four guns, eighteen pounders, the other thirty-eight guns, twelve pounders. They said also that they brought nine pieces of cannon, and arms for one hundred thousand men; but this was a French gasconade, as they had arms only for five thousand five hundred men, and but two four-pounders. The meagre persons, and the wan and fallow countenances of these troops, whose numbers did

did not exceed one thousand and sixty rank and file, and seventy officers, strongly indicated the severe hardships which they must have undergone.

They hoisted a green flag in front of the castle, with the Irish words, "Erin go bragh!" inscribed on it, which signifies in English, "Ireland for ever!" and they invited the people to join them, having assured them, that they would enjoy freedom and happiness by doing so.

The first day they passed in landing their arms and ammunition; the second in clothing and arming the natives, of whom great multitudes flocked to their standard, and in granting commissions to Irish officers.

Every person endued with any degree of wisdom and virtue must lament the state of the popish multitude, who were so perverted in principle, and blinded by fanaticism, as to join a ferocious foreign enemy against their king and country; though the paucity of their numbers precluded the most distant hope of being able, with their assistance, to subvert the government; and it is astonishing that their clergy, who had more improved intellects, should have incited and stimulated them to do so, as it must have terminated in their inevitable destruction.

General Humbert, commander in chief, sent captain Cills and the prince of Wales's fencibles on board ship, and detained the yeomen two days, but afterwards liberated the latter on their parole, having on all occasions made a striking difference between the native Irish and the English, from a supposition, that the former without distinction hated the latter, and wished to separate Ireland from England.

The arms taken from the fencibles were delivered to the rebels, who said on receiving them, that they would kill every Englishman and orangeman in Ireland.

General Humbert told the bishop that the object of this invasion was, to rescue Ireland from the ty-

ranny of England, and to give her a free constitution under the protection of France ; and that he had not a doubt but that it would be accomplished in the space of one month, as another very powerful armament would soon arrive from France, to second his operations.

He informed his lordship, that a directory would shortly be established in Connaught, and said, that he should be glad to avail himself of his lordship's talents and consequence, to preside over that important department ; but he excused himself, by saying, that he was bound to the king by repeated oaths of allegiance, which he could by no means think of violating.

General Humbert desired the bishop to issue his edict, to have all the horses and cars in the country collected, to convey his cannon, ammunition and baggage to Castlebar. His lordship assured him, that he had been but a short time resident in the country, and had not sufficient power and authority to effectuate his desires, but that he would do his utmost to serve him.

Next morning, Humbert finding that no cars or horses had been procured, became furious, uttered a torrent of vulgar abuse, presented a pistol at the bishop's eldest son, and declared he would punish his lordship's disobedience, by sending him to France ; and accordingly he sent him off towards the shore, under a corporal's guard. When he had advanced about half a mile, the general sent an express on horseback to recall him, and at his return, he made him an apology, and pleaded necessity for what he had done.

On the morning of the twenty-fourth of August, a small detachment of the French marched from Killala to Ballina, but meeting with a more spirited opposition than they expected, from a party of the carabineers and yeomen infantry, commanded by major Kerr, they returned the same day.

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In the evening, major Kerr, having received considerable reinforcements, advanced towards Killala, but was obliged to retire, after an unsuccessful skirmish, in which two dragoons were wounded, one mortally; and the reverend Mr. Fortescue, rector of Ballina, and nephew of the earl of Clermont, received a ball in his groin, of which he died in a few days, in excruciating pain.

In one point, the Irish rebels were very much disappointed, for they imagined that the invaders were to commence their career with the slaughter of the protestants, and the destruction of their property; that the popish religion was to be established with the utmost splendor, on the subversion of the established church; and that the estates, which had been forfeited in former rebellions, were to be restored to the old Irish families. But their astonishment was great on being informed by the French, that their object was to give them a new constitution similar to that of France; that they would not suffer any person to be persecuted for religious opinions; and as they considered both religions as ridiculous and absurd, they laughed at those who contended about them.

On Sunday the twenty-sixth of August, the main body marched towards Ballina, with a prodigious number of the native Irish, whom they had armed and clothed; but they left behind them two hundred privates, and six officers, for the purpose, as the general said, to protect the protestant inhabitants from the sanguinary spirit of the popish multitude; but it is presumed they had also another object in contemplation, that of guarding a large quantity of ammunition, which they left at Killala, and of securing a retreat. They took five hostages with them, of whom Mr. Edwin Stock, the bishop's son, and the reverend Mr. Nickson, were two.

When the French approached Ballina, they blindfolded the hostages, and led them to the house of colonel King, in the midst of a vast concourse of pikemen, who insulted and reproached them as

hereticks in the most opprobrious language. They passed the night under the protection of four Frenchmen, but were exposed to the invectives of some hundreds of the rebels, who threatened to force the guard, and put them to death.

As their horses could not be found next day, general Humbert at his departure permitted them to return.

On setting out for Castlebar, he left one Truc, a French officer, of a savage disposition and vulgar manners, to keep possession of Ballina.

Our troops, before they left that town, hanged a man of the name of Walsh, whom they found in the act of recruiting for the French, a commission from whom they found in his pocket. This was Walsh the younger, who had been charged at Sligo, before general Taylor, with treasonable practices, but whom he liberated in consequence of the excellent character given of him by some magistrates and others.

The French officers having found his body suspended when they entered the town, each of them gave it the fraternal embrace, and bedewed it with tears of sympathetic civism; and after having exposed it some time in the street, to excite the indignation of the populace against the loyalists, it was carried to the Romish chapel, where it lay in state with as much pomp and ceremony as if he had been the greatest hero or patriot of the age.

On the twenty-eighth of August, Mr. Richard Burke was brought a prisoner from Ballina, where he had been haranguing the populace, and inciting them to murder the protestants, which they had been but too well inclined to do before.

The French were very much astonished at finding that no protestants would join them; for not a single person in the whole country of the established church could be found to do so, except two drunken vagabonds at Killala, who in reality were destitute of all religious

religious principle, though they passed for protestants; and they went through the ceremony of conforming to popery, and were baptized, thinking that it would recommend them to the French.

The bishop might have made his escape before the French arrived at his palace, but with laudable fortitude he resolved on remaining, by which he materially assisted the French officers in maintaining social order, and in preserving the lives and properties of the protestant inhabitants.

The popish priests very soon displayed an ardent zeal to promote the interest of the French. Father Thomas Munnelly lived in a place called the Backs, where he officiated as curate in a parish which belongs to the popish bishop, doctor Bellew. Soon after the invasion he repaired to Killala, and offered his services to the French, who gladly received them, well knowing the unbounded influence of the priests over the popish rabble.

He was employed in carrying them recruits, in equipping them with arms and clothes, and in searching for orangemen, as the protestants were indiscriminately called. Having heard that Mr. Knox of Bartra, brother to counsellor Francis Knox, a gentleman of good property, had still continued to defend his house, he voluntarily offered his service to visit him, and to carry him a prisoner to the French. His offer having been accepted, he put himself at the head of a party of armed rebels, marched to Bartra, entered it by surprise, and with a pistol in his hand, forgetful of his allegiance, and of the sacredness and respectability of the sacerdotal character, he descended to the meanness of a common robber, and obliged Mr. Knox to deliver his purse, consisting of a few guineas, and then conveyed him, tied, as a prisoner, to the quarters of his new allies.

This villain defrauded the gallows of its due, for, after absconding some time, he surrendered himself
under

under the proclamation, and has been transported with many culprits of notoriety.

Father Sweeny lived near Westport, in the county of Mayo, and enrolled himself in the service of the French, soon after they landed. He repaired to the bishop's palace, and, though uninvited, stationed himself there at bed and board, supposing that his new allies would be desirous of availing themselves of his influence over the popish rabble.

He said to the French officers, "As every thing belonging to the protestants will be confiscated, I should be obliged to monsieur Charost, if he would let me have the bishop's library, as I am fond of reading;" but Charost, turning from him with contempt, said, "The bishop's library is as much his own now as ever it was."

This man took uncommon pains to prevail on the parishioners of Mr. Conway, a loyal priest, in the neighbourhood of Ballina, to take a part in the rebellion, in which he was strenuously opposed by the other, who constantly preached up the duties they owed their king and country, in which he had considerable success.

Sweeny was apprehended and tried by a court-martial at Castlebar, where he was convicted on the most unquestionable evidence; and the testimony of the before-mentioned loyal priest tended much to bring him to the shameful and well-merited death which he there suffered, having been hanged for his crimes.

From the very great contempt which the French shewed for the bigotry of the common Irish papists, and the strong opposition which they gave to their desire of massacring and plundering protestants, it is astonishing that they flocked to them in such numbers. The officers were filled with amazement on hearing the Irish recruits say, when they offered their service, that they came to take arms for France and the blessed Virgin!

It is astonishing also, that the priests should have been so zealous for them, as they manifested the most striking dislike, mingled with contempt, towards them ; though common policy required that they should use every art to conciliate them, as they had unbounded influence over their flocks ; and as many of them had a smattering of French, they served them as interpreters.

Monsieur Charost said, " That they had just driven the pope out of Italy, and did not expect to find him so suddenly in Ireland."

James Conroy, parish priest of Adergool, in the barony of Tyrawly and county of Mayo, a few weeks before the invasion of the French, took the oath of allegiance, in his own chapel, and in the presence of some hundreds of his flock, who followed his example ; and he exhorted them from the altar to be loyal to the king and obedient to the laws, in a long speech, conceived in such forcible language, that the magistrate, who administered the oath, was convinced of his sincerity ; and yet, in violation of it, he repaired to Killala, which was twenty miles distant, as soon as the French landed there, embarked warmly in their interest, and was the first person who shewed them the practicability of marching to Castlebar, by Barnageehy, instead of the usual road by Foxford.*

As his house was in their route, he entertained the French and rebel officers : He converted his chapel into a guard-house for them, his mansion was their banqueting-house, and the oxen which they took from his neighbours were slaughtered in one of his out-offices.

It has been since discovered, that a messenger had been dispatched to general Hutchinson, to inform him that the French were advancing towards Castlebar, by Crossmalina, instead of Foxford ; but Conroy and his coadjutor stopped him, made him swear the united Irishmen's oath, and enrolled him in the rebel ranks.

ranks. His name was William Burke. He was afterwards hanged at Castlebar. The stopping him was the occasion of many calamities to this kingdom.

Conroy, conscious of his guilt, and fearing that he should be arrested, kept guards constantly round his house, after the arrival of our troops at Killala; but a party detached by general Trench surprised his videttes, killed two of them, wounded a third, and took the fourth prisoner. They were all in French arms and uniforms. They found in his house a French carabine, and some cartridges; a printed proclamation of the French, offering liberty to the people of Ireland; and the entire correspondence which had taken place between him and one Maguire of Crofmalina, * a noted rebel leader.

He was hanged at Castlebar, without either confessing or denying his guilt; and though he was sure of eternal salvation for having opposed an heretical state in support of the true faith, he had scarce sufficient strength to ascend the fatal step.

On the first of September, lieutenant-colonel Charost received orders from general Humbert, to send off all the French troops to Castlebar, but that he should remain at Killala, as commandant of it, with another French officer of the name of Ponson.

This intelligence filled all the protestants with the most gloomy apprehensions, lest the authority of the commandant would not be sufficient to protect them from that sanguinary spirit which the lower class of people had so often manifested; and they dreaded the fate of the protestant sufferers at Wexford-bridge, Vinegar-hill, and Scullabogue.

Charost, a man of sense and honour, and naturally benevolent, shewed great horror at the bigotry of the Romanists, sympathised most tenderly with the protestants, and used the most unremitting exertions to protect them from its baneful effects. He had two hundred Irish recruits under his command, but the

the envenomed hatred which they had already shewn towards all loyal subjects, proved that they could not place much reliance on their protection. The commandant, wishing to adopt measures for securing the lives and property of the inhabitants of the town and the adjacent country against robbers, invited them without any distinction of religion or party, to accept of arms, but on condition that they would return them when called for. The inhabitants of the town, and especially the protestants, embraced the offer with alacrity, and the distribution took place on the evening of September the first.

The rebels objected strongly against supplying the protestants with arms, as they said that they would turn them against the French and their allies, as soon as an English army appeared; and two of their officers, of the name of Mulheeran and Maguire, who were spokesmen on the occasion, became clamorous and vehement, the former having manifested his disgust so much as to lay down his arms.

The protestants, intimidated by the menaces of the rebel soldiers, resolved to surrender their arms, and to rest their defence on the fidelity of the Irish recruits.

As the rebels continued their murmurs and complaints, and harassed the protestants with domiciliary visits, in search of arms, the commandant, at the instance of the latter, issued a proclamation, requiring that no person should appear in arms, except recruits for the French service.

In addition to the terror of being deprived of their arms, the protestants were very much alarmed at the accounts which were constantly received of depredations committed on the houses of persons of the established church, in all the adjacent country. Every night some house was plundered; and scarce an hour passed, in which the bishop was not importuned to redress some grievance, or to obtain from the commandant protection for some house against the rapacity of banditti.

Deal Castle, the elegant seat of lord Tyrawly, was made a perfect wreck of. The commandant, therefore, issued a proclamation for dividing the country into departments, and appointed a civil magistrate, aided by a certain number of rebel soldiers over each. Mr. James Devitt, a Roman catholic tradesman, of good sense and moderation, was appointed to preside over the town, and had one hundred and fifty men under his command.

About twenty men mounted guard in the castle, which was considered as the head quarters of the allied army. This institution afforded in some degree peace and protection to the town; but the most shocking depredations continued to be committed on the houses of protestants in all the adjacent country, by those very rebel guards who had been appointed to protect them.

This is not surprising, as the rebels were elate on the arrival of the French, with the hope of being allowed to indulge their sanguinary rage against protestants, and to plunder their property with impunity; and they were much vexed and disappointed when it was given out in publick orders, that any depredations committed on private property should be punished with death; and the rebel leaders submitted to such orders with the utmost reluctance, for they were in many instances little better in point of moral character than the semi-barbarous rabble whom they headed.

At Ballina, and in its vicinity, any miscreant who could influence forty or fifty ruffians, became captain of a company of pikemen, and obtained a commission from Truc the commandant; and the first act by which he signalized himself was, by dragging in orangemen, by which they meant protestants, and by plundering their houses.

Before I proceed to describe the operations of the main body of the French army at Castlebar, I will give the reader a sketch of the characters of some of the

the most conspicuous rebel leaders in the neighbourhood of Ballina and Killala.

Henry O'Keon was the son of a cow-herd of lord Tyrawly, and was born at Kilcomin, within three miles of Killala. Having acquired a smattering of Latin at a hedge school, he repaired to Nantz in France, where he studied divinity, and received holy orders in the year 1788.* On the abolition of his order in France, he enlisted in the service as a private soldier, and was gradually advanced to the rank of a captain of grenadiers.†

The following commission, found among his papers, proves that he came as an interpreter to the French, and that their expedition was intended for the place where they landed:

“ Army of Liberty! - - - Equality!
expedition. }

“ General Humbert, on account of the civism of citizen Henry O'Keon, has chosen him to be employed in quality of an interpreter, and he shall be considered amongst the number of the staff. Citizen O'Keon will embark on board the *Franchise* frigate, with adjutant-general Fontaine, and shall be admitted in the number of the staff of general Humbert, commander in chief of the expedition.

“ HUMBERT.”

O'Keon, well knowing the superstitious credulity and the fanaticism of the popish multitude, assembled a vast concourse of them in the streets of Ballina, and having mounted the rostrum, he related the following story to them in his native tongue, which he spoke better than French or English: “ That he dreamt one night in France, that the virgin Mary visited him, and informed him that her votaries in Ireland were suffering the most grievous persecution, and

* His testimonium was found among his papers and produced on his trial.

† His commission was also produced.

and she recommended to him to go to their relief. As he regarded it merely as an idle dream, she made him a second visit, and bemoaned, in the most doleful accents, the state of her friends in Ireland, and repeated her former advice; but as he shewed no regard to it, she made him a third visit, and gave him a violent box on the ear. Convinced by this that her Holiness was serious, he repaired to the French directory, and persuaded them to undertake this expedition; and he assured them that there could not be a doubt of its success, as it was undertaken by the advice, and under the sanction of the blessed Virgin." The besotted multitude, persuaded of the truth of what he said, testified their joy and their approbation of it by vociferous acclamation.

O'Keon was humane, having upon all occasions opposed the blood-thirsty disposition of the popish multitude.

Father Prendergast lived near Westport, and was of the order of mendicant friars, who support themselves by the voluntary donations of such persons in their neighbourhood as can afford to exercise acts of liberality; but he, like many others of his order, extorted very large contributions from the bigoted herd of papists, who have an extraordinary superstitious reverence for their sacerdotal guides of every description.

Such was father Prendergast, a stout, sturdy, well-fed priest, who battered on the fat of the land, Epicuri de grege porcus, without giving himself any trouble about his spiritual concerns, except when he could turn them to profit.

The most fruitful source of lucre which his vocation afforded him, was the sale of scapulars, of which he often sold a basket at fairs or patrons.

He also dealt in charms and prophecies. One of the former, of which I give the reader a copy, was found on the person of one Prendergast, a farmer, who obtained it from this holy friar in the year

1798,

1798, by a very respectable magistrate in the county of Mayo, near Westport. I have given one of them found on a rebel in the county of Wexford; and a similar piece of superstitious trumpery is to be found in doctor Bernard's history of the siege of Drogheda, written in the seventeenth century.

“Jesús I H S Maria

“Trust a Thee.”

“This is measured of the wounds of the side of our lord Jesus Christ, which was brought from Constantinople unto the emperor Charles, within a gold chest, as a relief most precious, to that effect, that no evil or any thing might take him who reads it, hears it, wears it, cannot be hurt by any tempest, fire, water, knife, sword, lance, or bullet; neither the devil shall hurt him. He shall be victorious, and never die an untimely death, and it shall be a sure safety to women with child. Amen, so be it.” To Pat. Prendergast.

As soon as the French landed, father Prendergast attached himself in the strongest manner to them, and was very successful in promoting their interest, from the great influence he had over the lower class of people. When the king's troops again took possession of the country, he, with many others, fled to the mountains, where for some months he endured much from want, anxiety and disease.

A party of the king's troops, who went in search of a banditti which infested the country, found this holy friar a most miserable instance of the uncertainty of human affairs, lying in a wretched hut, almost consumed by that most dreadful and loathsome disorder called morbus pediculofus, * of which he died soon after; and such were the putrid effluvia which issued from his body, that it was both dangerous and offensive to approach it for the purpose of intimidating it.

Father

* The lousy disorder.

Father Owen Cowley was the son of a poor peasant, who lived in the parish of Castlecomer, and county of Sligo, within about four miles of Ballina. At a hedge-school he acquired a competent share of Latin to read the mass, and received holy orders, having been sanctified by the imposition of doctor Bellew's hands. One of the crimes charged against Jeroboam was, "That he made of the lowest of the people priests of the high places: Whosoever would, he consecrated him, and he became one of the priests of the high places. And this became sin unto the house of Jeroboam, even to cut it off, and to destroy it from off the face of the earth." *

The same practice prevails among the Roman catholic bishops of Ireland, as they commonly recruit from the lowest class of the people, to fill the vacancies in the ecclesiastical ranks; and when such persons are selected to preach the gospel, it is not surprising that vice and immorality are so prevalent, or that the popish clergy are found at the bottom of plots and conspiracies, and that many of them are the most active incendiaries, and foremost in the ranks of rebellion.

Father Cowley, having finished his Irish education, repaired to France, to complete himself in humanity and divinity.

When the French republicans were exercising a cruel and sanguinary spirit against ministers of the gospel, he retired to his native country; yet such was his disaffection to a protestant king, and a protestant state, that he offered his services to those very republicans, though they were the avowed enemies of christianity, as soon as they landed in Ireland.

Truc, the French commandant at Ballina, employed him as an interpreter, an office which he abused very much, having poisoned his mind against the protestants, whom he represented as pestilent hereticks, and as enemies to French liberty; and he assured him, that

that their complete extirpation was essentially necessary for the establishment of the new constitution offered by France.

Truc, though savage and ferocious, refused to accede to his proposal, from motives of policy; but Cowley having represented, that they were constantly conveying secret intelligence to the king's troops, obtained permission to arrest and imprison them. He, therefore, in imitation of the Wexford rebels, sent out gangs of banditti, to search the country for protestants, and they fulfilled the most sanguine wishes of their savage employer; as they seized a great many persons of the established church, and committed them to the house of the honourable colonel King at Ballina, where father Cowley daily vilified and insulted them as hereticks, and denounced death against them in various terrifick forms.

At one time, he was heard to declare that he would burn them alive in a kiln; another time with tar barrels; and when he despaired of procuring them, he said, that his purpose could be effected by tying flax round their bodies, and by setting fire to it. Death was presented to their imaginations another time by the ruthless pikemen, of whom some thousands daily passed by the windows of the house where they were confined. This villain had the temerity to inform the rebels (who were panting for the blood of the protestants) that he had procured them permission to assassinate them; and his diabolical design would probably have been carried into execution that night, but for the interference of Mr. Barrett, son of doctor Barrett, of whom I shall speak in the sequel; and his discovery and communication of it to Truc was near proving fatal to him; for the pikemen, indignant at their disappointment, in not being allowed to riot in the blood of their heretical enemies, attempted to wreak their vengeance on Barrett's head, from which the spirit and activity of his horse alone preserved him, when surrounded by a wood of pikes.

His

His address to the prisoners was often in these words: "Ye damnable hereticks—ye scum of hell—ye breed of the devil—your time is but short—ye have but this night to live, and to-morrow ye shall suffer for your crimes."

This happened in the time of tranquillity, when the country was in the hands of the French, without interruption; but in the hour of danger his sanguinary rage against them did not abate, for when the rebels were ordered to march towards Coloony to reinforce the French, he solicited and obtained permission to march the protestants with them, under pretext that they would escape for want of guards, but in reality with an intention of having them cut off. Thus surrounded by a numerous body of pikemen, these unfortunate people were marched off thirty miles, many of them barefoot, and almost naked, as the rebels, when they arrested them, stripped them of their clothes, after the example of their Wexford friends.

During the engagement at Coloony, the prisoners were stationed near the church, expecting to be put to death if the king's troops were victorious; but after the battle, the guards being engaged in plundering and revelling, the prisoners made their escape, but were afterwards taken and reconducted to their former prison.

Though this wretch escaped the gallows, he suffered a more severe and painful death. Having wandered about the mountains for some months, suffering all the miseries of hunger, thirst, watching, and fear, his friends formed a subterraneous cavern for him, under a corn field, of which the aperture was covered with a large stone, so as to elude the observation of his pursuers, who often passed close to it. His provisions were let down to him by a rope. At last, he was found dead in his den, and his death was imputed to suffocation from coals, which his friends supplied him with, to correct the humidity of his cavern.

cavern. His funeral obsequies were performed at midnight by a number of priests, who, it is said, were ordered to attend them by doctor Bellew, the popish bishop. I shall refer the reader to Appendix, No. XXI. 7, for a proof of the brutal treatment which some of the prisoners received from this ferocious monster.

General Bellew was descended from an ancient and respectable family in the county of Galway, and was nearly allied to sir Patrick Bellew.

He was brother to doctor Bellew, Roman catholic bishop of Killala, and when that gentleman was at Rome, studying divinity, their father sent out his second son Matthew, to have him educated for the priesthood under his brother. He submitted for some years, though reluctantly, to the course of study necessary to qualify him for the pastoral office; but being of a lively, volatile disposition, and having formed an acquaintance at Rome with some Austrian officers, who encouraged him to join them, he entered into the Imperial service, and was soon after promoted to the rank of lieutenant; but not finding sufficient employment for the activity of his mind and body at that time in Germany, he entered into the Russian service, where he found sufficient occupation for the energies of both, in the bloody war which broke out between the Russians and Turks. Here his courage and conduct were so conspicuous, that he was soon advanced to the rank of major in a regiment of infantry. His rapid career in military fame, of which he ever seemed immoderately fond, was suddenly checked by an unforeseen accident.

At the siege of Ismail the enemy sprung a mine, which blew up part of the works, and buried in their ruins our unfortunate hero and a great many Russian soldiers. Happy had he been to have been numbered with the dead, and to have finished his life like a soldier, as he had begun it! but Providence reserved him for a more ignominious fate, and exem-

plified in him the uncertainty of human affairs. In his early days he sought for glory in a foreign land, and fought with courage the battles of alien princes. In his maturer years, he incurred disgrace and infamy at home, and took up arms against his lawful sovereign and his native country. When extricated from the ruins, he had but few symptoms of life: He languished a long time under his wounds, and his intellects were so much impaired, that he was found unfit for service. It was thought advisable then to give him a long leave of absence, and to let him return to his friends, in hopes that tranquillity and his native air would restore him.

Fresh misfortunes awaited him on his return to Ireland. As he had no fortune, he lived with his friends and his brother, on whom he had great dependence; but when the gloss of novelty wore away, they grew tired of him, and manifested by their conduct that they considered him a troublesome and unwelcome guest. This drove him into low company, and a habit which he had acquired of drinking spirits encreased his derangement, and made him disagreeable and offensive. His brother, having quarreled with him, refused to admit him into his house, and used to billet him among his priests month about; a situation very disagreeable to him, as he disliked the principles, and was disgusted with the ignorance and vulgarity of his hosts, which in his gayer hours were a subject of merriment and ridicule to him. By the death of an uncle, he became entitled to 600*l.* which he frequently solicited, to carry him back to Russia; but, notwithstanding the most pressing solicitations, he could not obtain it from his brother, who transacted the affairs of the deceased. He was frequently invited to the tables of the genteel and respectable families at Ballina, particularly by the reverend Mr. Neligan, who was much entertained with the narrative of his adventures; but, from the want of
clothes

clothes and cleanliness, and the filth and squalidness of his person, he soon became unfit for society.

Being in this state of misery and wretchedness on the arrival of the French, he had not firmness and fortitude enough to resist the temptations which they offered him to enter into their service. His first offer, however, was to his king and country; and, just as the enemy were about to enter Ballina, he earnestly entreated Mr. Neligan and Mr. West to supply him with arms and a horse, declaring, that he was ready to accompany them and to share their fortune. With this request, it was impossible at that time to comply: He was left then with no other resource, but to fly or to join the enemy, and he embraced the latter. The French were happy to find a man who could speak their language well, and who was likely to be useful to them, from his long experience in the military line; they therefore conferred on him the rank and dignity of general in the army of the Irish republick. But, as he continued to give way to his former habits of dissipation and drunkenness, they found him rather an incumbrance than a benefit.

Incensed against his brother for the indignities and slights which he had formerly received from him, he plundered his house of whatever he wanted; but the doctor, having been appointed by the French commandant president of the municipal government of the town, had interest enough to get the general removed and stationed at Killala.

Mindful of former kindnesses conferred on him, he, previous to his departure from Ballina, posted a notice on the house of Mr. Neligan, denouncing vengeance against any person who should molest it; but his authority ceasing with his presence, the demolition of it soon took place.

It was usual with him to levy small contributions on the people in the neighbourhood, to purchase whiskey and tobacco, of which he was immoderately fond; but in no other instance did he offer any vio-

lation to the persons or property of the loyalists; and contenting himself with the pleasures arising from his glass and his pipe, he seemed perfectly indifferent about the issue of the war.

At the approach of the king's troops to Killala, he refused to take up arms, or to march against them, though surrounded by a host of pikemen. He was taken in the town, tried next day by a court-martial, and hanged. His dejection on his trial was such, that he was incapable of making any rational defence. He was a man of quick lively parts, very shrewd in his remarks on men and manners, and had much sincerity and ingenuousness in his conduct and conversation. He knew the French, Italian, German, and Sclavonian languages well, and spoke the first three with fluency and accuracy. It is much to be lamented, that a man, who might have been a benefit and an ornament to society, should, by a train of misfortunes to which he was not accessory, be reduced to such a state of debasement, and be finally driven to make so ignominious an exit.

Father Mr. Gowen, a fellow of very low extraction, and a noted drunkard, lived at Crossmalina; but having a dispute with the Maguire family, who made a conspicuous figure in the rebellion, he was obliged to change his residence. Though deeply concerned in treason and rebellion, the loyalists could not obtain sufficient evidence to convict him; but, though he escaped the gallows, justice overtook him in another way. Soon after the surrender of the French at Ballynamuck, a report having reached him, that they had made another descent, while he was reveling at a christening, he, elate at the pleasing intelligence, indulged in the joys of Bacchus to such an excess, that, returning to his own house at a late hour of the night, he fell from his horse, and broke his neck within a few paces of it.

Many circumstances conspired to favour the descent and the progress of the French in the county of

of Mayo, and to make it difficult for government to oppose them with effect. The oaths of allegiance taken by the popish clergy and their congregations, like those of Wexford, Wicklow, and Kildare, for the purpose of imposing on the government and the magistracy, lulled the vigilance and banished the suspicion of both; and the inhabitants of that county were, in appearance, but feebly organized, and did not break out into any open acts of outrage; and fore but very small parties of the military were quartered in it.

There was a large army stationed in Munster, as an insurrection was to be apprehended there, and because it was more likely to be invaded by the French than any other part of the kingdom. As the landing of the French in Ireland suddenly occasioned a strong and visible sensation, not only in the disaffected inhabitants of Dublin, but in those of every county which had previously shewn any symptoms of disloyalty, and as strong indications of an intended insurrection appeared in them, it would have been very perilous to have marched the troops out of such districts.

Major-general Hutchinson, who commanded in the province of Connaught, and who, with major-general Trench, was in the town of Galway, * on receiving intelligence of the enemy's descent, resolved on marching towards the counties of Mayo and Sligo with whatever troops he could collect; but, from the slender force under his command, this could not be effected without leaving the counties of Leitrim and Roscommon, notoriously disaffected, liable to insurrection, and the bridges on the upper part of the Shannon without protection. The troops, with which he moved towards Castlebar, † were the Kerry militia from Galway, a detachment of the Fraser fencibles from Tuam, ‡ the Kilkenny militia from

* Plate X. 10.

† Plate X. 8.

‡ Ibid. 6.

from Loughrea, the Longford from Gort, a detachment of lord Roden's fencible dragoons, four six-pounders, and a howitzer from Athenry. * These troops were afterwards joined by the skeleton of the 6th regiment, about one hundred men, from Galway; which afterwards continued to be garrisoned by a few corps of yeomanry only.

The disposition of the country seemed at first favourable, which was by no means the case in the counties of Leitrim and Roscommon, Cavan and Westmeath, in which there were considerable movements of the people, and the blacksmiths were busily employed in making pikes.

Brigadier-general Barnet ordered the city of Limerick regiment of militia to march from Athlone † to Carrick-on-Shannon. §

In the mean time reports were received from general Dundas, who commanded in the county of Kildare, that there were strong apprehensions that a general insurrection would take place there, as notices had been circulated by the disaffected, inciting the people to rise; and, as many of the inhabitants had left their houses, he was under the necessity of detaining part of the reinforcements intended for Connaught.

The marquis of Cornwallis, having received intelligence the twenty-fourth of August of the landing of the French, ordered lieutenant-general Lake to proceed to Galway, to take the command of the troops assembling in Connaught, his excellency intending in person to collect the troops that could be spared from Leinster at Athlone, or Carrick-on-Shannon, and to act in concert with the other general officers, as circumstances should require. He arrived at Philipstown on the twenty-sixth, with the 100th regiment, the first and second battalions of light infantry, the flank companies of the Bucks and Warwick militia, and on the twenty-seventh proceeded

* Plate X. 10.

† Ibid. 9.

§ Ibid. 5.

ceeded to Kilbeggan; * the troops: having made a progress of forty-four Irish miles in two days.

Major-general Hutchinson arrived at Castlebar on the twenty-fifth, and made proper dispositions to receive the enemy. Two roads led from Ballina to Castlebar; one to the east of Loughconn, by Foxford, † a village eleven miles from Castlebar, and situated on the river Moy, which is broad and deep, and is crossed by a bridge of many arches. As this is by far the best road, general Hutchinson detached the Kerry regiment, with their battalion guns, to defend that pass; and brigadier-general Taylor arrived there also, with a detachment of regular troops and yeomanry. As there is a very strong pass, called Barnageehy, on the other road, § to the west of Loughconn, and as it is far less practicable, and therefore much less frequented than the road by Foxford, it was universally believed, and it was reasonable to suppose, that the French would make their approach by the latter; and it is most certain that general Humbert, openly and sedulously announced, some hours before he marched, that he would proceed by Foxford, intelligence of which was conveyed to generals Hutchinson and Trench; and the better to deceive them, he marched part of the road towards Foxford, and then turning suddenly to the right, he proceeded by Loughconn, where a narrow pass, called Barnageehy, through a défile in a high range of mountains, is so strong by nature, that one company with a battalion gun posted there would have checked the progress of the French. But for the reasons which I have assigned, generals Hutchinson and Trench could not have the most remote suspicion that the French would advance by that road.

At the hour of three o'clock in the morning, a yeoman, who had been visiting his farm near Barnageehy,

* Plate I. 7.

† Plate X. 4, 5.

§ Ibid.

geehy, arrived, and informed general Trench that he had seen a large body of men in blue clothes advancing that way ; on which the general proceeded to reconnoitre, attended by a few dragoons ; but when he had advanced about three miles from Castlebar, he was fired on by the advanced guard of the French. He then returned with the utmost speed, and marched the garrison to a rising ground outside the town, which he had fixed on the preceding day as an alarm post, should the enemy advance to attack them. It was on a hill at the north-west extremity of the town, running from east to west, and commanding a rising ground opposite to it, over which the French must necessarily pass, and at the distance of about one thousand yards.

Our line was drawn up in the following order : The Kilkenny militia, the skeleton of the 6th regiment of foot, and a subaltern's detachment of the prince of Wales's fencibles, formed the first line. The Frazer fencibles, with a small corps of Galway yeomen infantry, formed a second line ; but both drawn up in irregular lines, so as to occupy the summits of the heights they were destined to defend. The four companies of the Longford were drawn up in a valley in the rear, and a little on the left of the main body of the Kilkenny. The cavalry, consisting of the 1st fencibles, and a part of the 6th dragoon guards, were stationed in the rear of the first line, some piquets excepted, who had been previously sent out, and some yeomen cavalry, who were posted in different quarters.

Captain Shortall, who commanded the artillery, took post with two curriele guns in front of the first line, consisting of the 6th infantry and the Kilkenny, who were a little to his right, to support that flank ; the two battalion guns attached to the Kilkenny militia being on his left, separated by the road, but parallel to him. He left the two other curriele guns in

in the centre of the town, in an open space, under lieutenant Blundel of the artillery.

They remained in this situation till near eight o'clock, when the enemy appeared in columns, advancing over the rising ground in front. When the French general viewed our line, he covered his column deep with rebels, dressed in French uniforms, to draw the fire on them, and from his own men. A numerous rabble, who were all plunderers, attended them also.

When they had nearly gained the summit of the hill, a round shot from captain Shortall's right gun struck the head of their column, and nearly divided it in two parts. This made them fall back, seemingly in confusion; but in some time advancing again, a shot from the second gun struck them with the same effect as the first, with this difference, that the part of the column on the right of where the shot entered rushed forward (about fifty yards) to the cover of a house, on which the captain found it necessary to direct his fire against the main body, and soon succeeded in driving them back. After this the enemy disappeared for a few minutes, when they advanced a third time in the same direction, but endeavouring to destroy the effect of the shot, by forcing some cattle into their front. In this attempt they were also frustrated, and obliged to retire under cover of the hill. In a short time they were perceived deploying from the centre, which was performed in a quick and masterly style, with the files very open. In this manner their line advanced, until it was contiguous to the place from whence their column had been previously obliged to retire. Here it was that our infantry committed a fatal mistake, in beginning to fire at so great a distance, that it could produce no effect, which the enemy imputing to panick, or the want of judgment, rushed rapidly forward to some hedges immediately in our front, under cover of which they continued to advance.

vance in detached parties, and without preserving any regular line, and at the same time extending their wings with an evident design of outflanking us. In this situation they did not resist him sufficiently with their musketry; and in a very short time after, the detachment, which was posted for the sole purpose of supporting the guns, retired, leaving behind them the gallant major Alcock, of the Kilkenny, who was wounded.

It was still hoped that they would have rallied in rear of the guns, when they perceived the execution made by the canister shot; but they ran off; and captain Shortall had only time to fire three rounds, when the enemy rushed in on his right, and would certainly have put him and all his men to death, but that it is supposed their ammunition was expended. While captain Shortall was at the bridle of his gun, he was closed by a French officer, who having fired a pistol at him, and missed him, was on the point of drawing his sword, but the captain knocked him down with his fist, and then retreated.

In justice to the earls of Ormond and Longford, I think it proper to observe, that they did their utmost to rally their regiments.

The earl of Granard, major Thompson, captains Chambers and Armstrong rallied some soldiers of the Longford, and some stragglers of other corps, and covered the retreat of our troops, by maintaining, as they retired, a well-directed fire from behind hedges and walls on the enemy as they advanced. These officers then took post on the bridge with their small party and a currie gun, well served and directed by corporal Gibson of the Royal Irish artillery, and with great gallantry and good judgment defended that pass for above half an hour against the main body of the enemy. At the same time, lieutenant Blundel, with the other gun in the street, used the utmost exertion to oppose them.

The

The party who defended the bridge, consisting of the before-mentioned officers, some of the Longford, a few of the Kilkenny and Frazer's, suffered most severely, as it was exposed to a cross fire, both from the roads leading to it, and from the houses on each side. The men often fell back and were rallied by their officers. At length, most of the Royal Irish artillery, who worked the gun, having been killed or wounded, it became useless; and the enemy were able to push forward a body of cavalry, whose charge was however repulsed by this small party, and two of the foremost hussars were killed in our ranks. By this charge, however, our numbers were much reduced; and having lost the assistance of one captain and one subaltern, who were desperately wounded, they were obliged to retreat, after having lost near one half of their party.

Captain Chambers fell, covered with wounds; and when down, a Frenchman, enraged at the spirited defence which he and his small party had made, drove a bayonet into his mouth, and the savage rebel women leaped on his body, and yet he still survives; but so impaired in his health, being completely exhausted and debilitated by the number of wounds which he received, and the great effusion of blood which ensued, as to be but the shadow of what he was: But it is to be hoped, that some substantial rewards will one day await that signal valour which he displayed in the service of his country, and which renders him an honour to it.

Many of the French officers assured me, that they never saw guns better served or more destructive than those of our artillery; and that the action would have terminated in our favour, if the infantry had stood their ground, and supported them for ten minutes longer.

The French approached the new gaol to break it open; It was guarded by a highland Frazer sentinel, whom

whom his friends had desired to retreat with them ; but he heroically refused to quit his post, which was elevated, with some steps leading to it. He charged and fired five times successively, and killed a Frenchman at every shot ; but before he could charge the sixth time, they rushed on him, beat out his brains, and threw him down the steps, and the sentry box on his body.

A party of French dragoons pursued our retreating army above a mile from the town, and took a piece of cannon, which they were on the point of turning on our rear ; but a party of lord Roden's men rescued the gun, and killed five of them.

A respectable inhabitant of Castlebar gives the following account of five French soldiers who resided in his house, and of some other particulars : " When they entered my house, I implored them to spare the lives of me and my wife : They raised us from our knees, and said, " Vive !" They demanded bread, beef, wine and beer, and by supplying them with those articles, as far as my purse went, I obtained their good will. The rebels who accompanied them at first plundered us of various articles ; but one day when they revisited us, I alarmed my foreign inmates, who expelled and chastised them severely. One of them, by name Philip Sheers, was from Holland ; I gave him my watch, but he kindly returned it. Another, Bartholomew Baillie, from Paris, was mild, learned, and rather silent ; he had been a priest, but on the overthrow of his order, became a soldier : He denied a future existence. One Ballisceau, a Spaniard, was as intrepid as Hannibal : Since the age of fifteen, he had followed the profession of a soldier : He had been a prisoner in Prussia, in Paris, and in London : He had been confined in a dungeon at Constantinople : * He crossed the Alps with Bonaparte, and fought under him in Italy : His body, head and face were covered with wounds :

He

* Taken prisoner when in the Imperial service.

He was a hard drinker, a great swearer, and mocked religion; and yet he was very fond of children, and never entered my apartment without constantly enquiring for my wife, who was on the point of lying-in: The fourth was from Rochelle, and the fifth from Toulon.

“As soon as the French learned that lord Cornwallis was arrived at Hollymount, which was but fourteen miles off, the Parisian came to me at midnight, and said, with distress painted in his countenance, “We must depart, for the English, headed by a great general, are approaching.”

Every person possessed of moral sentiment must contemplate with horror, mingled with pity, the depraved and degraded state of a people in a revolutionary state like the French; for, devoid of every tie, human and divine, accustomed to idleness, and unacquainted with the arts of industry, their only occupation and resource is to plunder and desolate the territories of their neighbours.

On the night of the battle at Castlebar, bonfires were lighted on all the high grounds near it, particularly towards Westport and Newport, for the purpose of inciting the common people to rise, and which it occasioned most effectually. A numerous mob of savages entered the former, and plundered and almost demolished the houses of the protestants, but did not injure one belonging to a Roman catholic. All the loyalists were obliged to fly to Castlebar to preserve their lives.

Though lord Altamont and his family had evinced a very strong partiality for the Roman catholics, and had on all occasions given to government the warmest assurances of their loyalty, their property was not spared. They carried off his lordship's horses, cows, and sheep, drank all the liquor in his cellars, broke some of the doors and windows in his house, which they would have demolished, but that James Joseph Mc. Donnell, accompanied by a French officer, took

took possession of it as his own mansion. They told lord Altamont's French cook that they would not injure him, as he was a Frenchman and a Roman catholic.

Mount Browne, the house of the honourable Mr. Denis Browne, his lordship's brother, and member for the county, they plundered and destroyed beyond precedent, where fire was not used; though on all occasions he had been unremittingly the warm advocate of the Roman catholics in parliament. They carried off all his horses, cows and sheep, and cut down many ornamental trees in his demesne to make pikes. In short, the savages plundered the houses of every protestant in the country which was not defended, but in no instance the property of a Roman catholic was injured.

The persons, who took the lead in the rebellion in that country, were James Joseph Mc. Donnell, a barrister, son to Mr. Joseph Mc. Donnell, a magistrate, and a man of good property; the whole country was organized by him: John Gibbons, formerly agent to lord Altamont, and for whom his lordship had a very warm friendship; he was the chief director of the pike manufactory, and was far advanced in years: Thomas Gibbons, his brother, and Edward Gibbons, his son, Valentine Jordan, a very opulent farmer, and the reverend Miles Prendergast, a friar, all papists. Not a single protestant was concerned in it.

The entrance of the savage natives into Castlebar was truly terrifick, as they made dreadful yells, and were as rapacious and destructive as a flock of locusts. They bore flags, having on them a harp without the crown, and the words, "Erin go braugh!"*

Soon after the French had gained the town, the popish savages attacked and defiled the church, making obscene figures on some of the pews, and destroying others. They were so prophane, as to pollute

* Ireland for ever!

lute with the greatest indecency the bible, which they called the devil's book. They urged father Egan, the parish priest, to say high mass in it, and he consulted doctor Ellison on the propriety of doing so, but he dissuaded him from it. They plundered most of the protestant houses, and whenever the French endeavoured to restrain them, they would say, "Sure it is only the house of a protestant!" supposing that the French harboured the same fanatical hatred against that sect of christians which they did.

Though lord Lucan had been always humane and charitable, and a very good landlord, they made a perfect wreck of his house, breaking the chimney-pieces, and destroying every article which they could not carry off. They served the house of the reverend doctor Ellison, his lordship's agent, in the same manner, though a gentleman universally and deservedly esteemed.

Some of the savages expressed great surprise and horror at seeing some of the French eat meat of a Friday; but they treated them with contempt mingled with irony.

They debated in lord Lucan's lawn on massacring the protestants; but the French officers opposed it vehemently, and they were joined by Bartholomew Teeling and Henry O'Keon, who, though papists, were free from the sanguinary spirit which actuated the common herd. The latter said, "Gentlemen, when you were in the power of the protestants, they did not shed your blood; and when your friends were taken in Wexford, most of them were pardoned, and but few were put to death * though they were in actual rebellion: You should also consider, that you yourselves may soon be in the power of the government; but if you will massacre the protestants, put me to death with them."

The French eat the best of meat and bread, drank wine, beer and coffee, and slept on good beds. They
compelled

* See a list of them in Appendix, No. XXI. *

compelled the rebels to eat potatoes, drink whiskey, and sleep on straw; they beat and abused them like dogs, in the name of liberty, equality, fraternity and unity. A volume would not contain an account of the brutal actions of the rebels; and the women, who were worse than the men, carried off hides, tallow, beef, cloth and various other articles.

The following short journal of a person who travelled from the county of Galway to Castlebar, while the French were in possession of it, will shew the reader how universally the spirit of disaffection pervaded the popish multitude, and how much their minds were debased and perverted by superstition; "Left Monivea, within six miles of Tuam,* the thirtieth of August, and found the people idling about the ditches, and eager for news respecting the state of his majesty's forces. They rejoiced much at hearing of their defeat at Castlebar, and their retreat from it, saying, it was quite consonant to the various prophecies,† importing, that the day was come, when protestants would be completely extirpated, and that their property, (a long time usurped by them) would be restored to Roman catholics, who were the only just and rightful owners of it; that it was all the work of God, who had enabled a handful of Frenchmen to beat a large army of hereticks.

"When I arrived within five miles of Hollymount, § I found the roads much crowded by people who were very inquisitive about news relative to the army, and of what form pikes should be made. I entered a house to refresh myself, and was soon after followed by a servant of Mr. L——, and the steward of Mr. R——, who was a United Irishman, and who said that I was a spy. They detained me

as

* Plate X. 8.

† The popish priests in most places fabricated prophecies, as if made by eminent saints some centuries before, predicting, that hereticks would be expelled from Ireland, with the aid of the French; and the popish rabble really believed that it would be accomplished at that time.

§ Plate X. 7.

as a prisoner all night. Next morning I arrived at Newbrook, the seat of Mr. Bingham, which was completely plundered by his tenants, who carried off and slaughtered all his bullocks and sheep; declaring, that none of his heretick family should enjoy any part of his property, which should be given to Roman catholicks, the original and rightful owners of it."

The bishop of Killala often solicited the French to permit doctor Ellison to go to see his family at Castlebar, but they would not comply, till they had got possession of it; because, from his influence as the parish minister, and a magistrate, he might have injured them materially; but when that event took place, they permitted him to go there, accompanied by monsieur Touffaint.

The French were on the point of levying a very heavy contribution in money and provisions on the town, but the doctor dissuaded them from it, by assuring them that they would alienate those who were attached to them, and rouse the indignation of the English government, by any act of severity or oppression. On the whole he acted with singular spirit and good sense.

While the French were at Castlebar, doctor Crump, a popish physician, went to general Humbert's lodgings, at the head of a numerous party, and implored him to give the Roman catholicks one hour's revenge against the protestants, for a hundred years of cruelty and oppression. Fifty-three of the Longford militia, who were taken prisoners, voluntarily entered into the service of the French; but some of the carabineers, and the Galway yeomen, refused to do so, though messieurs Teeling and Roche threatened them with instant death, unless they complied.

A person, who joined the French at Castlebar, gave me the following account of the occurrences there: "On my arrival I was introduced to Teeling,

who conducted and presented me to general Humbert, who was very inquisitive. Having informed him that I had been recently in Dublin, and had attended the trials of the Sheares's, M'Can, Byrne, and Bond, he asked me many questions relative to them, and invited me to sup. with him, which I accordingly did, in company with many of his officers. There was a priest there of the name of Gannon, whose ignorance could be equalled by nothing but his bigotry. He desired Teeling to make me swear whether I was a protestant and an orangeman; but on his declining, the priest swore me. Numbers of people, all Irish, were brought in prisoners, under a charge of committing depredations; but they excused themselves, by saying that it was only protestants that they had plundered.

Michael Gannon, a popish priest, constantly attended general Humbert and his staff, and was active and useful to the French. He had been domestick chaplain to the duke of Crillon in France, who being killed on the abolition of his order, Gannon continued in the same capacity to his duchess; and he used often to boast, when he drank freely, that he was curator, not only of her soul, but her body. On the extirpation of the priesthood in France, Gannon narrowly escaped by flight, and came to his native country, where he made a most fantastick appearance, having a large fierce cocked hat, à la militaire, and silk clothes made in a curious fashion, all the property of the late duke. From the window of Humbert's lodgings, he addressed a large body of rebels who were in the street, in the following words: "That though he wished well to their cause, he could not think of taking any military command, but that he would both pray for their success, and march in their ranks; and at the same time pulling out his oil stock,* he told them, "that he would heal their wounds with his holy oil."

One

* What the popish priests carry their holy oil in.

One Roche, who was an officer in Humbert's army, assured a person of veracity of my acquaintance, that he was sworn an United Irishman at Paris, by O'Coigly, or Quigly, the priest, who was hanged at Maidstone, so early as the year 1796.

While the French were at Castlebar, Francis French of Cottage, in the county of Mayo, a Roman catholick gentleman, of an antient and respectable family, sent a letter to one Roche, or La Roche, etat major to general Humbert, containing, among others, the following paragraphs: "The enemy are coming forward on both sides, and intend to put you between two fires; Plunket is ready with two thousand men whenever he is ordered." La Roche, after reading the letter to Humbert, wrote in answer, "That he was surpris'd gentlemen should wait for orders to march, knowing they were there; that they should assist them with as many men, horses, cars, and as much ammunition and provisions as they could; and that by the co-operation of the inhabitants they would soon be able to wrest Ireland from her usurpers." Mr. French was hanged. Plunker, to whom I presume he alluded, was his relation.

Mr. O'Doude, who was one of the oldest families in the county of Mayo, and of the popish religion, joined the French, and was taken and hanged after the battle of Ballynamuck, when the French finally surrendered.

On the night of the third of September, general Humbert sent off his baggage and cannon, with part of his troops, towards Sligo, and about seven o'clock next morning he set out with the remainder, about four hundred in number. The French found their Irish recruits so prone to desert, that they placed a guard in their front and their rear as they marched.

The same day he sent doctor Ellison with eighty prisoners to lord Cornwallis, as they were but an

incumbrance to him. The doctor in his way met colonel Crawford, with a detachment of the Hompeschers, and lord Roden's fencibles. He returned with them, and arrived at Castlebar, about nine o'clock at night, and on entering the town, he announced aloud, that lord Cornwallis was coming, and he even bespoke a bed for his excellency; which intimidated the rebels who were left in the town so much, that they fled, and the French officers immediately surrendered themselves prisoners. Soon after they arrived, they sent for Mr. Moore, whom the French had appointed president of Connaught. He was pressed to inform them of the plans of the French and what route they had taken, but he declared his ignorance of them. On which colonel Crawford ordered one of Hompesch's dragoons to draw his sword and cut his head off. Having made some flourishes over his head, as if they really meant to decapitate him, he shrieked and roared, and was in such consternation from fear, that he produced his commission of president, by which he criminated himself. He was in a state of intoxication, which alone could account for so egregious an act of folly. In extenuation of his conduct, he said, that he waited on the French, and accepted the commission of president, merely to preserve the property of his father, a Roman catholic gentleman, who had an estate of 4000 l. a year in the county of Mayo. The first act of his office was to issue assignats; I give the reader a copy of one of them:

" No. 20.

" In the name of the French government, good for half a guinea to be raised of the province of Connaught.

3d September, 1798. JOHN MOORE."

Next morning colonel Crawford pursued the French, hung on their rear, kept them in a constant

tant state of alarm, and killed many of them and their rebel allies. There is not a doubt, but that general Humbert had not determined the route which he should take till the day before his departure, because a person of the name of Jourdan, who, at the instance of Mr. James Joseph M'Donnell, had acted as a spy for the French, was sent out to learn what part of the country there was the least probability of meeting our troops, and he reported that the safest and best course they could take was towards Sligo.

The French at their departure from Castlebar were about nine hundred, including officers, and they had a great mob of rebels, who were constantly deserting, notwithstanding their utmost vigilance to prevent them. They did not halt till they arrived at Barley-field, the seat of Mr. M'Manus, whither some of the French officers went to order provisions to be sent thence for their use to Swineford.* They arrived there about seven in the evening, halted about two hours, and refreshed the troops. General Humbert continued all the time in the field, where he eat his dinner, which had been dressed at the house of a Mr. Brabazon.

From Swineford they proceeded towards Ballahy, having halted the army about two miles from that village, to which they sent an advance-guard. Thence they proceeded towards Tubbercurry, and they halted within two miles of it.

The Corranliney and Coolavin yeomen cavalry, stationed there as a picquet, under the command of captain O'Hara, member for the county, having advanced to reconnoitre the enemy, had a skirmish with them, in which lieutenant Knott was taken prisoner, and his only son was killed.

Captain O'Hara then sent intelligence to colonel Vereker, at Sligo, that the French were advancing.

Captain

* Plate X. 5.

Captain Ruffel, of the prince of Wales's fencibles, was taken prisoner at Tubbercurry, and though as such he was entitled to the protection of the French, a ruthless assassin among the rebels shot him in the back, and dying a few days after, in his seventieth year, he terminated a life which had been devoted to the service of his king and country for above fifty years.

Besides the rebels who marched from Castlebar with the French, a considerable body of them was sent from Ballina across the mountains, to meet them at Tubbercurry, with eighty protestant prisoners, whom they intended to get rid of, by putting them in the front rank, having insultingly told them so; but their distress for food was so great, that they sent them back under a rebel guard.

Those stationed at Ballina being incensed with their brethren at Killala for not putting their heretick prisoners to death, three hundred of them set out with a design of compelling them to do so; but they were pursued by O'Keon, who prevented them, though not without difficulty.

Henry O'Keon more than once prevented the rebels from murdering their protestant prisoners.

The following practice took place in Mayo, as well as in the county of Wexford: A popish banditti was sent about in every part of it, to collect protestants, whom they imprisoned, and intended afterwards to massacre. In Wexford the rebels endeavour to extirpate the protestants, because they had the county entirely at their devotion, and really believed for some days that the entire kingdom was so; but they did not proceed to such lengths in Mayo, because there was a large body of the king's troops in it, and their sanguinary spirit was restrained by the French officers.

From Tubbercurry * they proceeded to Coloony,† and in their way the pikemen plundered the house of Mr.

* Plate X. 4.

† Ibid. 3.

Mr. Perceval, of Temple-house, because he was a noted loyalist, and had been active against the United Irishmen.

I think it necessary to describe here the circumstances which preceded an action which took place between the French and a detachment of the city of Limerick regiment, and a few yeomen commanded by colonel Vereker, at Coloony, one of the most brilliant which took place during the rebellion.

When the French arrived at that village, which is about five miles from Sligo,* the inhabitants of the latter, who amount to about fourteen thousand, were in the utmost consternation, as nobody doubted but that their design was to have plundered it, and it contained property to the amount of at least 200,000l.; there were in its harbour a good many ships, and twelve well furnished bleach-yards in its vicinity. The small force stationed there, not more than six hundred effective men, was ordered to evacuate it; however, colonel Vereker, with a detachment of the city of Limerick militia and a few yeomen, in the whole not exceeding two hundred and eighty-six men, and two currie guns, marched out, engaged the French and the rebels, and gave them so severe a check, notwithstanding their great superiority of numbers, as to deter them from approaching Sligo, and made them proceed towards Drumahair. The French had about nine hundred men, about two hundred and fifty of the Longford and Kilkenny militia who had deserted, and a numerous body of rebels. Colonel Vereker's right was covered by a rising ground, on which he posted a few men; his left, by a river. They outflanked and forced in his men on the hill, and attacked his rear, on which he was obliged to retreat over a river. The action began at half past two, and lasted one hour and thirty-eight minutes. Of the French twenty-eight were

* Plate X. 2, 3.

were killed, and a great many wounded : they left behind them at Coloony eighteen of their men, who were desperately wounded.

After the action, the grenadiers represented to general Humbert, that it would be useless and cruel to compel them to endure the calamities of war any longer, as the rebels would not support them, and were deserting from them in great numbers ; but the general said, he could not think of surrendering to so small an army.

About three o'clock some disaffected people entered Sligo, and announced, that our army had been beaten, and that the French were advancing ; on which many protestant women, and some men who could not bear arms, embarked in the ships, fearing more the popish inhabitants than the French ; but those who were capable of doing so, to the number of three hundred, marched round the town in arms, and resolved to die in its defence. They were joined by a number of methodists, singing hymns, who were headed by their preacher, Albert Blest, a man of great piety, and noted for humanity and charity.

The king's troops, who remained behind under the command of colonel Sparrow, occupied the most advantageous posts in the avenues leading to the town. Thus they continued under arms all night.

The spirit of popish disaffection and fanaticism appeared no where so strong as in the counties of Mayo and Sligo, particularly in the barony of Tireragh, situated in the latter. It is separated from Ballina and Killala by the river Moy,* which forms a bay at the latter, not three miles over ; and at low water it is easily crossed by a ferry. The protestant inhabitants of that barony, dreading not only the approach of the French, but the cruelty of the rebels, and there being no forces of any kind in the line from Ballina or Killala to Sligo, they fled to the latter for protection.

Many

Many respectable protestant farmers were seen retreating on foot, driving their cattle and sheep before them, and conveying on cars their wives and children, their beds and their wearing apparel. All the protestant clergy were also obliged to fly precipitately.

The popish inhabitants, aided by the Mayo rebels, plundered all their houses, and even demolished some of them. The principal sufferers were Mr. Nesbitt of Scurmore, Mr. Fenton of Esky, Mr. Brown of Fortland, Mr. Grove, parish minister of Kilmeckishalghan, messieurs Charles and Robert Jones, the messieurs Woods, and in short every other gentleman, and even the lower class of protestants, all of whom were obliged to fly to save their lives. Nothing could equal the destructive rage of the popish rabble, for they tore up the floors of Mr. Fenton's house, pulled down the ceilings of Mr. Grove's, and danced on his daughter's piano forte; in short, they destroyed in every house such furniture as they could not carry off.

Some protestants on the sea-coast went to sea in boats, to avoid the vengeance of the rebels; and on coming on shore for food, some of them were taken prisoners and conveyed to Ballina. Some fled to the mountains, and hid in caves, others in corn fields, and were almost starved.

Conry, the domestick chaplain and bosom friend of doctor Bellew, the popish bishop, and who had recently obtained the parish of Adergold from him, father M'Donnel, of Esky, and father O'Donnel, of Kilmeckishalghan, and Mangan, his coadjutor, made it a practice of compelling protestants to be christened by a priest, to which they submitted to save their lives and their property.

Mr. Hillas, of Seaview, who had administered oaths of allegiance to father O'Donnel and his flock, at their particular desire, in the month of April, 1798, asked many of them how they came to violate them; and they answered, "How could we go against our priests?"

That

That priest used to contend on the following grounds: That the house of Brunswick had no right to the crown of England: That all monarchies were elective or hereditary: That no election could be perfect unless the majority of the people gave their assent to it: That the Roman catholicks of Ireland had not consented to the accession of George I. and that he had no hereditary claim, as he descended from a younger branch of the house of Stewart.

A private in the Tireragh infantry happened to fall into the hands of the rebels, who conveyed him to their head-quarters at Ballina, where father Cowley commanded. Being a protestant, they proceeded to try him by a court-martial, of which Cowley was president. He was accused and convicted of being an orangeman, and was to have been hanged next morning; but having insinuated to one of the French, that he was a yeoman, and that punishing him would be followed by retaliation, he was discharged.

Very great disaffection took place in the popish yeomen of the counties of Mayo and Sligo.

The scapulars, a piece of superstitious trumpery, which I have before described, were found on the bodies of many rebels killed in these counties.

For about a month before the French landed, the papists shewed a great unwillingness to pay any thing they owed, which proves that they expected the invasion.

Father Owen Cowley had one hundred and twenty protestant prisoners at Ballina, whom he mocked, and told insultingly that they should be executed next day; but early in the morning some of the prisoners perceived an express arrive, about whom the reverend father and some of his friends flocked, and interrogated with much earnestness. Soon after, he approached the prison with a dejected countenance, and, instead of contumely, he addressed the prisoners with mildness and complaisance, and told them they might go wherever they chose. The intelligence
which

which the reverend father received was, that our troops were victorious at Ballynamuck, and that the French had surrendered to them.

From the following circumstance, we cannot be surpris'd at the active part which the popish priests took in the rebellion in the counties of Mayo and Sligo: Captain Nicholas Ormsby, of the Tireragh yeomen cavalry, was quartered with his corps at Esky, in the county of Sligo, soon after the French landed. Having been informed that numbers of the lower class of people had assembled at some distance from his quarters, and had collected a large quantity of cattle for the use of the French, he proceeded to the spot where that event took place, and rescued the cattle and dispersed the people. When he was on the point of returning, a woman told him, that father Dease, a popish priest, was at a short distance, enlisting for the French; and having advanced a little farther, he saw a great number of people ready to join them. Three of his corps were far before the main body: One of them who preceded the rest galloped by father Dease, who snapped a pistol at him. The next yeoman who came up, galloped swiftly by Dease, and fired a pistol at him, but missed him. Dease was cocking his pistol to fire at the third yeoman, who was coming up, but Mr. Jeremiah Fury, a gentleman of fortune, though a private, seized his arm before he could effect it, and made a prisoner of him. When captain Ormsby arrived, they were on the point of hanging him; but as he fell on his knees, implored mercy, and promised to make a full confession of what he knew, they spared his life. He then declared, what he afterwards solemnly and deliberately confirmed by information, sworn before a magistrate, that doctor Bellew, the titular bishop of the diocese, encouraged his diocesan clergy, at a general meeting of them, to rise on the present occasion; and that it was at his instigation that they were so
active

active in assisting the French. The pistols which they found in Dease's possession were French.

One Atkins, of Rathurlish, in the barony of Tireragh, was bred a protestant, but having married a papist, he conformed to popery, and became a sanguinary fanatic. He was to have headed five hundred of his own sect, and to have massacred every protestant from Ballina to Sligo. He owned this to numbers whom he solicited to assist him in perpetrating his bloody purpose, and to his uncle and aunt, a worthy old couple, and both protestants, whom, he said, he would save; but that he could not protect their grand-children. He declared openly, that he would spare none, from the cradle to the crutch. The day was fixed for the massacre, but the event of the battle of Ballynamuck deterred him from his sanguinary design.

I shall now say something of the movements of our armies, between whom it was impossible to keep up any communication, but by strong patrols, as all the natives were inimical. Lieutenant-general Lake was ordered by the lord lieutenant to proceed from Tuam on the fourth day of September, to which he had retreated after the battle of Castlebar, with the Rea fencible infantry, the Armagh militia, with their battalion guns, a detachment of the Roxborough fencible cavalry, and to take command of brigadier-general Taylor's brigade, whom he joined at Ballyhadirreen.* He sent thence the honourable lieutenant-colonel Meade, about one o'clock, P. M. N, with a party of dragoons, to learn whether the enemy had left Castlebar, and what route they had taken.

After advancing about four miles to a place between Ballahy and Ballyhadirreen, he was informed by a rebel, taken by an advanced patrol, that the enemy had left Castlebar, and had passed through Ballahy towards Coloony, which intelligence he communicated

* Plate X. 5.

communicated by a dragoon to general Lake, who came to him, and ordered him to communicate it to lord Cornwallis, supposed to be at Hollymount, which he accordingly did.

When on his way, about fifteen miles from Castlebar, he perceived on the adjacent hills about three thousand rebels, of whom some were near him in a bog. Part of his dragoons charged, pursued, and killed some rebels who were on a bridge, but contrary to his orders and his wishes, as it might have brought on a conflict, and have impeded or even defeated his mission to lord Cornwallis. Having made signs to them, that he would receive them in a friendly manner, a good many of them came to him, and surrendered about sixty French muskets; and probably the remainder would have done so, if he could have remained there long enough. At Swinesford* he perceived great numbers of them in the adjacent fields. All these deluded wretches whom he met in his progress had deserted from the French. He overtook lord Cornwallis between Clare and Ballyhannis, † where he remained that night.

Colonel Meade was sent a second time to reconnoitre the French, whom he saw pass the Shannon at Ballintra, ‡ over the bridge, which they endeavoured to make impassable, by blowing up one of the abutments.

He was sent a second time to lord Cornwallis, who was at Carrick-on-Shannon, § to communicate the motions of the French to him.

His excellency, by crossing the Shannon at Carrick, kept to the south of the enemy, so as to intercept them, should general Lake, who pursued them with an army of about two thousand men, fail in overtaking or defeating them, which was a most judicious movement; and for the same reason his excellency advanced with rapidity from Carrick to St. Johnstown. §

As

* Plate X. 5.

† Ibid. 6, 7.

‡ Ibid. 4.

§ Ibid. 5.

§ Ibid. 6.

As a farther security for the capital, he ordered the brigade of guards to Mullingar * and Kilbeggan, where they must have ultimately defeated the enemy's design of approaching it; and at the same time they were at a convenient distance from the metropolis to awe the disaffected who meditated an insurrection there.

The first day general Lake arrived at Ballinlough; the second at Ballyhadirreen. † Thence he proceeded with these corps, united, to Ballahy, through which, he was informed, the French had passed the preceding evening, about seven o'clock, more than fourteen hours before him.

He reached Tubbercurry about seven o'clock that evening, where he encamped and remained till two o'clock next morning. He was joined there by colonel Crawford, who formed his advanced guard.

General Lake, marched from Tubbercurry to Coloony, about eight miles distant, heard there of the action, and found a number of French killed, and some wounded under the care of a French surgeon.

At Coloony, a Longford deserter was recognised by some of the advanced guards, and shot; the whole army marched over his body with indifference; a strong instance of the calamities of war, and how much they obtund the feelings of humanity!

Numbers of the rebels were found all along the road dead or dying, having been killed by colonel Crawford's corps of light dragoons, who formed the advanced guard, and, hanging on the enemy's rear, harassed them most effectually.

Between Drumshambo and Carrigan, he received orders from lord Cornwallis at nine o'clock, to march at that hour for Cloone. He crossed the river at Ballintra, where the bridge was repaired. The enemy were so hard pressed in the pursuit, that they left two pieces of cannon on the road, about a mile from

from Coloony, and threw five into the river at Drumahair.

General Lake encamped on the night of the seventh at Ballintogher, between Drumahair and Coloony. He was under the necessity of constantly sending accounts of his movements and those of the enemy to lord Cornwallis, which was distressing, as it could not be effected but by strong patrols. He marched to the south of Drumshambo, halted there about three hours, and proceeded to Cloone, four miles from Ballynamuck; where a little after sun-rise, on the eighth of September, he saw the rear of the French army, whom, with about one hundred and fifty light infantry, mounted behind as many cavalry, he endeavoured to harass as much as possible.

Before day, on the eighth of September, general Lake sent major Hardy to apprise lord Cornwallis of his brigade being near the village of Cloone, where the French had halted the preceding night, and where it was intended to have surprised them; but, from the darkness of the night, some divisions missed their route. The French were leaving the village as major Hardy entered it, of which he informed lord Cornwallis, whom he met at Mohill, and who ordered general Lake to hang as close as possible upon their rear, and said that he would keep in a parallel direction towards Granard, near enough to afford him assistance, if necessary.

He came up with them about half a mile before they reached Ballynamuck,* when monsieur Sarasin, who commanded them, surrendered.

General Taylor having reported to general Lake that the French army had yielded, general Cradock and admiral Pakenham rode forward to the main body of them, who were halted on the road at Ballynamuck, when a French officer informed them that they would be fired on, unless they withdrew; but
before

* Plate X. 5.

before they could retreat, a volley was fired, by which general Cradock was wounded.

Previous to this, the French had posted a body of marksmen on the brow of a hill, about a quarter of a mile from where Sarrafin had surrendered, in order to take our troops on the left flank as they passed. General Lake, whose spirit and vigilance are well known, being considerably in front of our light infantry and cavalry, very fortunately discovered them in time to prevent them from doing us any injury. He ordered the light infantry and cavalry to ascend the hill, whose top intervening, prevented them from perceiving each other till they were within a hundred yards. After a few discharges, our light infantry and cavalry charged, on which the French threw down their arms, and the rebels who attended them fled into an adjacent bog. The Frenchmen continued firing their cannon till the marksmen had surrendered, which, if they had been well served, must have done very great mischief, as our troops moved down a hill from the place where Sarrafin had surrendered, which exposed them to the enemy's fire.

The following circumstance attended the surrender of the French : The earl of Roden and colonel Crawford, who led on the advanced guard, consisting of his lordship's fencibles, perceiving an officer who seemed desirous to communicate with them, lord Roden ordered his trumpet to sound, which was answered by the French, when his lordship advanced into the French lines. The officer politely asked them what their wishes were ? they answered, to save the effusion of blood, and desired them to surrender. The officer said, that he did not command, but that he would go to general Humbert, which he accordingly did. Humbert came up, asked the same question, and received a similar answer. He then demanded half an hour to give a final answer, which was granted, on condition that he halted

halted his troops ; to which he made no reply, but retreated with precipitation. Lord Roden then ordered his trumpet to sound the advance, and came up to the first and second brigade of the French army, who surrendered to about three hundred cavalry, under his lordship and colonel Crawford. After this they advanced with about twenty dragoons and took possession of three French guns.

Shortly after, Humbert rallied his grenadiers, the only part of the army, except the chasseurs, that had not surrendered, and consisted of about four hundred men, who surrounded lord Roden and his twenty dragoons. They were given in charge to the hussars. While they were their prisoners, which lasted about fifteen minutes, the French officers loaded the United Irishmen, their allies, with execrations, for having deceived and disappointed them, by inviting them to undertake a fruitless expedition. They also declared, that the common people of Ireland were the most treacherous and cowardly they ever knew.

Lord Roden continued a prisoner till his regiment of fencibles advanced in quest of their colonel, which the French hussars perceiving, requested that his lordship would desire them to halt, as they meant to surrender, and by doing so, he prevented them from being cut to pieces.

General Humbert surrendered to general Lake, and was afterwards conducted to lord Cornwallis, who was about six miles off.

Our troops made dreadful havock among the rebels, who were mostly dressed in French uniforms. Three of their leaders were taken, among whom was Mr. Blake of Galway, a popish gentleman, who was hanged. As our army pursued the French they found all the houses on the road deserted, their inmates having joined the French.

I must not pass over in silence the spirited and zealous exertions of the army under general Lake, who advanced so rapidly in the pursuit of the French,

as to overtake them, though they were fifteen hours before them ; and though the farmers and peasants supplied the enemy with a great number of horses, on which the infantry rode in turn, and whenever they halted, with plenty of provisions, for which our troops were very much distressed ; for their movements were so rapid, that the heavy baggage could not keep up with them. The French and rebels in their progress destroyed every kind of provisions, and our brave soldiers were obliged to scour the country for cattle, and before they could kill them and cook their meat, they were ordered to renew their march ; so that potatoes, which they dug and boiled themselves, were their principal subsistence.

When the French changed their route from Colloony towards the metropolis, the most active exertions were used in all the intervening counties, viz. Leitrim, Longford, Monaghan, Roscommon, Cavan, Westmeath, and Meath, to raise the mass of the people to join them ; and some considerable and alarming movements were perceived among the disaffected even in Dublin and its vicinity.

A numerous body of insurgents, supposed to be not less than six thousand, having collected near Granard, on the fifth of September, several yeomen corps, under the command of captain Cottingham, engaged, beat, and dispersed them, after having killed about one hundred and fifty.

Many Roman catholicks of consideration urged on and headed the insurgents in the county of Longford, and a well-digested plan of co-operation had been concerted with the Monaghan chiefs ; but the latter were not to move unless the operations of their Longford brethren proved successful. At the head of these were the two Dennistons, the O'Haras, O'Connells, Farrell, and one O'Reilly, who appeared in arms on the fifth of September, 1798, and led on the attack on Granard ; but the issue of that affair disconcerted the plan of the Monaghan chiefs, and prevented the Cavan leaders from attacking the different garrisons in their county, which they had meditated.

meditated. The two Dennistons and Farrell were members of the Mastrim yeomen cavalry, several of whom fought with the rebels on that day. The elder Denniston was first lieutenant of it.

The popish multitude in the county of Roscommon, universally disaffected, were on the point of rising, and waited for nothing but a hint from certain leaders in their respective districts.

A respectable magistrate of my acquaintance, who had a strong regard for a popish gentleman who meant to have headed a numerous body of rebels, obtained a private interview with him for the purpose of dissuading him from so rash an attempt, which he assured him would terminate in the ruin of him and his family. This chieftain spurned at the advice of his friend, and expressed a downright conviction that his party must succeed, as the mass of the people in every part of Ireland were engaged in it; that as they would rise at the same time, the government must be overturned, and that such persons as resisted them would lose their lives and property; and he even went so far as to advise this magistrate to be very moderate in the part he took, lest his intemperate zeal might mark him for the vengeance of the insurgents. So sure were the disaffected of their party's success, though with the aid of but one thousand French!

After an interview of two hours, he left him determined to persevere in his rash design; but at the instance of another person of high rank, who used the most persuasive eloquence on the occasion, he yielded, on condition of his obtaining for him a speedy trial. By the wise and seasonable exertions of this person, the property and the lives of the protestants of the county of Roscommon were preserved from the rapacity of the deluded multitude, who were on the point of rising, and only waited for a signal from this leader.

I think it right to mention, that this very important service was rendered by doctor Law, bishop of Elphin, who shewed great magnanimity in maintain-

ing his post ; for, instead of flying to the metropolis for protection, he fortified his palace, and bid defiance to the rebels, by which he set a good example to country gentlemen.

I cannot pass over in silence the laudable fortitude of doctor Percy, bishop of Dromore, who also remained in his palace, while the rebellion existed in the counties of Down and Antrim. His lordship also contributed liberally to the formation of a yeoman corps of one hundred men at Dromore, who completely kept in awe some ill-disposed persons in the neighbourhood, who had been infected by the Ballynahinch rebels.

On Tuesday the fourth of September, a man on horseback went about the county of Westmeath, proclaiming that the orangemen were murdering the Roman catholicks, and burning their houses. In consequence of it, numbers of people, armed with pikes and other weapons, assembled in lord Sunderlin's park at Baronstown. His lordship approached them with about twelve of his corps, and asked them, Why they assembled in so hostile a manner ? They answered, that they were afraid of the orangemen, who were armed, and were determined to murder all the Roman catholicks. * His lordship assured them, that their fears were groundless, as no such persons ever were in the country ; and he promised them protection, if they could point them out ; but they persisted in feigning fears and prejudices.

About two miles further on the road towards Mullingar; his lordship met another body of pikemen, with whom he reasoned in the same manner, but to no purpose. At last, one of them knocked down his lordship's trumpeter, and wounded him ; and soon after served a yeoman and one of his servants

* As Mr. George Cooper, whom I have mentioned, has uttered the vilest slander of the orangemen, I think it right to mention, that a member of the Irish directory acknowledged, while in prison, that the alarming reports about them were invented by them merely as a device to stimulate the mass of the papists against the protestants, and that the priests eagerly adopted it for that purpose.

wants in the same manner ; on which his lordship and his few yeomen retreated to Mullingar, and in their way saw great numbers of insurgents assembling.

In the course of a few hours they collected in great numbers, and attacked Wilson's hospital, a charitable foundation, for the purpose of seizing the arms in it and of destroying it, because it was a protestant institution, established for the purpose of maintaining old men, and educating children. They rushed into it with hideous yells, broke open some doors, and carried off arms and other articles. They gave the reverend Mr. Radcliffe, the chaplain, two wounds : However, as he shewed the most undaunted courage, and seemed determined not to surrender his arms, they quitted the house ; but they sent him a message about eleven o'clock at night, that they would level it next morning at three o'clock, unless he gave up his arms. But as that proposal was treated with contempt, they next day, about eight o'clock, to the number of five thousand, forcibly entered the hospital, plundered it of arms and every valuable article, provisions, and household furniture ; took Mr. Radcliffe prisoner, carried him to the town of Multifarnham, declaring, they would keep him till Mr. Latten Fitzgerald, confined at Mullingar as a state prisoner, was discharged ; however Mr. Radcliffe was so fortunate as to escape.

Next day they returned to the hospital, converted it into a barrack, seized the cows and sheep, and killed most of them. In short, they left the hospital a perfect wreck. After committing all these atrocities, they had mass celebrated for them by a popish priest.

They had twenty-seven protestant prisoners in an office belonging to the hospital, whom they intended to have put to death by the most cruel torture, had they not been relieved by a party of the army and yeomanry, under the command of lord Longford, who routed the rebels with considerable slaughter.

Some of the rebels proposed to put the boys (who were all protestants) to death, after having plundered them

them of their clothes. The labourers, and the popish servants of the hospital, were the leaders in this nefarious business, and seemed to exult in it.

A most sanguinary denunciation was posted on a church in the county of Westmeath, soon after the French left Castlebar, which the reader will see in Appendix, No. XXI. 8.

The evening before the attack on Granard, a body of rebels entered Edgeworthstown, and plundered and almost demolished every protestant house in it, except those of Mr. Edgeworth, Mr. William Bond, the captain of the Mastrim yeomanry, and Mr. Alexander Bond, post-master; but they did not injure the house or property of a Roman catholic.

For a day or two before, reports had been industriously propagated, that the orangemen were destroying all the neighbouring country, and had burnt the preceding night Street and some other adjacent villages. This, which was the watch word and signal for insurrection, spread like a conflagration, and had the desired effect on the popish multitude.

A respectable gentleman, an inhabitant of Edgeworthstown, gave me the following account of his situation, and of the events which occurred there: "On my going into that village, all seemed to be alarm and confusion. The yeomanry determined, as one of their officers in person informed me, to defend at least the barracks, if attacked by the rebels; but some events occurred in the course of the day, which induced them to evacuate the place and march to Longford. On hearing this unexpected misfortune, I immediately sent off my wife and family, and once more walked through Edgeworthstown, examining every countenance, and conversing for a few minutes with the two or three last protestants whom I met indignantly retreating. I soon returned to my house, wishing, if possible, not to desert what I deemed my post, and yet, not knowing what to do in such an emergency; but I was soon roused from this uncertainty, by intelligence from
my

my servant, that the rebels in a very numerous body were marching to Edgeworthstown, by the Granard and not the Dublin road, which would bring them within one hundred yards of my door. Before their arrival, I concealed myself in a little plantation on my lawn, where divine Providence protected me till morning. I saw almost a forest of pikes nearly opposite my house. Some rebels on horseback passed within about thirty yards of me, and about three times that distance, a protestant, my next neighbour, who had just sought an asylum in a shady part of my lawn, received a stroke of a pike in the head, which, though partially broken by the branches, cut him severely, and almost covered him with blood. I was "all ear" in my place of concealment, and stunned with the discord and confusion of martial musick, firing, shouting, crashing of windows, and furniture, and such clamorous exultation as might be supposed to issue from a numerous mob in so new a situation, eager to practise republican virtues. It was late in the evening, and just as the greater body of the rebels had retired, a detachment of lord Oxmantown's yeomanry, being accidentally near the town, and hearing of the outrages committed by the rebels, made a rapid charge through the street, and shot a few of the stragglers without any loss on their part, except one yeoman wounded in the face with a pike. Of the particulars of this transaction I was ignorant till next morning; for only once in the night I ventured to walk by my house, and, perceiving the windows broken, I again returned to conceal myself in the shrubbery till morning."

A man mounted on a white horse rode about the country contiguous to Longford on the fourth of September, and propagated a report that the orangemen were murdering the Roman catholicks, and burning their houses from Edgeworthstown to Carrickboy. To counteract this malignant design, lord Oxmantown, who, with his corps, was on permanent duty at Longford, rode about the country, and by

by his exhortations and assurances of protection to the lower class of people, prevented the insurrection from being general, and induced numbers to return to their homes. The same attempts were made in the counties of Meath and Cavan.

The rebels shewed a disposition to rise in the country round Belturbet, in the latter county; but it abounds so much with protestants, who were well armed, that they would not venture to do so, but repaired to the mountains of Ballynamore, about six miles off, where they assembled in considerable numbers. For the same reason they did not venture to rise in the county of Fermanagh, where there were six thousand protestants well armed. From the battle of Castlebar to the surrender of the French, the blacksmiths were employed in making pikes, in the counties of Monaghan, Leitrim, Longford, Roscommon, Mayo, Sligo, Meath, Westmeath and Dublin.

The landing of the French was known by the rebels in the county of Kildare, the Queen's county, and part of the county of Tipperary; and the mass of the people in them shewed suddenly a strong sensation and a spirit of combination, even before the loyal subjects were acquainted with that event.

I shall now proceed to relate the defeat of the rebels at Killala, the relief of the suffering loyalists there, and some of the circumstances which preceded it.

The fourteenth of September, the commandant lost his authority so much, that little regard was paid to his protections; protestants who had obtained them were committed, and their houses were plundered as orangemen.

On the fifteenth of September, the French officers entertained strong fears that the town would be attacked by pikemen, and they declared that they wished for the arrival of the king's troops. The bishop and his friends, who had been twenty-seven days prisoners, fell into great despondency on the
seventeenth

seventeenth of September, as they expected every night that the castle would be attacked. Twenty persons in arms slept in it besides the ordinary guard of eighteen; but the latter, being Irish recruits, were not to be depended on. There were constantly alarming reports of the sanguinary designs of the pikemen, who were encamped close to the town,

On the eighteenth of September, one of the rebel leaders came to the castle, and proposed to the commandant to imprison every protestant in the church, as hostages for their own security, should the king's army arrive; and it was discovered that they meant to have blown them up; but no other answer was given by the protestants, than that they were ready for them. The commandant generously declared that he would lead on the Irish against the king's troops, and that he would also head the protestants against the former, if any attempt was made against their persons or property. On the eighteenth, the guard and all the rebel soldiers murmured very much at a report which had prevailed, that their friends at Castlebar were in close confinement, and were used very ill; and at last they grew very vehement. To do away the ill effects of it, the bishop proposed to send dean Thompson, and one of their friends, with a flag of truce, and a letter to general Trench, to represent the dangerous situation of the protestants, should the rebel prisoners be ill-treated.

Dean Thompson, and one Roger Maguire, set out for Castlebar, the twentieth of September: They were frequently stopped and interrogated by parties of the rebels, who would have committed violence on dean Thompson, but that he was protected by Maguire. They returned next day, with the most unquestionable testimony that their friends were treated with humanity. Mr. Bourke, of Summer-hill, with fifteen armed men, bravely defended his house against the fury and rapacity of the rebels; which enraged those at Killala so much, that they resolved

to attack it; but Charost assured them, if they persisted in their design, that he would follow and fire on them.

On the twenty-first of September, a body of pikemen having marched through the town in presence of Charost, he, with indignation mingled with contempt, desired them to go to attend their harvest, as he had men enough to guard the town, and he would not be troubled with a pack of robbers; and Ponson, another French officer, vilified and abused them in the grossest manner. This was alarming to the protestants, as the rebels murmured and uttered some menaces against them, and complained of the strong partiality of the French for them.

Alarming accounts were received that the rebels, in spite of the French, would enter and plunder the town; and, had they done so, there is not a doubt but that they would have massacred every protestant. To encourage them in their sanguinary designs, which they had constantly manifested, a priest, of the name of M'Donnell, rode into the town on the twenty-first of September, and announced that the orangemen were massacring the Roman catholicks in all the adjacent country. On the morning of that day a report of cannon and small arms was heard towards Ballina, and some time after intelligence was received that the king's troops were within four miles of the town.

Truc, the French officer, and Henry O'Keon, arrived from Ballina, where the former had been commandant, and where he had a narrow escape of being taken prisoner by one of our officers. He abused, in the grossest manner, his allies, the Irish, for having fled at Croffmalina, without striking a stroke.

By a preconcerted plan it was agreed between general French and lord Portarlington, that they should attack Killala at the same time; the former approaching it on the south, the latter on the north-east side. His lordship marched from Sligo on the twenty-first of September, with his own, the Queen's
county

county regiment, a detachment of the twenty-fourth dragoons, the Tireragh yeomen infantry, commanded by captain Woods, and the Tireragh yeomen cavalry, under captain Ormsby, making in the whole, about eight hundred men, with two pieces of cannon. They halted the first night at Arkhill Lodge, where a number of rebels approached them, but on firing one cannon shot they dispersed. Next night they halted at Scurmore, where they were attacked by a numerous body of them, commanded by Henry O'Keon and Mr. Barrett, son of doctor Barrett, who were soon routed with the loss of about two hundred killed.

In this affair we have one calamity to lament, which left the strongest sensations of grief in every loyal heart. Not far from the scene of action lies the village of Carrowcarden, where a few protestant families lived, who, from their peaceable demeanour and good conduct, possessed the regard of even the rebels; so that, partly by giving them entertainment and money as long as they were able, and partly by hiding themselves in the bogs and corn fields, they had hitherto avoided the captivity which their brethren suffered.

On this day a rebel party, commanded by John M'Dunnough, otherwise Pitcher, on their march to attack the king's troops, were ordered to enter the village, and to force every man who was able to carry arms to join their party. They there met with some of those poor protestants, some of them reaping their corn, others concealed in their houses, all of whom they forced along with them at the peril of their lives, and even without arms to defend themselves, and placed them in the front of the line.

When the rebel army gave way, these unfortunate men fled among the crowd towards their own homes; but having been overtaken by the advance guard, they fell in the indiscriminate slaughter of the rebels. It was in vain that they endeavoured to explain the cause of their being there, or to justify their conduct; as the troops, elate with victory, and inflamed with

with revenge, had not time to examine the circumstances of their situation.

The loyalists had soon after the gratification of seeing captain Pitcher taken prisoner; and having been convicted of that and other crimes, his life was forfeited to the vengeance of the law. This however was but a poor atonement to the community for the loss of so many loyal, well-behaved, and industrious men; and no consolation to the unfortunate widows and helpless orphans whom they left behind to deplore a loss which can never be retrieved.

Next day the king's troops having been joined by general Trench and his brigade, they proceeded towards Killala.

In its defence about four thousand rebels took post behind a stone wall, on a hill which commanded the road leading to it; and on which the Downshire regiment advanced. Though the rebels maintained a constant fire on them from the time they first came in sight, the Downshire paid no regard to them, till they arrived at a bridge, which was but a short distance from them. They then began a very heavy fire on the rebels, who fled from their strong position, and joined the main body, except about forty of them, who took post in a grove, nearly forty yards from the palace, where some of them ranged themselves behind trees, and others behind a stone wall. The Downshire pursued them, and were followed by the Fraser fencibles and the Queen's county militia. After about twenty minutes resistance the rebels gave way and ran into the town; where they were charged by the Roxborough fencible cavalry; and though the rebels in the grove kept up a constant fire on them, their only loss was one man badly wounded, but he afterwards recovered. Mr. Arthur Stock, the bishop's son, a youth of sixteen, was in the charge, dressed in a red jacket.

After the king's troops got possession of the town, they killed great numbers of the rebels, whom they found

found concealed in the houses, in the gardens, or in the ditches of the adjacent fields. It was to be lamented that our soldiers plundered what had been saved from the Irish savages by the active exertion of the bishop and the French officers. In the first onset it was impossible to restrain them, when they were elate with victory, and their vengeance was roused by opposition. Some time after, lord Cornwallis sent two commissioners to enquire into the damages committed by the king's troops at Killala, and in March following, the demands of the sufferers were discharged by an order on the bank.

Having related the events which took place in the counties of Mayo and Sligo, I shall give the reader the characters of some of the principal actors in them.

Colonel O'Doude was descended from a very ancient family of the same name, who formerly possessed a large tract of country in the counties of Sligo and Mayo, two baronies of which, namely, Tireragh and Tyrawly, had their names from two sons of the original chieftain of the family, who divided his estate between them. On this extensive estate they counted twenty-four castles, which were occupied by them and their adherents, and many of which are still in existence. O'Doude having been very active in the rebellion of 1641, this fine estate was confiscated, and divided amongst the followers of the conqueror; but a small mountainous tract of land, called Bonneconclane, having been given by special favour to one of the family, was handed down to the late possessor James O'Doude.

The father of this man, whose name was Thady, being a younger brother, and having neither property nor employment at home, went out a volunteer to Germany, at the age of twenty-five years, and in the course of time was promoted in the Hungarian service to the rank of captain, having previously married a German lady, sister to baron Wippler, of whom James was the issue. He having been
born

born and educated in the service, found no great difficulty in arriving at the rank of lieutenant, in which station he served, when the death of his uncle David O'Doude, who possessed the family estate and died without issue, was announced to him. In consequence of this event, he left the army, came to Ireland, and took possession of the paternal property, which proved to be worth about 500*l.* a year, and which he applied himself to the cultivation of with great attention. He soon after married a miss Fitzgerald, daughter to a gentleman of that name, an attorney, by whom he left children. Previous to the breaking-out of the rebellion, he had become a member of the Tyrawly cavalry, and was considered an attentive soldier, and very expert in the use of arms. On the landing of the French at Killala, this corps was, like many others, put to flight by the enemy, and O'Doude deserted his post, and returned to his own house, where, by the solicitations of his wife, and the exertions of one Egan, a bigot, who lived with him, and who had acquired a complete ascendancy over his judgment, he was induced to declare for the cause of rebellion. Having assembled his tenantry and neighbours, he mustered about one hundred men, and putting himself at their head, he marched to the French camp at Killala, where he received his commission, and arms for his followers; while his wife, mounted on a good horse, and decorated with green ribbons and a cockade, attended the procession, and brought up the rear.

Their career of glory was but short, and the hopes of regaining the antient estate soon vanished into empty air. After the defeat at Ballinamuck, he attempted to escape, but was taken prisoner, and conducted to the camp of lord Cornwallis at St. Johnstown; where, being identified, although he endeavoured to pass himself for a French officer, he was condemned and executed. He pleaded guilty to the charges brought against him; but assured the court, that this was his first offence, and declared on his honour,

honour, if they would pardon this, that he never would be guilty of a similar offence; but being informed that his request could not be complied with, he begged to have a priest; but as there was not time for this ceremony, he was constrained to submit to his fate, which he met, but not with that fortitude which might have been expected from a man who had spent so much of his life in active service, and scenes of war.

To a great weakness of judgment, this unfortunate man added a high degree of vanity and bigotry, which laid him open to the designs of interested and ill-disposed persons. Considering himself the head of the clan or family, he despised taking a christian name, and always subscribed himself, O'Doude, Captain; and latterly he had the vanity to assume the title of baron, perhaps from his uncle, baron Wipler, in Germany.

He was so much under the control of the priests, that he submitted to walk barefooted, and with his head shaved, to Loughderg, in the north of Ireland, to perform penance for his sins, and became one of the order of the Scapularians. He took more pains in cultivating the friendship of this ignorant class of men, than that of gentlemen of worth or knowledge, and his table was seldom without one or more of them, on whom he never failed to lavish the best meat and wine.

The idea of recovering his hereditary estate was studiously infused into his mind by his wife and followers, who vainly imagined that a revolution would be accomplished, and that the descendants of the old Irish families would be shortly reinstated in their former possessions and honours by the French. This family have a burying-place appropriated to them in the abbey of Moyne, where may be seen the gigantic bones of some of them, who have been very remarkable for their great stature, as one of them exceeded seven feet in height.

Colonel Mc. Donnel, a Roman catholic gentleman, was son to Joseph Mc. Donnel, of Carnacun,
in

in the county of Mayo, esquire, and in the neighbourhood of Castlebar. His father being a wealthy man, and able to give him a capital to set him up in business, placed him with a merchant at Westport; but considering himself possessed of abilities sufficient to shine in a learned profession, he renounced the mercantile life, and went to the Temple, where he prosecuted his studies with tolerable application, and along with a knowledge of the laws of his country, he acquired the seeds of those detestable principles, which were afterwards matured and employed for the destruction of law, property and justice. There he became acquainted with the dangerous and seducing works of Paine and his disciples; and was introduced into the corresponding societies, of whose principles and practices he was a great admirer, and profited very much by their instructions. Having returned to Ireland, he was recognised as a champion for the Rights of Man, and chosen by his party as a delegate from Mayo to the catholick convention in Dublin, convened by Edward Byrne, where, by his inflammatory harangues and violent conduct in endeavouring to instigate that body to unwarrantable means of prosecuting their claims, he attracted the admiration of his friends, and at the same time strongly excited the attention and suspicion of government; insomuch, that it was debated whether he should be allowed to be called to the bar. He was, however, soon after called to it, and sworn a barrister, which added to his consequence, and increased the influence which he was ambitious to exert among the Roman catholicks in Mayo. He spared no pains in propagating his dangerous democratick principles amongst all ranks and orders of the people, and by corrupting their minds, prepared them for the rebellion, which was soon to follow. The magistrates of the county beheld his conduct with a very jealous eye, and had nearly determined to have him arrested under a warrant from the secretary of state. This, however, was deferred, through that mistaken lenity

lenity by which delinquents are too frequently suffered to escape, and by which the late Rebellion was allowed to raise its baleful head. He was permitted to proceed in his career until the invasion, when a full and fair opportunity was afforded him of displaying both his principles and actions, which he did unequivocally, as soon as the French had made themselves masters of Castlebar, whither he immediately repaired, and was appointed a colonel in their service.

He was attended by a large party of his followers, who had been taught to look for this event by his addresses and harangues, and with these he accompanied Humbert on his march to Ballinamuck; and after the surrender, he and colonel Blake concealed themselves in a bog. Blake was taken prisoner, but he had the good fortune to effect his escape, and made his way from thence into the wild mountains of Cunnemara, and from thence embarked for Spain or France, with some other fugitives of his own description.

Doctor Barrett, a Roman catholic, was a native of Erris, in the county of Mayo, and descended from an ancient and respectable Irish family, who formerly possessed a large estate in that country, and of which he was not a little vain. Having got a competent knowledge of Latin, which he spoke tolerably correct and fluent, though in a vulgar manner, he served a regular apprenticeship to an apothecary, and carried on the business for some years with much credit to himself and utility to the country. He also attended many of the genteel families in the neighbourhood of Ballina, (where he lived,) in the light of a physician, and was so much esteemed by them, that they entered into a subscription to support him at Edinburgh, while he should study physick there in a regular manner. His wife and children were also supported in the same manner at home, while he studied in Scotland, and that exclusively by the protestant

gentlemen, although he and his family were of the catholick persuasion.

In that country such acts have not been uncommon ; but I am sorry to remark that the returns made to them have frequently been ungenerous and ungrateful, and they were notoriously so during the late rebellion.

Doctor Barrett having returned from his studies, commenced the practice of physick under the same auspices, in which, from his previous knowledge of medicine, and the skill he had acquired in diseases, he made such a progress, as to be in the receipt of 300*l.* a year, in a country more noted for liberality than riches, and where he had sir William Boyde to contend with. Before he went to Scotland, the doctor was rather bigoted to his religion ; but having frequently attended the presbyterian form of worship, and conversed freely with well-informed men there, he became disgusted with the tricks and superstition of his own persuasion, of which he often spoke with much severity, and seldom, if ever, attended mass or confession from his return till his condemnation ; and nothing but the prejudices which he had so strongly imbibed, when young, and his pride, (of which, in common with the old Irish families, he possessed a large share,) prevented him from abandoning entirely the catholick doctrines and worship. It is to be apprehended that his situation was similar to that of many other well-informed Roman catholics, who, unable to digest the monstrous tenets prescribed for their belief, and prevented by pride, shame, or prejudice, from embracing a religion more conformable to reason and good sense, suffer themselves to lapse insensibly into a state of infidelity.

As to the doctor's loyalty before the invasion, it was unimpeachable, so far as was known to his most intimate friends ; and, I firmly believe, he was totally unconnected with the leaders of rebellion before that period. On the approach of the French army, he and his family fled for safety to an island in Lough Conn,

Conn, where they continued for more than a week, but were afterwards induced, partly through want of provisions, and partly through promises of protection, to come into the town, where, on account of their religion, they were not only protected, but amply supplied with every article of support and comfort which the demesnes, houses and cellars of the protestant gentlemen, plundered by the rebels, could furnish.

After the retaking of the town, the doctor was found peaceably at home, and seemed very happy to find his old acquaintances and benefactors returning in triumph, many of whom, as well as the officers of different regiments, he entertained very hospitably for some weeks, and seemed perfectly secure from any danger; and, what is somewhat odd, some months elapsed before he was apprehended.

It did not appear on his trial that he ever took up arms, or accompanied the enemy in any act of hostility, or behaved with severity to the protestants who were in his power; but, on the contrary, that he shewed acts of kindness and indulgence to many of them. The chief matters proved against him, were, consulting and advising with the French officers; directing the guards; signing passes in his son's name, (who was a rebel colonel); and forcing his son to take a command.

Before his trial an offer was made to him, that he and his whole family would be permitted to remove themselves to America; but so confident was he that no act of treason or rebellion could be substantiated against him, that he rejected the proposal; alleging, that if the gentlemen of the country could procure proof sufficient to condemn him, they would not make him so lenient an offer. He was tried and condemned at Castlebar, by the sentence of a court martial, and sent to Ballina for execution. His separation from an innocent virtuous wife, and seven children, whom he was about to leave unprotected, and without the most remote prospect of support,

was a punishment far beyond that which the sentence of the law had decreed, and produced the strongest emotions of pity in those who execrated the crime for which he was to suffer, and by which they had been such great sufferers themselves.

He walked from the publick house to the fatal tree, and read, as he proceeded, a litany, attended by two priests, and met his fate with becoming propriety, and without emotion, having, in a few short sentences, called God to witness, whether he had been guilty of the crimes for which he was condemned. He had many good qualities, and was a very useful member of society ; but his having espoused a cause, which was calculated to destroy the lives and properties of his supporters and benefactors, leaves a stain of ingratitude behind it which no time can efface.

Patrick Barrett, junior, a colonel in the rebel army, was son to doctor Barrett of Ballina, before mentioned, and received a tolerable school education from his father, who intended to breed him to the profession of an apothecary. Previous to the rebellion, he enrolled himself in the Tyrawly cavalry, where he was always amongst the foremost to volunteer in any duty which required spirit or activity, and never failed to acquit himself like a good soldier and a loyal subject.

On the taking of Ballina by the French troops, this corps, with some others, were ordered to fall back on Castlebar, and being badly officered, and partaking in the general panick, with which the troops of the line, as well as the yeomanry, were struck on that shameful occasion, they divided into small parties, and effected their retreat, some retiring home, others joining themselves to different parties of the king's troops, where they could find them. Unfortunately for Barrett, it was his lot to be amongst the former, and having come within a few miles of Ballina, he had an interview with his father, which ended in an acquiescence on his part of coming
ing

ing into the town, which was then occupied by a French commandant, and a large number of rebels. It is asserted, that the cause of his coming into town, was an expectation of procuring some money to enable him to return and join the king's troops ; but in this hope he was disappointed, and was committed a close prisoner with the protestants, where he remained until he consented to accept of a command in the rebel army, which he with great reluctance did, after his father had used all the authority of a parent, and even proceeded so far as to strike him with a rattan, because he refused so flattering an invitation. Being invested with the honour of a colonel's commission, his time was more occupied in restraining the excesses of his savage and violent followers, than in training them to military discipline. These worst of barbarians, having received arms from the French, or furnished themselves with pikes, were constantly employed in plundering houses, driving in cattle, imprisoning the few protestants who remained in the country, or indulging themselves in eating and drinking to excess, and then becoming unruly and riotous, so that Truc the commandant and young Barrett were frequently called upon to exert their authority and restore peace, which was the only duty that Barrett seemed to do with a good grace ; and it was often remarked of him, that he was never seen to smile after he had been promoted to the rank of colonel, and seriously requested of his friends not to offend him with that appellation. He enlarged many of the prisoners from time to time, and shewed them as much indulgence and lenity as his limited and precarious situation enabled him to do. His exertions were not confined to the town, and he was frequently obliged to mount his horse and gallop out to the country to protect private property.

As Mr. Knox's house at Rappa was in danger of being plundered, he went there with a party, and conveyed

conveyed into town the plate and other valuable effects, which he secured at his father's house.

The reverend Mr. Neligan's house had early attracted the notice of the rebels, and every thing valuable in it had been either taken away or demolished before Barrett came into power, except the papers and records of the registry of the diocese, which were then in Mr. Neligan's care. These, though trampled under foot, and many of them flung into the street, he carefully collected and deposited in a place of safety, by which means the original wills and other records for near one hundred years back were preserved.

His endeavours to save the protestants from the cruelty of priest Cowley were near costing him his life. That villain, who was daily plotting their destruction, pretended that he had received orders from Truc to give them up to the fury of their enemies; but Barrett, suspecting the order to be false, applied to Truc by another interpreter, and learned that his suspicions were well-founded; whereupon he publicly abused Cowley, and accused him so sharply of the falsehood, that one of his friends attempted with a pike to dispatch Barrett, which he would have effected, had it not been for his vigilance and activity.

Notwithstanding his attention and humanity to the loyalists when in his power, he was ready to draw his sword against them when he met them in the field, and to acknowledge them, not as friends, but enemies. This he proved in two instances, the first in an attack made by him and Henry O'Keon on Castlebar, on the twelfth of September, when in the hands of the king's troops, at the head of a large body of rebels, where, by the bravery of captain Urquhart, a few of the Frazer fencibles and the protestants of the town, he was repulsed and obliged to retreat to Ballina. The second was a much bolder attempt, but attended with equally bad success. When it was at length determined by the wisdom of government,

government, that the unfortunate inhabitants of that part of the country were to be relieved, some from their imprisonment, others from banishment, and that the few cowardly and half-armed rebels who had so long occupied the houses and the properties of the loyalists were condemned to expulsion, two large detachments were put in motion for that purpose, the one from Castlebar, the other from Sligo. Barrett marched out to meet the latter with a motley crew of his countrymen, but was soon repulsed.

He afterwards concealed himself in the town, and although he was proclaimed, and a reward was offered for his apprehension, the recollection of his past kindness to the protestants prevented them from discovering his retreat, or bringing him to trial.

After remaining in a state of dreadful suspense for three months, he effected his escape to Sligo, where, in the disguise of a sailor, he entered on board a vessel and sailed for America.

There were many good traits in this young man's character, which would entitle him to a better fate. He was brave and generous, humane and grateful, and his person and manners bespoke something much beyond his education and expectations in life; and it is only to be regretted that his loyalty was not sufficiently strong to enable him to resist the influence which was exerted to seduce him to join the enemies of his country.

Henry and John Sheares, two brothers, who had been arrested the twenty-first of May, were tried in Dublin the twelfth of July, on charges of high treason, and were convicted on the clearest evidence of being deeply concerned in the conspiracy, and of having harboured the most sanguinary designs. They were the sons of Mr. Sheares, a banker at Cork, who was esteemed not only for his moral virtues, but respected for his mental accomplishments and intellectual powers, having written essays and dissertations on various subjects, which would not have disgraced the pen of doctor Johnson. These men were at
Paris

Paris when the king and queen were put to death, and continued there during the tyranny of Robespierre; and at their return were heard to speak with delight of the scenes of carnage which they had seen there. They were executed in front of Newgate, and in their last moments displayed that perturbation of mind, and that abject fear, which seldom fail to attend the guilty when they are about to depart from this life.

John M'Can, clerk to Henry Jackson, was tried and convicted of the same crime on the seventeenth of the same month, and was executed on the nineteenth, when he shewed a decent composure, and acknowledged the justice of his sentence.

William M. Byrne, of the county of Wicklow, was tried and convicted of the same crime on the twentieth of July, and suffered on the twenty-first,

Oliver Bond, one of the principal leaders of the conspiracy, at whose house the Leinster delegates had been arrested on the twelfth of March, was arraigned for high treason on July the twenty-third, and his trial lasted till seven o'clock in the morning of the twenty-fourth, when he was convicted. This man, who had made a considerable fortune as a woollen-draper, was the son of a presbyterian minister of St. John's-town, nine miles from Letterkenny, in the county of Donegal. I have very good authority for saying that he was a confirmed deist, and that he had been active in disseminating the works of Tom Paine, of which he was a great admirer. I have been well assured that he was in indifferent circumstances, till he and Simon Butler were committed to Newgate by the house of lords, in the year 1793; on which occasion, being considered as a persecuted patriot, his customers encreased so much, that he became opulent in the space of four or five years.

The prisoners confined for high treason in the different gaols in Dublin, perceiving from the trials of the Sheares's, M'Can, Byrne and Bond, that they must fall a prey to the vengeance of the law, applied

to counsellor Dobbs, M. P. to be their intercessor with government, hoping through his mediation to obtain the royal mercy, on making a full discovery of the conspiracy. In consequence of his interference, the lord chancellor, lord Castlereagh, and Mr. secretary Cooke, inclining to do every thing that was merciful on the part of government, condescended to hold an interview with messieurs Arthur O'Connor, counsellor Emmet, and doctor M'Nevin, whom all the state prisoners delegated to represent them. Government, whose clemency and moderation were conspicuous on all occasions, agreed to the following terms : That the prisoners, about seventy in number, should exile themselves for life to such country as should be mutually agreed upon ; that Oliver Bond, who had been condemned to die, should be spared, and permitted to accompany them : And in return they were to disclose the whole of the conspiracy, and their intercourse with France ; but that in doing so, they were not to implicate any person whatsoever in their guilt.

As it was discovered that the leaders in this band of traitors abused the lenity of government, by endeavouring secretly to foment rebellion while in prison, the following persons were sent to Fort George in Scotland, where the severity of their confinement has been mitigated by the greatest indulgence on the part of government :

Samuel Neilson,
Thomas Russell,
Arthur O'Connor,
Thomas Addis Emmett,
William James M'Nevin,
Matthew Dowling,
John Sweetman,
Joseph Cuthbert,
Roger O'Connor,
John Sweeny,
Hugh Wilson,

John Chambers,
Joseph Cormick,
Edward Hudson,
George Cumming,
William Dowdall,
Robert Hunter,
Robert Simms,
William Tennant,
Reverend Steele Dickson, a presbyterian minister.

Another

Another striking instance of the clemency of government was this : In the beginning of September, 1798, an act of general pardon, with but few exceptions, was passed, but it was not productive of as much benefit as might have been expected ; for robbery and assassination continued to be perpetrated, the whole of that year, and till the end of the year 1799, in many parts of Leinster ; not only in that province, but in some parts of Munster, particularly in the counties of Waterford and Tipperary, treasonable combinations continued to be formed, and a strong spirit of insurrection appeared. For near two years after the rebellion was supposed to be put down, the county of Limerick was infested by a banditti, who plundered houses, and committed cold-blooded murders disgraceful to human nature. It is to be lamented, that at this time the popish multitude are as much fraught with disaffection as ever ; though they are still smarting from the former rebellion, and though the royal mercy has been extended to them in a very extraordinary degree.

It might be said that I have gone far in exposing the errors of popery, and have been severe upon them ; but it should be recollected, that the popish clergy never cease to represent the protestant religion as a pestilent heresy, which brings the frowns of the Almighty on its votaries in this life, and dooms them to eternal damnation hereafter ; and this not orally, but by various publications, some of which I shall mention.

One of them, entitled, “ Fifty Reasons, why the holy Roman catholick religion ought to be preferred to all the sects in Christendom,” is printed by Wogan and Cross in Bridge-street ; and it is annually disseminated among the lower class of people by their priests. Every page of this wretched volume of fiction is replete with falsehood and bitter invectives against the established religion, and cannot fail of making the lower class of people rebels to a protestant state. I give the following extracts from it :

“ Protestants

“ Protestants cannot name so much as one person of sanctity that was of their religion, page 36. Our adversaries will confess, that during the first five ages there was no other religion” (meaning the popish) “ to which nations were converted.” Page 38.

“ There is little or no instruction to be found among them” (protestants) “ upon points of morality, or the observance of God’s commandments; but every thing is allowed to the desires and concupiscence of depraved nature.”

“ Their parsons varnish over the dangerous maxims of their own religion, and every thing that tends to the perdition of those souls that are guided by them.” Pages 96 and 97.

“ They” (protestant ministers) “ are not priests, since they have not power to consecrate in the Eucharist, *nor to forgive sins*, which is yet the main office of priestly dignity.” Page 80.

“ Hereticks themselves confess, that Roman catholicks may be saved; whereas these maintain there is no salvation for such as are out of the Roman catholic church. What madness then were it for any man not to go over to the Roman catholicks, who may be saved in the judgment of their adversaries!” Pages 17 and 90. This infamous volume is frequently given to the lower class of protestants, for the purpose of converting them.

Every person endued with reason must recoil, on reading a treatise on the Scapular, a pitiful piece of superstitious nonsense, which is constantly perused by the besotted wretches who are in that holy order; and they are very numerous.

Another piece of gross superstition and impiety published by the same booksellers, is “ Funiculus Triplex,” or the Triple Cord of St. Francis, which sets forth the great indulgences to which the votaries of that order are entitled.

What can be expected from a rabble drenched with the inebriating poison of such productions, but treason, robbery, and assassination!

A poem in four cantos, and in Hudibrastic verse, entitled, "England's Reformation, from the time of Henry VIII. was published by Peter Hoey, a popish bookseller in Dublin, in the year 1791. It was written by one Thomas Ward, as a satire on the reformation, and it abounds with ridicule and invective on the illustrious characters who were the chief instruments in effecting that glorious revolution. This production contains no less than 468 pages.

In the year 1790, the translation of a book entitled, "The general history of the christian church, from her birth to her final triumphant state in heaven," was printed in Dublin by James Mehain, a popish bookseller. It was written originally at Rome, by a sanguinary bigot of the name of Pastorini. This writer defends and expresses his approbation of the massacres of protestants, which took place in France and Ireland; and he endeavours to shew, by false and tortuous expositions of the prophecies, that it has been positively decreed by the Almighty, that hereticks of every kind and in every country in Europe would be extirpated the beginning of this century. This piece of blasphemy and folly, which is a large octavo volume of 502 pages, was published, it is believed, to encourage the mass of the Irish papists to join in the conspiracy which was framed so early, and in the massacre which was to succeed it in the year 1798, as if it was to be conducted under the divine sanction; and yet, from the year 1791 to that period, the popish clergy and laity frequently assembled in different parts of the kingdom, particularly in Dublin, expressed their zealous and unabated loyalty, and made publick and unequivocal renunciations of the sanguinary and intolerant principles which ever characterized their church.*

It is most certain, that the great mildness and beneficence of the protestants of every rank towards
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* See this more fully mentioned in vol. i. under the head, "Origin of the Catholick committee."

the lower class of papists, would soon make converts of them, † but that their clergy never cease to inspire them with a fanatical hatred against the protestant state and their fellow subjects of that persuasion. Doctor Hufsey's pastoral letter is a striking proof of this.

We may form some idea of this from an oath found on board the *Gladiator*, by which the Irish traitors in the fleet bound each other, in the year 1798, to carry it into Brest, "and afterwards to kill all protestants." †

It appeared also on a trial on board the *Cæsar*, that Michael Butler, an Irish traitor, declared, that there ought to be a catholic government in Ireland; that the protestants should be expelled from it; and that he should not die easy till he swam in English blood. ||

The following fact will prove, at how early an age these uncharitable prejudices are instilled into the minds of the lower class of people: The children of the Foundling Hospital are left with their popish nurses till the age of ten years; and soon after their admission into the hospital, they have been known to shew the greatest aversion to children of the established church, and to call them, with manifest signs of hatred, "Protestant dog!" Can loyalty or fidelity to the state be expected from persons so early impregnated with these principles?

I shall refer the reader to Appendix, No. XV. for the woeful effects of fanaticism infused into the mind at so early a period, which appeared in the assassination of Mrs. Deale, near Athy, in the county of Kildare.

An

† The Roman catholicks of a parish frequently solicit protestant gentlemen for ground to build chapels on, and I never heard of the request being refused; and in many cases, they built them at their own expence. Whenever a popish chapel is to be built by subscription, the protestants never fail, when solicited, to contribute largely to it.

† Report of the secret committee of the English house of commons, published 5th of March, 1799, Appendix, No. XIX.

|| Ibid.

An account of the sums of money claimed by the suffering loyalists in the different counties of Ireland, for their losses sustained in the rebellion of 1798, and laid before the commissioners appointed by act of parliament for compensating them.

	£.	s.	d.
Antrim	17729	3	4½
Carlow	24854	14	7
Cavan	61	16	9
Cork	2501	14	11½
Clare	856	9	11½
Down	12129	—	8
Dublin	25829	16	—½
Galway	4814	—	3
Kerry	149	4	2½
Kildare	97090	2	11
Kilkenny	27352	8	9½
King's county	2461	19	7
Limerick	22	9	6
Londonderry	7	19	3
Leitrim	2316	19	1½
Longford	1046	14	10½
Mayo	120553	11	4½
Meath	14597	9	3½
Queen's county	1586	9	3½
Roocommon	325	19	7
Sligo	15769	14	9½
Tipperary	1577	9	8
Waterford	1321	18	9
Westmeath	2808	13	4
Wexford	515191	8	5
Wicklow	130379	17	0
Total	£ 1023337	6	4

A P P E N D I X,

No. I.

I.

By one of his Majesty's justices of the peace for said county and city.

*County of the city of Kilkenny,
to wit.*

THE information of Matthias O'Brien, of the city of Kilkenny, in said county, popish priest, who being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, deposeth, That the late tumultuous risings of the whiteboys, which prevailed in the southern parts of this kingdom, were set on foot for the sole end and purpose, to informant's certain knowledge, in order to raise therein a spirit of sedition and dissatisfaction to his majesty's person and government, which might be of use to support a foreign invasion, certainly intended against this kingdom at a convenient time, in favour of prince Charles, otherwise the Pretender to these realms: and that the causes commonly alleged for these risings by the said whiteboys, were but mere pretences, and calculated entirely to conceal the above secret designs. Informant deposeth, that these disorders were fomented originally by foreign agents, in conjunction with some popish bishops, particularly doctor James Butler, titular archbishop of Cashel, (in whose house, or chapel, there were papers of a treasonable nature concealed,) and others of his clergy, assisted by several principal gentlemen of the same persuasion. That informant was early apprized from his station, then as coadjutor to the aforesaid doctor Butler, of their dangerous schemes against his majesty's crown, and the established government of this kingdom, which they did at that time, and do still, as he verily be-
VOL. II. Q lies,

lieves, mean to overturn, and which they would have long since more openly attempted to execute, but for the timely notice thereof he often from time to time gave to the reverend John Hewetson, of Suirville, a justice of peace for said county, and whose life he more than once saved in his chair of confession, by dissuading his determined and combined assassins from their bloody purposes against him. That informant is fully convinced upon different grounds, (but which, as being confided upon the solemnities of confession from some of the insurgents, and secrecy, he thinks he cannot, consistent with his obligation as a priest, divulge,) that the above spirit of sedition would have broke out long since to an open and armed rebellion, were it not for the zealous and indefatigable labours of the said John Hewetson, and William Bagenal, esquire, who, by the spirit and activity they exerted in detecting, apprehending, and bringing to justice, some of the chief leaders of these insurrections, checked and suspended for a time their bad designs. And he deposeth in the most solemn manner, that this same rebellious spirit still subsists among those deluded people, as it evidently appears from their frequent nocturnal meetings, held by informant's certain knowledge, within these eight or nine weeks past, in and about Callan, and other parts of this county, where informant saw some of the said insurgents clad in their white uniforms. Informant is also certain, that this same rebellious spirit will never cease in this kingdom, among the aforesaid insurgents, if some speedy and efficacious means be not used to prevent it. Informant saith, that his reason for knowing the said schemes and designs to be true is, that the said doctor Butler did solemnly bind him to the following oath: "To be true and faithful to the church of Rome, and to promote its good, and to be faithful to him the said doctor Butler, his archbishop;" that after signing said promise, in a book belonging to said Butler, he was told by him, the said Butler, that these risings of the whiteboys were set on foot solely for the advancement of the Roman catholick faith, and the extirpation of heresy in this kingdom; and that as there was but one God, there should be but one religion: And, to restore the same vetus Hibernia, by making her faithful sons to rise in rebellion to support France, or other countries, to establish prince Charles on the British throne. And that he, the said Butler, then toasted his health in the company present, who were privy to the conspiracy.

Informant

Informant saith, he hath no other motive for discovering said conspiracy, but to preserve peace, and to prevent the effusion of blood in this kingdom.

MATTHIAS O'BRIEN.

Sworn before me this 24th of January, 1768,
THOMAS BUTLER, *mayor of Kilkenny.*

In another information, Matthias O'Brien swore, that doctor Butler, titular archbishop of Cashel, assured him, that the cause of the whiteboys was the cause of God, and their holy religion, undertaken to restore prince Charles to the throne of his ancestors, and their ancient faith to its primitive purity. That informant knew that the late Nicholas Sheehy was chiefly supported by the said Butler, and that large contributions were frequently made for him; informant, and the rest of the popish clergy, having been taxed for that purpose by the said Butler; which the reverend Mr. Magher, a convert to the protestant religion, can certify from his own knowledge. That informant saw and read a letter at the chapel of Thurles, said to have been written and signed by count Taaffe, and addressed to doctor Fitzsimons, titular archbishop of Dublin, and transmitted to the said James Butler, importing that a popish college should soon be erected in Dublin. That the said James Butler extorted a sum of money from informant, and the rest of his clergy, and from the reverend Mr. Magher, who afterwards became a convert to protestantism, under the pretext of establishing said popish seminary; but for the sole purpose, as informant believes, of supporting the whiteboys. That informant was told by James Fogerty, of Thurles, merchant, that he brought from Dublin* a large sum of money, which he delivered to said James Butler; and that he understood from said Fogerty, that the said money was to promote the said rebellious purposes. That informant, from his ministerial functions as a priest these four years past, has full and sufficient reasons to be convinced that the grand scheme of all these insurrections of the whiteboys, in these and the neighbouring counties, was to raise a general rebellion against his majesty, and the established government of this kingdom; and to massacre all the protestants therein at a certain hour.

Q 2

By

* The Catholic committee was sitting there at that time.

2.

By one of his Majesty's justices of the peace for said county.

County of Kilkenny,
to wit.

THE information of David Landregin, late of Roxborough, in the county of Tipperary, but now of Aglish, in the county of Kilkenny, who being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, deposeth, That some time in the month of March, 1762, he was enlisted in the society of whiteboys, at Newcastle, in the county of Tipperary, by Mr. Robert Keating, of Knocka, in said county, gentleman, and sworn by him at the same time, to take the following oath: "To be true and faithful to the king of France, and to the true king, prince Charles, and to obey all the orders of his officers, and not to disclose his secrets to any one, except to a Frenchman, or one of his own party." That he told informant that the object they had in view was, to collect an army together in this kingdom, sufficient to raise a rebellion against an invasion which they expected from France, with prince Charles, their rightful sovereign, at their head; and, for whom, they were to conquer England, Ireland, and Scotland. And that he told informant they had powerful friends in England and Scotland, who would cause and foment risings in said kingdoms, for said end. That a strong French army would make a descent in these kingdoms, at the same time that they would invade Ireland. That therefore the whiteboys must keep well and faithfully together, against said event. That informant made many expeditions by night on the lands of Drumlemmon, Ardsfinnan, and Fethard, in the county of Tipperary, under the command of said Robert Keating, and others, who were mounted, armed, and dressed in white uniforms; together with the late Nicholas Sheehy,* Edmond Sheehy, James Buxton, and James Farrell. That said Robert Keating, and James Butler, drew out their troop, and disciplined them at said places. That some time after, informant was present at a meeting held at the house of Thomas Browne, of Clonmell, alefeller, together with said Robert Keating, James Butler, and one Patrick Gilbert, farmer, who all took an oath to put to death, the first time an opportunity offered, the earl of Carrick, sir Thomas Maude, baronet, John Bagwell, esquire, and the reverend John Hewetson,

The priest hanged at Clonmell.

Hewetson, who were the only enemies they dreaded to their rebellious designs; and that informant took said oath.† That at another meeting held at the house of one Ronan, innkeeper, at Ardfinnan, informant saw said Nicholas Sheehy, Edmond Sheehy, James Buxton, James Farrell, and many others, take the same oath. Informant saith, that the execution of said Nicholas Sheehy, and the rest of his friends, has been the means of saving the lives of the said persons whom they swore to assassinate. Informant saith, he was present at a meeting held at the race-course of Clogheen, on the night of the day that the earl of Drogheda came there, and that five hundred persons, all in white uniforms, were present, and most of them were armed; and that said meeting was held in the spring, sometime before the French took Newfoundland. That at said meeting it was proposed to them, by said Nicholas Sheehy, and others, to burn the said town, and to massacre the said earl, and the corps under his command, in order to get their arms, and to frighten the protestant gentlemen from pursuing them, or giving them any further hindrance in their future purposes. Informant saith, that they would have executed the said design, but that John Doyle, popish priest of Ardfinnan, prevented them, by falling on his knees, and giving them his curse, if they undertook what must occasion their own ruin; for he said, we are not ripe yet for such a blow, nor can we 'till prince Charles and his friends from France land to our assistance: if you attempt it before that time, every protestant in Ireland will be up in arms against us, and give no quarter to man, woman, or child of our religion. Whereupon they desisted.

DAVID LANDREGIN,

Sworn before me the 15th of March, 1767,

JOHN HEWETSON.

Present, DANIEL OSBORNE,

3.

County of } THE information of Thomas Rawley, of
Kilkenny. } Killenaul, in the county of Tipperary, farmer,
— who, being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists,
and examined, deposeeth, That, some time in the year of
our

† This is similar to the committee of assassination formed by the defenders, who bound each other by oath to commit murder.

our Lord 1763, he was enlisted among the whiteboys, by Mr. Edmond Quinn, of Myre, in said county, farmer, and sworn by the following oath: "To be true and faithful to the king of France and prince Charles, and to obey all the orders of his commanding officers." That he, said Quinn, then gave your informant half-a-guinea, and told him he was his colonel, and that their scheme was to raise a rebellion in Ireland, in order to support a French invasion, which they expected, with prince Charles, their right king, at their head, to relieve the Roman catholicks, and to make this kingdom their own.

That some short time after he met said Quinn in Thurles, and was conducted by him to the house of James Butler, titular archbishop of Cashel, and into his company. That after being introduced to him, said Butler, the servant was sent out of the way, and then said Butler took a book out of his pocket, and re-swore your informant as before; viz. to be true and faithful to the king of France, and his right king Charles; and to obey the orders of his commanding officers in all things. That he then gave your informant some claret, and afterwards dismissed him with his blessing for that time. That your informant continued a twelve-month after in the service of the whiteboys, 'till he was apprehended, and lodged in Clonmell gaol, and brought to his trial for high treason and rebellion against his majesty, for which, though guilty, he was publicly acquitted. That after his acquittal and enlargement, he went to see the aforesaid James Butler, (by whom he was very kindly received, and also supported whilst in confinement.) That after refreshment given to him by said Butler, he was sent by him to the late Nicholas Sheehy, with a purse of gold from him, said Butler, with this message, "That he had only received this money from Dublin the day before, else he would have sent it to him sooner." * Your informant further deposeth, that the aforesaid Butler did then assure him, that they soon should have Ireland in their own hands, and that they would certainly be supported by an invasion from France, with prince Charles at their head; and hereupon he dismissed him upon his errand, first giving him an English crown to bear his expences. That he went directly thence to Nicholas Sheehy, and found him at his sister's house

* Large collections were made at that time from the popish multitude, and paid to treasurers in Dublin.

house at Shanbally; and there he delivered to him said Butler's letter and purse of gold; which letter having read, he then turned immediately afterwards, in your informant's presence, poured on the table said gold, consisting of forty pieces, and guineas to the amount of about thirty. Your informant deposeth further, that it was resolved upon, at a meeting of the whiteboys at Myre aforesaid, to burn the houses of the protestants of Ireland, and to massacre them in one night, after a landing made by the French, as was expected. Your informant further deposeth, he is thoroughly convinced said massacre and rebellion are not yet over; because he was very lately invited by the said Edmond Quinn to join him and his friends in further intended risings, for the above purposes, which he is certain are again set on foot, by means of the aforesaid James Butler, John Kirkby of Ballyna near Killaloe, and Edmond Quinn, aforesaid; and also by Daniel Cavenagh, of the county of Kilkenny, gentleman. Your informant deposeth, that he is sure the aforesaid rebellion and massacre would have long since taken place but for the interposition of the earl of Carrick, and the reverend John Hewetson.

THOMAS RAWLEY.

Sworn before me, March 7th, 1767,

JOHN HEWETSON.

4.

By one of his Majesty's justices of the peace for said county.

County of Kilkenny,
to wit.

THE information of Mary Butler, spinster, who being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, and examined upon oath, deposeth, That she was at the house of one Philip Heneberry of Cahir, where her brother John Butler, was employed as a house-carpenter, on the twenty-eighth day of September, 1764, when she was informed by her said brother, that he was summoned by Nicholas Sheehy, popish priest, to assist the rest of his men to save some prisoners, who were taken up as whiteboys, near Carrick, and to go the next day to the gaol of Kilkenny; that her brother sent her before him to Clogheen; that on her way thither, she met James Farrell, commonly called buck Farrell, who saluted her, and asked her if she heard any strange news; and

at

at the same time giving her the same account that her brother had done before, declared he must also go to rescue the aforesaid prisoners. That she then went to Clogheen, where she met Nicholas Sheehy aforesaid, Michael Mahony, Edmund Prendergast, buck Farrell aforesaid, Edmund Burke, of Tubrid, Edmund Meehan, Thomas Beer, as she afterwards heard him called, with several others, whom she cannot at present recollect, preparing for said intended rescue. That they all set out in three different companies, to avoid suspicion; your informant riding behind Michael Mahony; that on the way she heard Nicholas Sheehy propose a scheme of making a false coffin, with straw, covered with a sheet, to deceive and seize the guard that conducted the prisoners, in order to deliver them. That they all arrived at the village of Newmarket, in the county of Kilkenny, where having refreshed themselves in the house of George Reed, a publican, they prepared the aforesaid coffin. That when this was finished, the aforesaid Nicholas Sheehy leaving them his blessing, departed from them, on his return home, as he then said, to celebrate mass at his own chapel the next day, to avoid suspicion. That on the light horse appearing before them, she saw James Farrell, otherwise buck Farrell, with one pistol in his hand, and the other in his pocket, together with Edmund Prendergast, Michael Mahony, and several others, rush out to meet them. That she heard the serjeant of the guard, George Johnston by name, challenged first by one Walsh, and then by James Farrell aforesaid, to surrender up the prisoners, or that he should lose his life. That on his refusal, she saw them immediately attack him. That buck Farrell first knocked him down; and that a person, unknown to her, then drew his said Johnston's sword, and thrust it into his body. She deposeth further, that she saw one Dogherty, as she heard him then called, aiding and assisting in said murder, as also Thomas Magrath, of Clogheen.*

her
MARY ✕ BUTLER,
mark.

*Sworn before me this 21st day of March,
1766, but first read to the examinant,*
JOHN HEWETSON.

* This alludes to the rescue of some white boys, whom a party of dragoons was guarding to the gaol of Kilkenny; and in the attempt some of the military and many of the assailants were killed and wounded. It was planned by that notorious traitor, father Nicholas Sheehy.

County

5.

County of Tipperary,
to wit.

THE information of Mr. James Farrell, of Rehill in said county, gentleman, who being duly sworn and examined upon oath, in the presence of lieutenant colonel Harcourt, major Lyons, captain Thomas Walmsly, and Daniel Toler, esquire, high sheriff of said county, declar-eth, That he was enlisted into the society of whiteboys by the late Nicholas Sheehy,§ popish priest, under the oath of allegiance and fidelity to the king of France, and prince Charles; that he received his commission as a major in their service, signed by the French king, as he believeth, and also his pay regularly, in consequence of said commission; that the real end and design for which said society was set on foot, was, as he was credibly informed, and now verily believes, to raise a rebellion in Ireland, in order to support an invasion from France, actually intended against these kingdoms, with a view to restore prince Charles to the throne of these realms, and to overturn the present constitution, both in church and state; that the heads of said rebellion are, James Butler, titular archbishop of Cashel, Pierce Creagh, titular bishop of Waterford, doctor Butler, titular bishop of Cork, and doctor Fitzsimons, titular archbishop of Dublin, Heley, popish priest of Arraglin,† Doyle, popish priest of Ardsinnan, and several others of the popish clergy; together with Robert Keating, of Knocka, James Nagle, of Garrenavilla, Thomas Dogherty, of Ballynamona, Edmund Sheehy,‡ of the lodge, Martin Murphy, and Philip Long, of the city of Waterford, merchant, each of whom usually supplied said Nicholas Sheehy with money to pay said whiteboys, and to support their insurrections: That informant frequently received money for said purpose from said Martin Murphy and Philip Long, particularly from the former, who was agent to lord Cahir, from whom informant held some land, and allowed him his rent regularly in part payment of his pay. That to informant's certain knowledge, several thousand pounds were expended for the above purpose; and that particularly at one meeting held

§ He was hanged for inciting persons to commit murder; and is revered as a saint by the popish rabble.

† It was always a nest of traitors: Mansergh St George, esquire, and Mr. Jasper Uniacke were assassinated there.

‡ Known by the name of buck Sheehy: He was hanged for high treason.

held on the lands of Drumlemon, he saw two thousand guineas distributed to the several persons there assembled, which they had received from the above merchants, for the above purpose. That at said meeting informant saw a bull produced by said Nicholas Sheehy, which he said came directly from the pope, and was read publickly by said Sheehy; and that it granted a plenary pardon and indulgence to such of the insurgents as chose to conform to the protestant religion, in order the better to carry on and execute their glorious enterprize, and to restore the pure and holy catholick religion in its full vigour and strength in Ireland.* Informant saith, there are at present fifteen thousand men embodied for the above purpose, from the muster-roll of their numbers kept by informant; and that most of them are armed. Informant saith, he is thoroughly convinced that this spirit of insurrection never will totally cease in this kingdom, unless speedy and effectual means are made use of by government to prevent the intended mischief.

JAMES FARRELL.

Sworn before me this 18th day of April, 1766,

JOHN HEWETSON.

6.

WE, the foreman and grand jury of the county of Dublin, at the assizes held at Kilmainham for said county on the twenty-ninth day of April, 1767, being convinced, that the late riots and insurrections in the southern parts of this kingdom were fomented as well by the foreign as domestick enemies of our happy constitution in church and state, in order to overturn the same; and that their pretences of tythes and other grievances, were only imaginary, and formed to cover their settled intention of rising in actual rebellion against his majesty's sacred person and government; and having an utter abhorrence of such treasonable practices, think we should be remiss in our duty to our country, if we did not in the most publick manner express our approbation of the actions of those worthy magistrates and others, who daily hazarded their lives in defence of their country; and that it was, under God, owing to the care, conduct, and spirit

* Sixtus V. granted such a bull to the papists of England and Ireland in the reign of Elizabeth.

spirit exerted by those magistrates, that this kingdom was not a scene of tumult and riot at this day, the consequences of which ought to be dreaded by every lover of his country : For these reasons, we, therefore, return our hearty thanks to the right honourable the earl of Carriek, sir Thomas Maude, baronet, the reverend doctor Hewetson, William Bagwell, esquire, and John Bagnall, esquire, for their zealous endeavours to bring those delinquents to the punishment they deserved, and for their unwearied pains to support the laws of their country.

Richard Anderson, *foreman*,
 Richard Jones,
 James Keating,
 Daniel Bullen,
 Anthony Murphy,
 Robert Beasley,
 Francis Cunningham,
 John Dawson,
 John Allen,
 William Hickey,
 Thomas Kennan,
 William Sisson,

Robert Hickey,
 John Edkins,
 Joseph Litton,
 Richard Burton,
 James Wilson,
 John Bradley,
 Thomas Kean,
 George Davis,
 Thomas Andrews,
 Charles Smith,
 Daniel Ebbs,
 Richard Anderson.

7.

By one of his Majesty's justices of the peace for said county.

County of Kilkenny,
to wit.

THE informations of John Twohy, who being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, depose, That he knoweth one James Herbert, otherwise Thomas Fitzgerald, who calls himself a French officer ; that he saw said Herbert at four several times enlist men in Kilsinnan, and Kilnallock in the county of Limerick, and ship them off at Bantry, in the county of Cork, for the French service, in the year 1756. That he saw said Herbert, on the lands of Ardinnan, Drumlemmon, and elsewhere, at various times since, swear the whiteboys under the oath of fidelity and obligation to the French king, and exercise them under arms ; that he saw said Herbert also frequently pay them money, in the name and for the service of the king of France ; and that your deponent has often received it from him. That he heard said Herbert frequently assure them, thus

thus assembled, that they should soon receive assistance from France, in order to conquer Ireland.

JOHN TWOHY,

Sworn before me this 30th day of March, 1766,

JOHN HEWETSON.

8.

William Abraham, of Bohereerd in the Queen's county, a farmer, and of the protestant religion, swore the following examination before Edward Ledwich, clerk, and justice of peace for said county, on the twenty-seventh of December, 1774: That a report had prevailed some time that the white boys intended to carry off examinant the night of the fifteenth instant; that a party of them, blowing horns, and armed with muskets, and dressed in white frocks and shirts, entered his house, and put him behind one of them on horseback; that his wife, endeavouring to prevent their doing so, received a stroke of a musket in the small of the back. That before examinant was mounted, they gave him a violent blow in the head with the lock and hammer of a gun, which inflicted a deep wound thereon, and rendered him stupid and senseless; they carried him off mounted behind one of them, with only his breeches, and a loose great coat on; that in their progress, they beat, battered, and abused him with their guns, and the man behind whom he rode, wounded him severely in the legs with long nails in his heels, commonly called heel spurs; they carried him ten miles off to a place near Ballyconra, where they held a consultation, whether they should cut out his tongue, or pull out his eyes; and at last agreed to cut off his ears, which they did with circumstances of great barbarity; that after having administered to him many unlawful oaths, they buried him up to his chin, though mangled in a deplorable way, in a grave lined with furze.

No. II.

I, *A. B.* of my own free will and accord, do swear to be true to one another, will assist one another abroad and at home, and there are none to be admitted without the consent of the committee appointed by the said body; and they must in all things; be under subjection to the said committee

committee in all things that are lawful, and not otherwise ; and all words and signs to be kept secret from all that are not concerned, or forfeit this oath ; and we are to meet once a month where the committee thinks proper, and we are to spend what is agreeable to the company ; and any person giving a lawful reason for his absence he is not to be under censure ; and all persons entering must be under all rules and regulations appointed by the said committee ; and as in our former oath we are bound to his majesty king George III. and his successors to the crown, *so for this present year 1789, we promise faithfully the same obedience, and also while we live subject to the same government.*

RULES. TO BE OBSERVED.

1st, There is no defender to strike one another upon any account ; or if they do, to be excluded the company as long as the committee thinks proper.

2d, There is no person to come to the monthly meeting drunk ; or if they do, to pay six-pence, and to be excluded for three months.

3d, There is no person on any account to swear or speak loud in the company ; and for every oath they are to pay what the committee thinks proper.

4th, There is no person that formerly belonged to another body (that is to say, a strange body) to be accepted without a line from the body he formerly belonged to.

5th, There is no person to let any one know who belongs to their body, but those who went under the obligation.

6th, There is no body of men to go to a challenge without leave of three of the committee at least.

7th, There is no body to get a copy of these without the leave of the grand master appointed by the general year's meeting, or deputies appointed by the said grand master, or his committee.

8th, Let no person know the words or signs without being concerned ; and they are not empowered to give or make known by either words or signs or tokens any that may hereafter come forth, or make it known to any company or body but ourselves, or our body.

9th, There is no defender to make himself known as a defender after being excluded, under fear of perjury ; and each man continuing six months from this day must find a

gun

gun and bayonet, with other necessary accoutrements, or be excluded at the option of the committee.

Given under our hands, the Grange committee to the committee of Carrickarnan body of defenders, No. 1, for the county of Louth.

We, the committee of No. 18, do certify the bearer, Michael Moor, that he has gone through the rules and obligations of a brother defender; and at his request he desires to be discharged that he may join your body.

Given under our hands at Drumbanagher, this 24th day of April, 1789,

EDWARD BRADLEY,
OWEN BRADLEY,
PATRICK LEES,
DANIEL MCGOVERAN, *sec.*

N. B. Michael Moor's certificate was signed by fifty-one names in addition to the above, who were present and members of lodge No. 18. * †

No. III.

At a post-assembly of the right honourable the lord mayor, sheriffs, commons, and citizens of the city of Dublin, held at the Exhibition-house in William-street, on Tuesday the eleventh day of September, 1792, pursuant to a requisition for the purpose of taking into consideration a letter circulated throughout this city and kingdom, signed, "EDWARD BYRNE:"

A copy of said letter, and also of the plan and observations mentioned to have been inclosed therein, having been read from a publick print, the assembly unanimously came to the following determination:

RESOLVED,

THAT a letter be addressed to the protestants of Ireland, to the following effect:

"COUNTRYMEN

* This prospectus of the defenders was found by Dr. Allott, dean of Raphoe, and was sent to government in the administration of the marquis of Buckingham.

† Sobriety, secrecy, brotherly love, and the accumulation of arms, the leading characteristics and designs of all the subsequent defenders' lodges, were conspicuous in this.

“ COUNTRYMEN and FRIENDS !

“ The firm and manly support which we received from you when we stood forward in defence of the protestant ascendancy, deserves our warmest thanks. We hoped that the sense of the protestants of Ireland, declared upon that occasion, would have convinced our Roman catholick fellow subjects, that the pursuit of political power was for them a vain pursuit : For though the liberal and enlightened mind of the protestant receives pleasure in seeing the catholick exercise his religion with freedom—enjoy his property in security—and possess the highest degree of personal liberty, yet experience has taught us, that without the ruin of the protestant establishment the catholick cannot be allowed the smallest influence in the state.

“ For more than ten years the press has teemed with various writings, intended to prove that Roman catholicks have an equal claim with protestants to a participation in the exercise of political power in this kingdom ; that such a participation would not be injurious to protestants ; that prejudice only prevents protestants from conceding this claim ; and to complete the work, a letter has lately appeared, signed “ *Edward Byrne*,” in which the Roman catholicks are instructed to proceed upon the plan of the French democracy, to elect a representation of their own, to which said Byrne insinuates that “ the protestants *must* bend, as he has assurance from the highest authority.”

“ In answer to these charges, and these claims, we shall in a few lines briefly state the case of the Protestants and Roman catholicks of Ireland, in doing which we shall not endeavour to add to our language any other ornament than the beautiful simplicity of truth.

“ One hundred years are just elapsed since the question was tried upon an appeal to Heaven—whether this country should become a popish kingdom, governed by an arbitrary and unconstitutional popish tyrant, and dependant upon France, or enjoy the blessings of a free protestant government—a protestant monarchy, limited by the constitution—and an intimate connection with the free empire of Britain ? The great ruler of all things decided in favour of our ancestors ; he gave them victory, and Ireland became a protestant nation, enjoying a British constitution.

“ But the conflict * had been neither short nor trivial ; and so many and so great were the efforts made by the Roman

* The British cabinet had no suspicion at this time, that such another conflict would take place in the year 1798.

Roman catholicks in support of their popish king and French connections, that our ancestors were obliged in their own defence, to deprive them of all political power, which they did by severe but necessary restrictive laws.

“ Time draws the veil of oblivion over the virtues as well as the faults of men : In the lapse of more than four-score years, the causes which induced the necessity of these laws were almost forgotten ; while the generous protestant saw with pain his Roman catholick fellow-subject labouring under restrictions which, from his peaceable demeanour then, appeared no longer necessary ; and he could scarcely refrain from charging his ancestors with too much severity: Session after session the restrictive laws were rapidly repealed, and the last session of parliament left the Roman catholicks in no wise different from their protestant fellow-subjects—*save only in the exercise of political power.*

“ But be it remembered, that from the moment the protestant began to make concessions, the Roman catholick began to extend his claims ; at first a very little would have satisfied him—that little, and much more, was granted ; more still was claimed ; and when every thing consistent with protestant safety was conceded, instead of grateful acknowledgments and declarations of satisfaction, our ears have been dinned with exclamations of discontent, the ravings of political clubs, and the declamations of state reformers.

“ But we hope that the great body of the Roman catholicks are yet free from the influence of that dangerous spirit which has pervaded the clubs in this city : We hope they will reject Mr. Byrne’s counsel, and be grateful for the indulgences they have received from protestants. To delude them from their tranquillity, they are told by Byrne, that he has “ The first authority for asserting this application will “ have infinite weight with our gracious sovereign, and “ with parliament, if our friends are qualified to declare “ that it is the universal wish of every catholick in the “ nation.”—But we trust it is unfounded ; were it otherwise, we tell them that the protestants of Ireland would not be compelled by any authority whatever to abandon that political situation which their forefathers won with their swords, and which is therefore their birth-right ; or to surrender their religion at the footstool of popery.

“ Every

“ Every Irish protestant has an interest in the government of this kingdom ; he is born a member of the state, and with a capacity of filling its offices ;—this capacity he derives from that constitution, which his ancestors acquired when they overthrew the popish tyrant—it is guaranteed by that constitution—it is secured by the law—he is in possession of it, and we know of no power under Heaven, authorized to alienate this, our most valuable inheritance.

“ Having thus, countrymen and friends, spoken to you our sentiments in the undisguised language of truth, we shall intreat you to join with us in using every honest means of persuading the Roman catholicks to rest content with

The most perfect toleration of their religion,

The fullest security of their property—and

The most compleat personal liberty—

but by no means now, or hereafter, to attempt any interference in the government of the kingdom ; as such interference would be incompatible with the protestant ascendancy, which we have resolved *with our lives and fortunes to maintain.*

“ And, that no doubt may remain of what we understand by the words “ Protestant Ascendancy,” we have further resolved, that we consider the protestant ascendancy to consist in

A PROTESTANT KING OF IRELAND;

A PROTESTANT PARLIAMENT,

A PROTESTANT HIERARCHY,

PROTESTANT ELECTORS AND GOVERNMENT,

THE BENCHES OF JUSTICE,

THE ARMY AND THE REVENUE,

THROUGH ALL THEIR BRANCHES AND DETAILS,

PROTESTANT :

AND THIS SYSTEM SUPPORTED BY A CONNECTION WITH
THE PROTESTANT REALM OF BRITAIN.”

RESOLVED,

That the foregoing letter be published in the Dublin Journal, and that copies thereof be transmitted to all the corporations, magistrates, and members of both houses of parliament in this kingdom.

ALLEN AND GREENE, *town clerks.*

No. IV.

SIR,

BY an order of the sub-committee, dated the fifteenth of January, I had the honour to forward you a plan for a general subscription; which had for its object the raising a fund for defraying the heavy and growing expences incurred by the general committee in conducting the affairs of the catholicks of Ireland. As several mistakes have occurred in the transmission of these letters, owing to my ignorance of the address of many of the delegates, I am directed to inform you, that such a plan is now in forwardness throughout the kingdom; a measure so strongly enforced by necessity, and so consonant to justice, cannot fail to attract your very serious attention! The committee, having the most perfect reliance on your zeal, are therefore confident that you will use your best exertions to carry this necessary business into full effect.

Dublin, February 5th, 1793.

Signed by the secretary of the sub-committee.

P. S. It is hoped you will acknowledge the receipt of this letter; stating at the same time whatever progress has been made in your district.

DEAR SIR,

I RECEIVED this day your favour of the eighth instant, enclosing the different papers respecting the business I wrote you. It is with much regret that I am obliged to reply, that, from the want of information on the subject-matter of the indictments, no precise opinion can be formed, whether the alleged offence is or is not bailable? The committee are consequently in the dark as to the measures that should be adopted, nor can your exertions accelerate (as it seems) that period until the assizes, when you will be able to obtain office-copies of the examinations. Mr. Nugent's brother left town this day truly disconsolate, in not being able to effect something towards the liberation of his kinsman; he however did his best in the affair.

I am, dear sir,

your obedient servant,

JOHN SWEETMAN.

Dublin, 9th August, 1792.

P. S. If any new occurrence should happen, be good enough to inform me of it.

No. V.

No. V.

To the loyal subjects of Ireland.

FROM the various attempts that have been made to poison the publick mind, and slander those who have had the spirit to adhere to their king and constitution, and to maintain the laws:

We, the protestants of Dublin, assuming the name of Orangemen, feel ourselves called upon, not to vindicate our principles, for we know that our honour and loyalty bid defiance to the shafts of malevolence and disaffection, but openly to avow those principles, and declare to the world the objects of our institution.

We have long observed with indignation the efforts that have been made to foment rebellion in this kingdom by the seditious, who have formed themselves into societies, under the specious name of United Irishmen.

We have seen with pain the lower orders of our fellow subjects, forced or seduced from their allegiance, by the threats and machinations of traitors.

And we have viewed with horror the successful exertions of miscreants, to encourage a foreign enemy to invade this happy land, in hopes of rising into consequence on the downfall of their country.

We, therefore, thought it high time to rally round the Constitution, and there pledge ourselves to each other, to maintain the laws, and support our good king against all his enemies, whether rebels to their God or to their country; and, by so doing, shew to the world, that there is a body of men in the island who are ready, in the hour of danger, to stand forward in defence of that grand palladium of our liberties, the constitution of Great Britain and Ireland, obtained and established by the courage and loyalty of our ancestors under the great king William.

Fellow-subjects, we are accused with being an *institution*, founded on principles too shocking to repeat, and bound together by oaths, at which human nature would shudder; but we caution you not to be led away by such malevolent falsehoods; for we solemnly assure you, in the presence of the Almighty God, that the idea of injuring any one, on account of his religious opinion, never entered into our

hearts; we regard every loyal subject as our friend, be his religion what it may. We have no enmity but to the *enemies of our country*.

We further declare, that we are ready at all times to submit ourselves to the orders of those in authority under His majesty, and that we will cheerfully undertake any duty which they shall think proper to point out for us, in case either a foreign enemy shall dare to invade our coasts, or that a domestick foe shall presume to raise the standard of rebellion in the land. To these principles we are pledged, and in support of them we are ready to shed the last drop of our blood.

THOMAS VERNER,
EDWARD BALL,
JOHN CLAUDIUS BERESFORD,
WILLIAM JAMES,
ISAAC DE JONCOURT.

No. VI.

Eagle, Euflace-street, 9th of November, 1791.

At a meeting of the Society of United Irishmen of Dublin, the honorable Simon Butler in the chair, the following was agreed to :

WHEN we reflect how often the freemen and freeholders of Dublin have been convened, humbly to express their grievances to parliament—how often they have solicited the enactment of good, and the repeal of bad laws—how often, for succeeding years, they have petitioned against the obnoxious and unconstitutional police act—and how often all these applications have been treated with the most perfect contumacy and contempt : When these facts are brought to recollection, is there an honest man will say, that the house of commons have the smallest respect for the people, or believe themselves their legitimate representatives?—The fact is, that the great majority of that house consider themselves as the representatives of their own money, or the hired servants of the English government, whose minister here is appointed for the sole purpose of dealing out corruption to them—at the expence of Irish liberty, Irish commerce, and Irish improvement. This being the case, it naturally follows, that such minister is not only the representative of the English views against this country, but is also *the sole representative*

representative of the people of Ireland. To elucidate which assertion, it is only necessary to ask, whether a single question in favour of this oppressed nation can be carried without *his* consent?—and whether any measure, however inimical, may not through his influence be effected?

In this state of abject slavery, no hope remains for us, but in the sincere and hearty *union of all the people*, for a compleat and radical reform of parliament; because it is obvious, that *one party alone* have been ever unable to obtain a single blessing for their country; and the policy of our rulers has been always such, as to keep the different sects at variance, in which they have been but too well seconded by our own folly.

For the attainment then of this great and important object—for the removal of absurd and ruinous distinctions—and for promoting a complete coalition of the people, a club has been formed, composed of all religious persuasions, who have adopted for their name, the Society of United Irishmen of Dublin, and have taken as their DECLARATION that of a similar society in Belfast, which is as follows:

“ In the present great æra of reform, when unjust governments are falling in every quarter of Europe; when religious persecution is compelled to abjure her tyranny over conscience; when the rights of men are ascertained in theory, and that theory substantiated by practice; when antiquity can no longer defend absurd and oppressive forms against the common sense and common interests of mankind; when all government is acknowledged to originate from the people, and to be so far only obligatory as it protects their rights and promotes their welfare; we think it our duty, as Irishmen, to come forward, and state what we feel to be our heavy grievance, and what we know to be our effectual remedy:

“ We have no national government—we are ruled by Englishmen, and the servants of Englishmen; whose object is the interest of another country; whose instrument is corruption; whose strength is the weakness of Ireland; and these men have the whole of the power and patronage of the country, as means to seduce and subdue the honesty and spirit of her representatives in the legislature. Such an extrinsic power, acting with uniform force in a direction too frequently opposite to the true line of our obvious interests, can be resisted with effect solely by *unanimity, decision, and spirit in the people*, qualities which may be exerted most legally,

legally, constitutionally, and efficaciously, by that great measure essential to the prosperity and freedom of Ireland, an equal representation of all the people in parliament.

“ We do not here mention as grievances the rejection of a place-bill, of a pension-bill, of a responsibility-bill; the sale of peerages in one house; the corruption publicly avowed in the other; or the notorious infamy of borough traffick between both; not that we are insensible of their enormity, but that we consider them as but symptoms of that mortal disease, which corrodes the vitals of our constitution, and leaves to the people in their own government but the shadow of a name.

“ Impressed with these sentiments we have agreed to form an association, to be called, the Society of United Irishmen; and we do pledge ourselves to our country, and mutually to each other, that we will steadily support and endeavour by all due means to carry into effect the following resolutions:

“ I. Resolved, That the weight of English influence, in the government of this country, is so great as to require a cordial union among all the people of Ireland, to maintain that balance which is essential to the preservation of our liberties, and the extension of our commerce.

“ II. That the sole constitutional mode by which this influence can be opposed, is by a complete and radical reform of the representation of the people in parliament.

“ III. That no reform is practicable, efficacious, or just, which shall not include Irishmen of every religious persuasion.

“ Satisfied as we are, that the intestine divisions among Irishmen have too often given encouragement and impunity to profligate, audacious, and corrupt administrations, in measures which, but for these divisions, they durst not have attempted, we submit our resolutions to the nation, as the basis of our political faith.

“ We have gone to what we conceive to be the root of the evil; we have stated what we conceive to be the remedy.—With a parliament thus reformed, every thing is easy; without it, nothing can be done. And we do call on, and most earnestly exhort, our countrymen in general to follow our example, and form similar societies in every quarter of the kingdom, for the promotion of constitutional knowledge, the abolition of bigotry and religion in politics, and the equal distribution of the rights of man through all sects and denominations of Irishmen.

“ The

"The people, when thus collected, will feel their own weight, and secure that power which theory has already admitted as their portion, and to which, if they be not aroused by their present provocations to vindicate it, they deserve to forfeit their pretensions for ever."

ORDERED,

That the foregoing be printed for the use of the members.

JAMES NAPPER TANDY, *secretary.*

"I, A. B. in the presence of God, do pledge myself to my country, that I will use all my abilities and influence in the attainment of an impartial and adequate representation of the Irish nation in parliament; and as a means of absolute and immediate necessity in the establishment of this chief good of Ireland, I will endeavour, as much as lies in my ability, to forward a brotherhood of affection, an identity of interests, a communion of rights, an union of power, among Irishmen of all religious persuasions, without which every reform in parliament must be partial, not national, inadequate to the wants, delusive to the wishes, and insufficient for the freedom and happiness of this country."

No. VII.

Constitution of the Society of United Irishmen of the city of Dublin, as first agreed upon.

THE society is constituted for the purpose of forwarding a brotherhood of affection, an identity of interests, a communion of rights, and an union of power, among Irishmen of all religious persuasions, and thereby obtaining an impartial and adequate representation of the nation in parliament.

The members of this society are either ordinary or honorary.

Such persons only are eligible as honorary members, who have distinguished themselves by promoting the liberties of mankind, and are not inhabitants of Ireland.

Every candidate for admission into the society, whether as an ordinary or honorary member, shall be proposed by two ordinary members, who shall sign a certificate of his being, from their knowledge of him, a fit person to be admitted, that he has seen the test, and is willing to take it: This certificate, delivered to the secretary, shall be read from the chair, at the ensuing meeting of the society; and

on

on the next subsequent night of meeting the society shall proceed to the election. The names and additions of the candidate, with the names of those by whom he has been proposed, shall be inserted in the summons for the night of election. The election shall be conducted by ballot, and if one-fifth of the number of beans be black, the candidate stands rejected. The election, with respect to an ordinary member, shall be void, if he does not attend within four meetings afterwards, unless he can plead some reasonable excuse for his absence.

Every person elected a member of the society, whether honorary or ordinary, shall, previous to his admission, take and subscribe the following test :

" I, A. B. in the presence of God, do pledge myself to my country, that I will use all my abilities and influence in the attainment of an impartial and adequate representation of the Irish nation in parliament; and as a means of absolute and immediate necessity in the establishment of this chief good of Ireland, I will endeavour, as much as lies in my ability, to forward a brotherhood of affection, an identity of interests, a communion of rights, and an union of power among Irishmen of all religious persuasions; without which every reform in parliament must be partial, not national, inadequate to the wants, delusive to the wishes, and insufficient for the freedom and happiness of this country."

A member of another Society of United Irishmen being introduced to the president by a member of this society, shall, upon producing a certificate signed by the secretary, and sealed with the seal of the society to which he belongs, and taking the beforementioned test, be thereupon admitted to attend the sittings of this society.

The officers of the society shall consist of a president, treasurer, and secretary, who shall be severally elected three months, videlicet, on every first night of meeting in the months of November, February, May, and August; the election to be determined by each member present writing on a piece of paper the names of the object of his choice, and putting it into a box. The majority of votes shall decide; if the votes are equal, the president shall have a casting voice. No person shall be capable of being re-elected to any office for the quarter next succeeding the determination of his office. In case of an occasional vacancy in any office by death, or otherwise, the society shall, on the next night of meeting, elect a person to the same for the remainder of the quarter.

The

The society shall meet on every second Friday night, or oftener if necessary. The chair shall be taken at eight o'clock from twenty-ninth September, to twenty-fifth March; and at nine o'clock from twenty-fifth March, to twenty-ninth September. Fifteen members shall form a quorum; no new business shall be introduced after ten o'clock.

Every respect and deference shall be paid to the president; his chair shall be raised three steps above the seats of the members; the treasurer and secretary shall have seats under him, two steps above the seats of the members. On his rising from his chair, and taking off his hat, there must be silence, and the members be seated; he shall be judge of order and propriety, be impowered to direct an apology, and to fine refractory members in any sum not above one crown; if the member refuse to pay the fine, or make the apology, he is thereupon expelled from the society.

There shall be a committee of constitution, of finance, of correspondence, and of accommodation. The committee of constitution shall consist of nine members, that of finance of seven members, that of correspondence of five members; each committee shall, independent of occasional reports, make general reports on every quarterly meeting. The treasurer shall be under the direction of the committee of finance, and the secretary under the direction of the committee of correspondence; the election for committees shall be on every quarterly meeting, and decided by the majority of votes.

In order to defray the necessary expences, and establish a fund for the use of the society, each ordinary member shall on his election pay to the treasurer, by those who proposed him, one guinea admission fee; and also one guinea annually, by half-yearly payments, on every first night of meeting in November and May; the first payment thereof to be on the first night of meeting in November, 1792. On every quarterly meeting following, the names of the defaulters, as they appear in the treasury-book, shall be read from the chair. If any member, after the second reading, neglect to pay his subscription, he shall be excluded the society, unless he can shew some reasonable excuse for his default.

The secretary shall be furnished with the following seal, videlicet, a harp; at the top, "*I am new string*;" at the bottom, "*I will be heard*;" and on the exergue, "*Society of united Irishmen of Dublin*."

No motion for an alteration of, or addition to, the constitution shall be made but at the quarterly meetings, and notice of such motion shall be given fourteen days previous to those meetings. If upon such motion the society shall see ground for the proposed alteration or addition, the same shall be referred to the proper committee, with instructions to report on the next night of meeting their opinion thereon; and upon such report the question shall be decided by the society.

No. VIII.

Extracts from the publications of United Irishmen.

Friday, 30th December, 1791.

Society of United Irishmen of Dublin. The honourable Simon Butler in the chair.

RESOLVED UNANIMOUSLY,

That the following circular letter, reported by our committee of correspondence, be adopted and printed:

THIS letter is addressed to you from the corresponding committee of the Society of United Irishmen in Dublin.

We annex the declaration of political principles which we have subscribed, and the test which we have taken, as a social and sacred compact to bind us more closely together.

The object of this institution is to make an united society of the Irish nation; to make all Irishmen, citizens; all citizens, Irishmen: nothing appearing to us more natural at all times, and at this crisis of Europe more seasonable, than that those who have common interests, and common enemies, who suffer common wrongs, and lay claim to common right, should know each other and should act together. In our opinion ignorance has been the demon of discord, which has so long deprived Irishmen, not only of the blessings of well-regulated government, but even the common benefits of civil society. Peace in this island has hitherto been a peace on the principles and with the consequences of civil war. For a century past there has indeed been tranquillity, but to most of our dear countrymen it has been the tranquillity of a dungeon; and if the land has lately prospered, it has been owing to the goodness of Providence,

vidence, and the strong efforts of human nature resisting and overcoming the malignant influence of a miserable administration.

To resist this influence, which rules by discord and embroils by system, it is vain to act as individuals or as parties; it becomes necessary by an union of minds, and a knowledge of each other, to will and act as a nation. To know each other is to know ourselves; the weakness of one and the strength of many. Union, therefore, is power; it is wisdom; it must prove liberty.

Our design, therefore, in forming this society, is to give an example, which, when well followed, must collect the publick will, and concentrate the publick power into one solid mass, the effect of which, once put in motion, must be rapid, momentous, and consequential.

In thus associating, we have thought little about our ancestors, much of our posterity. Are we for ever to walk like beasts of prey, over fields which these ancestors stained with blood? In looking back, we see nothing on the one part but savage force succeeded by savage policy; on the other, an unfortunate nation, "scattered and peeled, meted out and trodden down!" We see a mutual intolerance, and a common carnage of the first moral emotions of the heart, which lead us to esteem and place confidence in our fellow-creatures. We see this, and are silent: but we gladly look forward to brighter prospects, to a people united in the fellowship of freedom, to a parliament the express image of the people, to a prosperity established on civil, political, and religious liberty, to a peace, not the gloomy and precarious stillness of men brooding over their wrongs, but that stable tranquillity which rests on the rights of human nature, and leans on the arms by which these rights are to be maintained.

Our principal rule of conduct has been to attend to those things in which we agree, to exclude from our thoughts those in which we differ. We agree in knowing what are our rights, and in daring to assert them: If the rights of men be duties to God, we are in this respect of one religion. Our creed of civil faith is the same; we agree in thinking that there is not an individual among our millions, whose happiness can be established on any foundation so rational and so solid, as on the happiness of the whole community. We agree, therefore, in the necessity of giving political value and station to the great majority of the people; and

we

we think that whoever desires an amended constitution, without including the great body of the people, must on his own principles be convicted of political persecution, and political monopoly. If the present electors be themselves a morbid part of our constitution, where are we to recur for redress but to the whole community? "A more unjust and absurd constitution cannot be devised, than that which condemns the natives of a country to perpetual servitude, under the arbitrary dominion of strangers and slaves."

We agree in thinking, that the first and most indispensable condition of the laws in a free state, is the assent of those whose obedience they require, and for whose benefit only they are designed. Without, therefore, an impartial and adequate representation of the community; we agree in declaring, we can have no constitution, no country, no Ireland. Without this, our late revolution we declare to be fallacious and ideal; a thing much talked of, but neither felt or seen. The act of Irish sovereignty has been merely tossed out of the English houses into the cabinet of the minister; and nothing remains to the people, who of right are every thing, but a servile majesty and a ragged independence.

We call most earnestly on every great and good man, who at the late æra spoke or acted for his country, to consider less of what was done than of what there remains to do. We call upon their senatorial wisdom to consider the monstrous and immeasurable distance which separates, in this island, the ranks of social life, makes labour ineffectual, taxation unproductive, and divides the nation into petty despotism and publick misery. We call upon their tutelary genius, to remember, that government is instituted to remedy, not to render more grievous, the natural inequality of mankind, and that unless the rights of the whole community be asserted, anarchy (we cannot call it government) must continue to prevail, when the strong tyrannize, the rich oppress, and the mass are brayed in a mortar. We call upon them, therefore, to build their arguments and their actions on the broad platform of general good.

Let not the rights of nature be enjoyed merely by connivance, and the rights of conscience merely by toleration. If you raise up a prone people, let it not be merely to their knees: Let the nation stand. Then will it cast away the bad habit of servitude, which has brought with it indolence, ignorance, an extinction of our faculties, an abandonment of our very nature. Then will every right obtained, every franchise

franchise exercised, prove a seed of sobriety, industry, and regard to character, and the manners of the people will be formed on the model of their free constitution.

This rapid exposition of our principles, our object, and our rule of conduct, must naturally suggest the wish of multiplying similar societies, and the propriety of addressing such a desire to you. Is it necessary for us to request, that you will hold out your hand, and open your heart to your countryman, townsman, neighbour? Can you form a hope for political redemption, and by political penalties, or civil excommunications, withhold the rights of nature from your brother? We beseech you to rally all the friends of liberty within your circle round a society of this kind as a centre. Draw together your best and bravest thoughts, your best and bravest men. You will experience, as we have done, that these points of union will quickly attract numbers, while the assemblage of such societies, acting in concert, moving as one body, with one impulse and one direction, will, in no long time, become not parts of the nation, but the nation itself; speaking with its voice, expressing its will, irresistible in its power. We again entreat you to look around for men fit to form those stable supports on which Ireland may rest the lever of liberty. If there be but ten, take those ten. If there be but two, take those two, and trust with confidence to the sincerity of your intention, the justice of your cause, and the support of your country.

Two objects interest the nation, a plan of representation, and the means of accomplishing it. These societies will be a most powerful means; but a popular plan would itself be a means for its own accomplishment. We have, therefore, to request, that you will favour us with your ideas respecting the plan which appears to you most eligible and practicable, on the present more enlarged and liberal principles which actuate the people; at the same time giving your sentiments upon our national coalition, on the means of promoting it, and on the political state and disposition of the county or town where you reside. We know what resistance will be made to your patriotick efforts by those who triumph in the disunion and degradation of their country. The greater the necessity for reform, the greater probably will be the resistance: We know that there is much spirit that requires being brought into mass, as well as much massy body that must be refined into spirit. We have many enemies, and

no enemy is contemptible; we do not despise the enemies of the union, the liberty and the peace of Ireland, but we are not of a nature, nor have we encouraged the habit of fearing any man, or any body of men, in an honest and honourable cause. In great undertakings, like the present, we declare that we have found it always more difficult to attempt, than to accomplish. The people of Ireland must perform all that they wish, if they attempt all that they can.

Signed by order,

JAMES NAPPER TANDY, *sec.*

No. IX.

*Dissenting ministers in the counties of Down and Antrim,
implicated in the rebellion 1798.*

COUNTY DOWN.

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Abode.</i>	<i>Sentence.</i>
Porter,	Gray Abbey,	Hanged.
Warwick,	Kercubben,	Hanged.
Simpson,	Newtownards,	Transported.
Sinclair,	Do.	Do.
Ward,	Kellurchy,	Do.
Birch,	Saintfield,	Do. to America.
Adair,	Cumber,	Proclaimed.
Hull,	Bangor,	Do.
Mc.Mahon,	Hollywood,	Do.
Dickson,	Portaferry,	Confined Fort George.
Barber,	Rathfriland,	Two years imprisonment.

COUNTY ANTRIM.

Acheson,	Glenarm,	Tried, acquitted.
Hill,	Ballynure,	Tried, partly guilty.
McNeill,	Clogh,	Accused of being a leader, sentenced to transport himself.
Glendy,	Mahera,	Accused, ordered to leave the kingdom.
Worte,	Larne,	Taken up, never tried.
Henry,	Connor,	Do.
Kelburne,	Belfast,	Do. discharged.

Outrages

Outrages by the defenders in the year 1793.

I HAVE already stated that one hundred and eighty houses were attacked by them in the year 1792, in the county of Louth alone.

On the twenty-second of January, 1793, a numerous body of them, well armed, wantonly attacked a detachment of the forty-first regiment near Petersville, in the county of Meath, and had a severe conflict with them; and on that occasion the presbyterians who live in that country aided the king's troops with great zeal, which shews that they were loyal at that time. About the same time the defenders in great numbers furiously assaulted a company of the same regiment, commanded by major Grey, when on their march, at Manor Hamilton, in the county of Leitrim, and destroyed their baggage, though they were ultimately repulsed; on that occasion the defenders charged the soldiers, and wrenched their bayonets from their muskets.

A proclamation issued on the thirteenth of February, 1793, against them, stating that outrages had been committed by them in the counties of Louth, Meath, Cavan, Dublin, Monaghan, and the county of the town of Drogheda; and it alludes to enormities perpetrated by them in the preceding year.

In the same month a large mob of people assembled at Woodford, in the county of Galway, declaring they would pay no more taxes; and swore numbers of people to be true to them and their cause. They were incited to this by inflammatory hand-bills.

In the same month a detachment of the eighth regiment was attacked by a numerous body of them at Athboy, in the county of Meath, and two of the soldiers were killed.

In the same month a party of them attempted to carry off four pieces of cannon from Garretstown in the county of Meath, but were prevented by the volunteers of Ardeath.

In the same month they committed dreadful outrages in the barony of Innishowen, in the county of Donegal; such as burning houses, destroying corn, houghing cattle, extorting money, and writing threatening letters. At last the protestant inhabitants assembled, and offered a reward of two hundred guineas to any person who would enable their committee to prosecute them.

In the same month, justice Graham seized eight of them near the Naul, and found on Joseph Corbally, their leader, a list of sixty-six persons who had enrolled themselves as defenders.

In the same month, a numerous body of them forcibly entered and plundered the house of Mr. Mark Cassidy, of Derry, in the county of Monaghan, of arms, and other valuable articles.

The same month a party of them, well armed, attacked and fired on a body of the king's troops, near Ardee, who killed seven, and wounded a great number of them. For some time after the inhabitants of that town were so much afraid of being massacred, that they, headed by the magistrates, kept guard by night.

In the beginning of the year 1793, they often assembled in great numbers at Moneymore, in the county of Derry, and assumed the title of Green Cockade Men, because they wore that badge in their hats; they paraded in arms, and exercised in a publick manner; and at last they became so formidable, that general White was sent there with a body of troops to suppress them.

In the month of May, 1793, there was a general rising of them in the counties of Sligo, Mayo, Leitrim, and Roscommon; and they shewed great eagerness to procure the fire-arms of protestants. They destroyed several gentlemen's houses; they plundered and demolished Coalville, the seat of Mr. Tennison, valued at 6000*l*. Mr. Tennison, with a party of soldiers, took some of them prisoners; but the mob, supposed to be six thousand, rushed on them, killed three of the soldiers, and rescued the prisoners.

They robbed of arms and ammunition captain Ormsby's seat of Castle-dangan, Mr. Johnson's, of Addersaid, and his sons, and captain Carter's, of Drumlease. Mercury, the seat of Mr. Cooper, member for the county of Sligo, they plundered of fifty muskets, and various other articles, broke all his windows, and drank or spilled all the liquors in his cellars. Most of the gentlemen in that county were obliged to fly from their houses.

In the month of June, a body of insurgents burned the house of Mr. Wilson, of Castlecomer, and assassinated Mrs. Wilson, as she endeavoured to escape from the flames.

This year we find them in a state of insurrection in the four quarters of the kingdom. Swearing the defenders oath

oath took place very generally in the beginning of the year, 1793, in the county of Wexford.

In the month of July, a number of them assembled near Enniscorthy, and after threatening to break open the gaol, they proceeded in immense numbers to Wexford, to liberate the prisoners confined there ; and the brave major Vallaton, having led out a detachment of the fifty-sixth regiment to oppose them, and while humanely expostulating with them, they gave him some desperate wounds, of which he died soon after. Great numbers of the insurgents were killed and wounded.

There was a dreadful spirit of insurgency in various parts of the county of Limerick in the month of July, which lasted some days. Near Limerick, the insurgents had an engagement with part of the thirty-eighth regiment, who killed and wounded some of them ; however, the same party afterwards burned the house of Mr. Oliver, who narrowly escaped with his life.

At Bruff, in that county, they fired treacherously from the windows of that town, on a party of the king's troops, commanded by captain Forbes, which occasioned a dreadful conflict, and in which some lives were lost.

In the month of May 1793, a large body of them, after committing various outrages at Boyle, in the county of Roscommon, attacked a party of the king's troops, who killed nineteen of them.

In the months of May and June, 1793, the county of Kerry was a good deal agitated ; the pretext of the disaffected was a determination to oppose the raising the militia ; but it was soon discovered to arise from a deeper and more malignant source, as the insurgents openly declared, that nothing would satisfy them but a division of property, and an abolition of tythes and taxes.

Early in the month of June, they attacked and dispersed the deputy governors, who had assembled at Dingle, to confer on raising the militia.

A week after, about four thousand assembled and entered that town for the purpose of swearing the inhabitants to abide by their laws. The gentlemen of the county, having had notice of their intention, united, to the number of twenty-five ; but found themselves unable to withstand so numerous a mob, of whom many were well appointed with

with arms. They therefore retreated to a house, and defended themselves till night, when the insurgents dispersed.

A fortnight before St. John's day, the twenty-fourth of June, they proclaimed at their chapels, and by notices posted in all publick places, that they would meet in great numbers on that day at Dingle, and carry all their plans into execution. In consequence of their declaration, Mr. Mullins got seventy soldiers from Limerick, who marched into Dingle the day preceding the intended meeting; and he gave publick notice that he would oppose them; However, not deterred by the army, they entered the town in immense numbers, armed with guns, pistols, swords, pikes, and scythes mounted on poles. Mr. Mullins, desirous to prevent the effusion of blood, remained in the barrack with the troops till three o'clock, though the insurgents were two hours in possession of the town; but when they began to commit acts of violence on the inhabitants, and their houses, he marched out, when the mob fired on them, and pelted them with stones; on which, having ordered the troops to fire, they killed fourteen of the insurgents, and wounded many of them; after which they dispersed and fled, and did not stop until they arrived at some cliffs over the sea, which were ten miles off; and they would not return till they had made peace with the magistrates. Most of them gave information one against another; and they swore that their intention was to have killed all the protestant gentlemen, and to have confiscated their estates. It was proved afterwards, that this plot was general in the county of Kerry; and that it extended even to the county of Limerick, for there were persons stationed at Tralee, and Tarbert, and in the intervening space, ready to convey the event of their attack on Dingle; that all the inhabitants of that immense tract of country might have risen at the same moment, and have acted in concert with them. The exemplary punishment of these insurgents has kept the county of Kerry peaceful ever since; for though it was organized in 1797, no outrages were committed but in one place. That salutary act of severity probably saved many hundred lives afterwards.

Papers found at the meeting at Oliver Bond's on the twelfth of March.

Found on John Lynch at the meeting at Bond's: hand-writing of William Michael Byrne.

THE county W.—. C.— inform their constituents, that, by the advice they have received from the provincial, it appears that very flattering accounts have been received from abroad, which will, in a very days, be officially handed down. The provincial returns of men have only encreased a *few thousands* since the last reports; as the new county members have not yet come in, in consequence of the *new* elections, which each barony will take notice must be on or before the fifteenth of February next.

The county comm^e again earnestly recommend it to their constituents, to pay no attention to any flying reports, as they know to a certainty, false emissaries are encouraged to disseminate such news as may tend to disunite or lead them astray.

The C. C. hear with regret the dissatisfaction of the baronial committee of Newcastle, with respect to their not being as yet fully supplied with arms, &c. They assure them that every exertion has been used to that purpose, and that quantities of pikes are now ready manufactured for delivery; but would at the same time recommend to have as many made as possible in each barony, as they will thereby come infinitely cheaper.

The county committee cannot be accountable for any money in the hands of a baronial treasurer; and of course cannot account for any, but such as has been paid in to them, of which there appears a correct statement in the returns.

They feel with concern the apathy of their fellow-citizens of the co. W. who refuse so small a pittance as *one penny* per man, to alleviate, in some degree, the distresses of their suffering brethren now in W. gaol, where there are many innocent cit. in want of the common necessities of life; but who, though famishing, scorn to betray the ~~trust~~ ^{trust} reposed in them.

The county com^e inform their constituents, that, ~~as far~~ from having a fund in hands, they are now indebted to one of their members (No. 2.) who has kindly advanced £81. 4s. 2d. for the relief of prisoners; the county members

are therefore intreated to forward to *him*, without delay, as much money, as can be collected in their respective baronies; as there appears to be now in gaol, from Arklow barony *four*, from Shillelah *five*, from Ballinacoor *fourteen*, and *one* from Talbotstown *fifteen*, and from Newcastle *two*, in all *forty-two*, without the smallest fund for the ensuing m^o.

Resolved, that a subscription be instantly commenced, for the purpose of forming a fund, for the employing and retaining counsel, which shall be taken as a voluntary contribution, according to the circumstances of individuals, to be lodged in the hands of a *treasurer* chosen by the county c^e.

Resolved, that it is requested that the next meeting may be *fully attended*, as there is business of the utmost importance to be taken into consideration.

C. C. Jan^y. 22, 1798.

Tal.										Pd. prisoners.									
2974	20	3	10	_____						119	0	9	_____						
Low.D.	706	_____			_____						1ft.	12	10	3	35	15	0		
Ar.	2400	59	8	3	_____						2d.	22	15	0	_____				
Rd.	1200	17	0	0	5	0	0	_____			3d.	37	19	3	83	5	0		
N. C.	1800	35	15	0	_____						N ^o 2.	12	6	5	162	3	4		
W. B.	1800	13	15	0	_____						_____								
L. B.	840	8	2	0	_____						85	10	11	245	4	8			
Shil.	1080	7	19	3	4	_____						_____							
_____										Rest to province									
12800	162	3	4	_____						159	17	5	_____						
	73	4	6	88	18	10	73	4	6										

	G.	P.	S.	B.	Ps.	B. C.	B. lb. P.
Tal.	181	78	66	134	321	3331	8315 75
Ar.	265	85	68	87	200	400	8050 500
N. C.	158	41	20	32	355	—	5965 169
R. D.	185	94	62	75	380	980	500 17
							—
							789 298 216 328 1256 4711 22830 761
Ar.	210	75	62	} At			
N. C.	100	0	0				
R. D.	200	0	0				

1299 373 278

No. I.

No. I.

*Papers found in the room at Bond's.**Hand-writing of John M^cCan.*

I, do solemnly declare, that I came duly elected.

No. II.

Hand-writing of John M^cCan.

19th February, 1798.

Kildare	10863	In Treasurer's hands	20	18	3
Wicklow	12095				
Dublin	3010		20	—	—
Do. City	2000				
Queen's co.	11689				
King's co.	3600				
Carlow	9414				
Kilkenny	624				
Meath	14000				
	67295				
			40	18	3

Resolved, that the colonels in each county shall make out a list of three persons to be adjutants-general for said counties. The lists to be transmitted, sealed, either through the provincial, or any other authentic channel to the executive, who will nominate one of the three to the employment.

Resolved, that our treasurer be allowed to pay 16 guineas to the delegate to buy a horse, which, when the entire county is organized, is to be sold, and the money paid back into the hands of the treasurer.

Resolved that the ex. comm^s be requested to account for the expenditure of 60 guineas voted them.

Resolved, that each co. who have not paid in any finance, shall be requested to pay in 70l. immediately, except the co. Carlow, which shall only pay 40l.

PRIVATE

APPENDIX, No. IX.

PRIVATES TEST.

Hand-writing not known.

I, *A. B.* do solemnly declare, that I will perform my duty, and be obedient to all the lawful commands of my officers, while they act in subordination to the duly-elected committee.

Hand-writing of John M^cCan.

Resolved, that we will pay no attention whatsoever to any attempt that may be made by either house of parliament, to divert the publick mind from the grand object we have in view, as nothing short of the compleat emancipation of our country will satisfy us.

No. III.

K.	10863	In hands	20	18	3
W.	12095				
D.	3010	£. 32	29	—	—
C. D.	2000				
Q. C.	11689				
K. C.	3600				
C ^r .	9414				
K ^r .	624				
M.	14000				
	67295		40	18	3

Ten in the morning this day three weeks.

No. IV.

Hand-writing of John M^cCan.

Resolved, that it is the opinion of this committee, that if the other Ps. be in an equal state of preparation as Leinster, as soon as we can procure the information of their state, and their determination to act in concert with the nation, we should immediately proceed to act; and that the exe^c be requested to take such steps immediately as will tend most expeditiously to bring about an union of the different prov^s.

Resolved, that the select com^s of five be requested to prepare a military test to be laid before the prov^l at the next meeting, for their approbation.

Extracts

Extracts from the pocket-book of John M^cCan, found at Bond's.

P. C. [Provincial committee.]

20th February, 1798.

Kildare	10863	
Wicklow	12895	£. 20 18 3
Dublin	3010	20
Do. city	2177	104 6 5
Queen's co.	11689	
King's co.	3600	
Carlow	9414	
Kilkenny	624	
Meath	14000	
	68272	£. 145 4 8

Subscriptions:

Febr. 9th. 1798.	Febr. 16th.	Febr. 23.
No. 8 8		
1 1 1	6½	6½
2 1 1	6½	6½
3 2 8½	6½	
4 1 1	6½	6½
5	6½	1 1
6	6½	
7 1 1	6½	6½
8	6½	6½
9 2 8½		
10 1 1		2 8½ 2 2
11 1 1		6 6
12	6½ & 2 8½	
	3 9½	
£. 1 0 7	1 7 1	15 2

C. C. [County committee.]

February 19th, 1798.

1	812	28	8	11	} [Four divisions of the city of Dublin.]
2	865	19	15		
3	500	9	13	6	
4		46	9		
	2177	£. 104	6	5	

D. C.

D. C. 2d March.

				In hands	£.	s.	d.
No. 1	118	4	11		1	16	6½
2	118	3	19	7½			6½
3	84	12					
4	72						6½
5	120	2			4	4	
6	99	1	15		3	3	
7	53						
8							6½
9		1	12	10½			
10	80	1	6	9			6½
11	70	1			4	4	
12	115	1	11	9	1	1	
13					1	7½	
14					2	8½	

£. 2 16 4

D. C. 8th March, 98. B. C. [Baronial committee.]

5th March, 1798,

				12	£.	s.	d.
No. 1	118	4	3	6½	2	17	5
2	118	4	3	3	12		
3	48	1	0	6	12		
4	72				12		
5	120				12		13
6	105	1	15	2	10		
7	107		14		12		
8	89	12					
9	86	3	8	3			
10	118	2	4	9	8		15
11	102	1	13				
12	115	2	11	6			
13	86	1	7	8			
14	84	3	7	8			

Extract

*Extract of a letter found upon Oliver Bond, signed H. W.
(Hugh Wilson) and dated, Cork 6th, 1798.*

I have been so cooped up since I came here, that, had I known the situation of the place, my mind should never have been so abominably clofeted, for any emolument that I may derive before a change of the present government takes place.

You can but faintly imagine how things are going on here; give the people but a little time, and rest assured the progress science is making will astonish the world. The enemies of the human race are much alarmed, and the revolt of the Dublin county militia has increased their fears. Mr. Finlay says, they are all assassins, and he is almost afraid to trust himself with them. I hear they are to be dispersed among the Highlanders through the country. Numbers of preachers of the true gospel are better than few, and those dispersed grains may not fall on rocky ground.

When the news came this morning of the Spanish fleet being out, the aristocrats seemed happy, saying, their doom was at hand, Jervis being after them.

With best regards to Mrs. Bond, and all friends,

I am sincerely yours,

H. W.

No. X.

Mr. Grattan's answer to the Roman catholicks.

GENTLEMEN,

IN supporting you, I support the protestant; we have but one interest and one honour; and whoever gives privileges to you, gives vigour to all. The protestant already begins to perceive it; a late attack has rallied the scattered spirits of the country, from the folly of religious schism to the recollection of national honour, and a nation's feuds are lost

lost in a nation's resentment. YOUR EMANCIPATION WILL PASS, rely on it, YOUR EMANCIPATION MUST PASS; it may be death to one viceroy, it will be the peace-offering of another; and the laurel may be torn from the dead brow of one governor, to be craftily converted into the olive of his successor.

Let me advise you by no means to postpone the consideration of your fortunes till after the war; rather let Britain receive *the benefit of your zeal* during the exigency which demands it, and you yourselves, while you are *fighting to preserve the blessing of a constitution*, have really and *bona fide* those blessings.

My wish is that you should be free now, there is no other policy which is not low and little; *let us at once instantly embrace, and greatly emancipate.*

On this principle I mean to introduce your bill, with your permission, immediately after the recess.

You are pleased to speak of the confidence and power with which for a moment I was supposed to have been possessed.

When his majesty's ministers were pleased to resort to our support, they took us with the incumbrance of our reputation, and with all our debts and mortgages which we owed to our country.

To have accepted a share of confidence and council without a view to private advantage, will not meet, I hope, with the disapprobation of my country; but to have accepted that share without any view to publick advantage, would have been refinement on the folly of ambition. Measures, therefore, publick measures and arrangements, and that which is now disputed, were stipulated by us, were promised in one quarter; and with assurances, they were not resisted in another.

In the service of government, under his excellency's administration, we directed our attention to two great objects, the Kingdom and the Empire. We obtained certain beneficial laws, the discovery and reformation of certain abuses, and were in progress to reform more; we obtained a great force, and a great supply with the consent and confidence of the people; these were not the measures of courtiers, they were the measures of ministers.

His excellency lord Fitzwilliam may boast that he offered to the empire the affections of millions; a better aid to the war

war than his enemies can furnish, who have forfeited those affections, and put themselves in their place.

So decidedly have the measures of Ireland served the empire, that those who were concerned in them might appeal from the cabals of the British cabinet, to the sense of the British nation. I know of no cause afforded for the displeasure of the English cabinet; but if services done to Ireland are crimes which cannot be atoned for by exertions for the empire, I must lament the gloomy prospect of both kingdoms, and receive a discharge from the service of government, as the only honour an English minister can confer on an Irish subject.

I conceive the continuance of lord Fitzwilliam as necessary for the prosperity of this kingdom: his firm integrity is formed to correct, his mild manners to reconcile, and his private example to discountenance a progress of vulgar and rapid pollution: if he is to retire, I condole with my country: for myself, the pangs on that occasion I should feel on rendering up my small portion of ministerial breath would be little, were it not for the gloomy prospects afforded by those *dreadful* guardians which are likely to succeed. I tremble at the return to power of your old taskmasters; that combination which galled the country with its tyranny, insulted her by its manners, exhausted her by its rapacity, and slandered her by its malice: should such a combination, (at once inflamed as it must be now by the favour of the British court, and by the reprobation of the Irish people), return to power, I have no hesitation to say, that THEY WILL EXTINGUISH IRELAND, OR IRELAND MUST REMOVE THEM. It is not your case only, but that of the nation. I find the country already committed in the struggle. I beg to be committed along with her, and to abide the issues of her fortunes.

I should have expected that there had been a wisdom and *faith* in some quarter of another country, that would have prevented such a catastrophe; but I know it is no proof of that wisdom, to take the taxes, continue the abuses, damp the zeal, and dash away the affection of so important a member of the empire as the people of Ireland; and when this country came forward, cordial and confident with the offering of her treasure and blood, and resolute to stand or fall with the British nation; it is, I say, no proof of wisdom

dom nor generosity, to select that moment to plant a dagger in her heart.

But whatsoever shall be the event, I will adhere to her interests to the last moment of my life.

HENRY GRATTAN.

No. XI.

The conspiracy in the county of Carlow.

NOT only in Carlow, but in most of the counties of Ireland, the priests in the years 1791 and 1792 began to take an accurate account of their sectaries in every family within their respective parishes, which was supposed to be done with a view of ascertaining their relative strength by their numbers, when compared with the members of the established church.

About the same time maps, pointing out the property of the old popish possessors, were printed and published.

The great zeal with which the priests began about that time to establish religious fraternities among the populace, of which the scapular was the most prominent, gave an additional proof that a conspiracy was in contemplation. This institution introduced amongst them an extraordinary sanctity and austerity of manners, and afforded a trial of their silence, which was so essential to promote such a measure.

The insolence of the lower class of the people was obviously increased about the year 1793, by the following incidents: The priests were enabled to build stately chapels by the subscriptions not only of their own flock, but of protestants; which formed a striking contrast to, and reflected on, the ruined edifices where protestants, less enthusiastick, worshipped their God.

At a time that a protestant clergyman in that county could not obtain a sum of money to build a church for three hundred protestants, whom he had attended for twelve years in a footy cabin, the priest of Carlow built a college and chapel, which must have cost from 3000l. to 4000l.

In the beginning of the year 1797, the insolent looks and haughty demeanour of the peasants, who would not formerly approach a gentleman but with the greatest humility, challenged his attention with a broad stare, often followed by a sardonic grin.

Such

Such was the state of the county of Carlow in the month of November, 1797, when some informations, sworn privately before a magistrate, gave unquestionable proofs that a conspiracy was forming; and the following event removed every doubt on that head: Mr. Bennett, who lived near Leighlinbridge, was rash enough to declare his detestation of an United Irishman, and that he would give 500*l.* for the head of one; for which on the same night he was murdered, in the dead hour of the night, and his house was robbed of 500*l.* in cash.

This money, and their success in gratifying their vengeance against so respectable an enemy, inspired them so much with the hope of accomplishing their main design, that they began to assemble in great numbers, and to organize with great celerity.

A gentleman passing thro' Leighlinbridge, said, he made it a rule to give the people a drink; and having ordered a barrel of ale for them, the conspirators in great numbers, who seemed prepared for the business, mounted one of their drummers on the barrel, and proceeded in regular array, and with some arms, to the house of a man at Moneybeg, who had sworn examinations against some of them, and murdered him in his bed; they then proceeded to the house of Mr. Bagenal, a gentleman who had formerly represented the county, but having kept behind a bank of earth, it protected them from the shot of three of his protestant yeomen, who kept up a constant fire on them, until an accidental shot, from a blunderbuss of one of their own party, killed one of the united men, of the inauspicious name of Paine.

Six of his popish yeomen were posted outside his house, behind a wall, (for he kept the protestants within it,) commanded by his lieutenant, who afterwards recommended to Mr. Bagenal, not to depend on a papist, though he, and his two sons, were of that persuasion, as he could not prevail on the three others to fire on the assailants; and he declared, that he never would serve with any of them.

In their retreat, they plundered and shattered the house of Mr. Mulhallow, and beat and insulted him in the most cruel and ferocious manner.

From that time they never ceased to plunder houses of arms, and other valuable articles, avoiding the patrols of Mr. Robert Rochfort, of Clongrennan, and of Mr. Cornwall, of Myshall-lodge, who, much to their honour, never ceased
to

to harass those miscreants by night, at the head of their respective yeomen corps; while other gentlemen, palsied by fear, sought for protection by courting the priests. In short, I have been assured, that the county of Carlow would have been as much desolated as the county of Wexford, but that these gentlemen, by unabated exertions and the most undaunted courage, struck terror into them, by surprising and arresting numbers of them, in their most secret haunts and recesses.

In all their depredations, they never offered any injury to the property, or insult to the person of a papist, except that in some cases they took arms from such persons of that persuasion, as were not likely to use them, or were not engaged in the confederacy.

On requiring arms of a widow of the popish religion, near Leighlin, they informed her that they were for her benefit, and that of the Catholick cause. A man of the name of Hughes, appeared before Mr. Cornwall, of Myshall-lodge, a magistrate, on the twenty-first of July, 1798, and confessed that he had been a lieutenant, under a captain James Nowlan; and he stated the whole progress of the rebellion from its commencement. He said that the night previous to the attack on Borris, Leighlin-bridge, and Bagenalstown, he received orders from Nowlan, how he was to attack the enemy; and on asking him whom he was to consider as such, the captain replied, the king's troops and the protestants in general. The popish rabble, and numbers of Roman catholicks in comfortable, nay in opulent situations, took oaths of allegiance before magistrates, who gave them certificates of their having done so; and an abundance of such certificates were found in their pockets when they were made prisoners at the battle of Kilcomney, and elsewhere.

Many protestants were murdered, many of their houses were burnt, and much of their property was destroyed, in that part of the county of Carlow bordering upon the counties of Wicklow and Wexford. I have not obtained a minute account of them, but I shall refer the readers to the affidavit of Jervis Pue, at the end of this, for a specimen of them, and of the ferocious spirit by which the rebels were actuated.

Most of the popish yeomen in the county of Carlow, were disaffected, and would, had an opportunity offered, have turned their arms against their king and country.

In *for* Richard Butler's corps of cavalry, nine papists, of whom his permanent serjeant was done, conspired to murder its protestant members. The serjeant was to have posted in the rear the conspirators, who were to have fired on the protestants in action. Seven of them were convicted and hanged, the other two fled; but coming in under the proclamation, obtained their pardon.

Mr. Burton, member for the county, had a corps of infantry, in which he discovered twenty popish traitors, whom he expelled, and seventeen of them were afterwards hanged or transported. The arms of his corps being deposited in the guard-house, and guarded by six popish members, when the insurrection was expected, they poured water into the muzzles, and wet the pans, of their firelocks.

About thirty-six popish yeomen were shot in Carlow and its vicinity; but there was not a single instance of disaffection discovered in a protestant, that I could hear of.*

As the attack on Carlow, and the defeat of the rebels, took place on the first explosion of the rebellion, I included a description of it in the events which took place on that occasion.

County of the city of Dublin,
to wit.

THE information of Jervis }
Pue, of Johnstown, in the }
county of Carlow, yeoman, }
who being sworn on the Holy Evangelists, maketh oath and }
saith, That on or about the first day of July, 1798, he, }
this informant, being in the yard of the reverend Henry }
Braddell, his landlord, was informed that the rebels were }
advancing; in consequence of which he, this informant, }
and two protestants more, made their escape into an ad- }
joining wood, on the lands of Ballyconnel, in the county of }
Wicklow.—Informant saith, that the said rebels advanced }
to the house of the said Henry Braddell, and plundered the }
same of liquor and provisions, and carried off a black }
mare, the property of George Braddell, esquire, brother }
of the said Henry; and that the same day the said rebels }
forcibly carried off from the house of the widow Halfpenny, }
at Coolkenno, in the county of Wicklow, two sons of the }
said widow Halfpenny, Thomas Charleton, near said place, }
James Twamly, who lives near Coolkenno aforesaid, }
George

* I shall avoid saying any thing on the fate of the unfortunate sir Edward Crosbie, as many persons are strongly impressed with an idea of his innocence, which, 'tis said, they mean to vindicate in print.

George Driver, of Tinnehaly, all of the protestant religion, and whom they inhumanly butchered and put to death with pikes, on the hill of Boulamorogue, in said county, for no other reason than because they were protestants. Informant saith, that the bodies of the said persons were so mangled and butchered, that their friends were obliged to convey them to the place of burial swathed in linen clothes. Informant saith, that about three weeks ago, a party of said rebels went to the house of Joseph Faris, of Crownaskeagh, in the county of Carlow, farmer, who lay sick in bed with a violent fever ; and that the said rebels took the said Joseph Faris out of his bed, and shot him at the end of his own house, which they burned to ashes.—Informant saith, that the said rebels, about the same time, assassinated Thomas Mathers, of Crownaskeagh aforesaid, farmer : And he, this informant, verily believes, that the said rebels murdered the said Faris, and the said Mathers, for no other reason than because they were protestants, who they, without exception, denominated orangemen ; and informant further saith, that the said rebels, never to this informant's knowledge, injured the house or property of any Roman catholick, resident in any of the aforesaid places. Informant saith, that a numerous body of rebels burned, on the twenty-fourth of July last, the houses of twenty-three protestants, at Lany and Johnstown, in the county of Carlow, and at Ballyduff in said county, and at Ahold, Coolkenno, Killybeg, and Gold, in the county of Wicklow ; informant saith, that the house of Lorenzo Nickson, esquire, at Coolkenno aforesaid, was among the houses so burned ; and that the said rebels, previous to the burning of the same, had the postillion of the said Lorenzo Nickson, who was dying in a consumption, brought out from said house by two women, and that the said rebels shot the said postillion in presence of his wife. Informant saith, that about a fortnight, previous to the date hereof, a party of rebels went to the house of Robert Davis, a farmer, and of the protestant religion, and resident within half a mile of Tullow, in the county of Carlow, and shot the said Davis in his house, at a late hour in the night ; and that the said rebels compelled a daughter of the said Davis, who did not exceed the age of ten years, to hold a candle while they shot her father ; and that said rebels burned a bible, the property of the said Davis. Informant saith, that Ephraim Singleton, farmer, and of the protestant religion, was murdered by the said rebels at Coolroe, near Clonegal, in the county of Carlow, about a fortnight ago, and that they robbed him at the same time of a considerable

considerable sum of money, as informant heard, and verily believes. Informant saith, that the protestant inhabitants of the places and townlands aforesaid fled from their respective houses many weeks ago, and that they dare not reside in them, lest they should be assassinated by the said rebels. Informant saith, that the said rebels have frequently pursued him, and have gone to different places in quest of him; that about three weeks since, he, this informant, was obliged to fly precipitately, and bare-footed, to the garrison of Tullow, at the distance of near five miles from his house, to save his life from the rebels; and that in doing so, he was obliged to avoid the road, and cross over the hedges and ditches. Informant saith, that his house has been burned, and all his substance has been destroyed, and that he was at last obliged to fly to the city of Dublin for protection.

JERVIS PUE.

Sworn before me the 29th day of August, 1798,
THOMAS FLEMING.

The rebellion in the King's and Queen's county.

IN these the defenders had existed before an attempt was made to organize them by the United Irishmen, which took place in the beginning of the year 1797.

We find in the report of the secret committee * that the King's county was reckoned one of the best organized in the kingdom.

Popish fanaticism was the only spring of action among the rebels there, and the discovery of it by a protestant of republican principles, who had been deluded by them, prevented the fatal effects of the plot. †

He pointed out the captains who were to have headed the conspiracy, on which many of them fled, and others were taken up.

Many of them, the confidential servants of noblemen and gentlemen, in whose families they had lived long, were to have surprised and murdered their masters.

Two opulent shopkeepers of the name of Dempsey, in the town of Tullamore, were captains, and were tried and convicted of being such. As one of them had been principally concerned in the massacre at Rathangan, the squadron,

* Appendix, No. XXXI.

† I already mentioned under the head, 'Attack on Rathangan,' that this was effected by one Dennis an apothecary.

dron, who had suffered so much there, requested to have the satisfaction of hanging them ; and they accordingly did so, and buried them in the barrack yard.

The inhabitants of the town, to testify their concern for the fate of their fellow-traitors, closed their doors and windows, and observed a dead silence during the execution.

Coffey, a captain, was taken up, and threatened to be whipped, but after a solemn invocation to the Almighty, declared his innocence. He still remained obdurate, after receiving seventy-five lashes. Next morning, when he was on the point of receiving seventy-five more, he sent for general Dunn, and confessed that he had been sworn, but denied that he had ever acted with the rebels, on which the general dismissed him ; and yet within a fortnight after, he was engaged in a committee of United Irishmen, and deeply concerned in a conspiracy to attack the king's troops at Philipstown and Tullamore, and had sworn his son, a yeoman, to join in it. Having been convicted of these crimes, he was hanged, and buried in the stable of the barrack.

On the trial of Andrew Ryan, a shopkeeper, it appeared in evidence, and which he acknowledged himself, that he had been a member of the society since the year 1792, and that the object of it was to subvert the existing government. He must have meant the defenders, as the United Irishmen had not attempted to organize the King's county at that time.

By a court martial, held by orders of general Dunn, two men were convicted of swearing a person to be in readiness to attack Tullamore, and murder the protestants. There was much disaffection among the popish yeomen in the King's county. Of eighteen papists in the Dunkerrin cavalry, seventeen were sworn as United Irishmen, and five of them were convicted of being concerned in robbing houses of arms. Some or most of the papists in the Shinrone, Roscrea, Castleotway and Nenagh corps, were sworn to be true to the united cause, though they had taken the oaths of allegiance.

An oath was framed by general Dunn, with a paragraph, importing, that they would surrender any arms in their possession, and discover such persons as had any in their custody. But this produced no effect whatever, and no discoveries were made, or arms yielded up, until some of the notorious rebels, on being flogged, gave full information ;

tion ; and on this, great quantities of pikes were surrendered by those very persons who had taken the above oath. A short time before the rebellion broke out, numbers of popish farmers strenuously urged to be admitted into the yeoman corps, for no other purpose, as appeared afterwards, than to acquire arms and military discipline ; and some of them bought very good horses, to induce the officers to prefer them to protestants, who were not so well mounted. It was observed that the mass of the people were very sober and discreet for a considerable time before the rebellion broke out, which arose from their having taken an oath not to drink more than a maggin of whiskey in the course of the day.

A magistrate, * who lives in a country much subject to tumult and disturbance, on the confines of the King's county and Tipperary, assured me, that no information had been sworn before him, for some time previous to it.

It is observable that not a single instance occurred of disloyalty in any of the protestant yeomen ; at least I could not hear of such, after the most minute enquiry.

A short time before the general explosion, a printed letter, from the executive directory in Dublin, was dispersed in the King's county, recommending to the rebels to rise on a particular night, and to repair to Slievebloom mountain, where they would receive further orders.

Every thing that could incite or stimulate the multitude to action, was mentioned in it ; and to inflame them against the protestants of the church of Ireland, whose unshaken loyalty was well known, it was said the orangemen would rise and murder the Roman catholicks.

In the King's county the rebels never assembled but once, on the twentieth of August, when they were to have been joined by their brethren of the Queen's county, and to have formed a camp at the Devil's-bit ; but the latter having disappointed them, the former were soon dispersed by the Dunkerrin and Shinrone yeomen.

The mass of the people in the King's and Queen's county are papists ; the gentlemen of landed property in general, and many of the farmers and shopkeepers, are protestants ; there are but few presbyterians in them. Though the state of the former was in general very alarming, the number of protestants in Roscrea and its vicinity were so great, and they were so loyal and courageous, as to overawe the disaffected, and to repress their hopes of succeeding in

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* James F. Rolleston, esquire.

the insurrection there ; and yet a numerous corps of United Irishmen was organized in and about that town.

The circumstances attending the rebellion in the Queen's county were exactly similar to those in the King's county, except that it was not so well organized. Religious fanaticism was almost the only engine made use of by the directory to inflame the multitude in it ; and the extirpation of protestants, under the name of orangemen, was held out to them as an irresistible lure.

To disarm suspicion, and lull the magistrates, oaths of allegiance were taken, and, as a matter of course, were afterwards violated ; and there was much disaffection among the popish yeomen.

The insurrection was prevented in it by the following incident :

A messenger was sent from the directory in Dublin, with a letter to a man of the name of Deegan, a leader of the United Irishmen, to fix the time for rising ; in a mistake, he went to a loyal person of the same name, who entertained and plied him with drink ; and in the mean time sent for a guard of soldiers, who conveyed him a prisoner to Stradbally, and he was afterwards hanged at Maryborough. Many murders and atrocities were committed in this county, and most of the protestant houses were plundered of arms, except such whose inmates were able to defend them.

The conspiracy in the county of Clare.

THE first symptoms of the conspiracy appeared in the county of Clare, in the summer of the year 1797, when it was discovered that at Ennis and in its vicinity, numbers of people had formed clubs and combinations, and had taken illegal oaths ; but no certain proof was obtained of it till the month of October, when a countryman having attempted to swear a gentleman's servant in that town, his master persuaded him to give information against the countryman ; on which he was committed to goal. When he was arrested, he threw away from him, for fear of discovery, the constitution and the test oath of the United Irishmen, printed on fine paper and with an excellent type. On his committal, he said, that he would make a full discovery of what he knew, but that he feared it would put his life in danger ; having been assured of the contrary, he confessed that many persons had come from Dublin for the purpose of forming associations, which were cemented by oaths ; and that

that they wore green ribands, having embroidered on them in gold the harp without the crown, and the words, Erin go bragh, meaning "Ireland for ever." Among others he charged one Thady Griffy, a serge weaver, with being very active in disseminating the principles and doctrines of the United Irishmen. He was a canting hypocrite, who was engaged, and deeply versed in the mysteries of the Carmelites, and affected an extraordinary sanctity and austerity of manners, which he assumed as a cloak to conceal the most flagitious and turbulent principles. He was tried at the spring assizes of 1798 at Ennis; but by the seduction of some witnesses, the intimidation of others, and the puzzling of those who meant to declare the truth, by the gentlemen of the bar, he was acquitted, and immediately chaired by his rebellious friends, who in immense numbers celebrated their triumph over justice by vociferous acclamations, and with all the wantonness of savage joy.

A number of strangers, who were all of the Carmelite order, went into the county of Clare in the year 1796, and settled in the barony of Tullagh, on the borders of the county of Galway. The most part of them were weavers, and as they were very industrious, and seemed to have a great purity of morals, constantly recommending sobriety and good order to the multitude, the gentlemen of the country rejoiced at their arrival. Thus they continued to be protected, till the winter of the year 1798, when they began to hold secret nightly meetings, to plunder the houses of protestants, particularly the yeomen, of arms, and to cut down great quantities of young ash trees to make pike handles, and to employ the blacksmiths in making pikes. On the twelfth and thirteenth of January, 1799, they and the profelytes whom they initiated into the Carmelite order, to the number of several thousands, assembled in the day at Milltown and Innistimmon, and moved forward apparently with an intention of meeting the king's troops; but on their approach under general Meyrick, they fled to the mountains of Slievacullane, which are inaccessible; they pretended to surrender their arms, but it was well known that they kept the best, and the greater part of them. Soon after their rising they houghed great quantities of cattle, for which compensation was made to the sufferers by large sums of money levied by the grand jury on the county; they went with unparalleled assurance next day, to the places where they had committed these acts of savage cruelty, to carry off

off the flesh of the poor animals that they had butchered the preceding night; and lamenting with dissimulation the perpetration of them, said, as they are killed, * we may as well as any other persons carry home the meat. They killed some of them which were not quite dead. Mr. Lyfaght was the only person of consideration concerned with them, and he engaged in the business merely from private resentment to individuals; he was tried, convicted and transported.

The parish priest of Kilsenora, of the name of Carrick, was committed on the following charge: That during the insurrection, a great number of these rebellious hypocrites were proceeding in a body to plunder the house of Mr. Smith of Smithstown of arms, and that they were entertained by Carrick, who exhorted them to unite, and be zealous in the cause, as the French would soon land and give them ample assistance. The prosecutor who charged Carrick was kept in the guard-house of Ennis, where some vagabonds pretending to make a riot, the guard rushed into the street to quell it, on which the informer made his escape, according to a preconcerted scheme.

The magistrates discovered at that time an itinerant Carmelite who seemed to be a high priest of that order; he had a long beard, and a cowl like the Capuchin friars, and a cloak which he hooked over his chin, and prevented, when he chose, his beard from being seen; he had a long brown shirt which reached to the ground, and on the breast of it, there was the image of a coffin in white; he had one bag full of scapulars which he sold to the besotted multitude, and another full of shreds to make them; he had many little religious books, containing the most abominable superstitious doctrines, and which the priests constantly circulate among their flock. He said, that he went from one holy well to another, where he preached to a numerous auditory, who never failed to attend him. He had recently come from a holy well near Burren, where a great concourse of people assembled, under religious pretences, but in reality to promote rebellion. It appeared by some papers found on him, that he was a Northern man, and had fled from near Belfast in consequence of having committed some crime. He was discovered by a gentleman who over-heard him preaching to a number of people in a weaver's house, where he was inveighing against protestants, and the government of Ireland. The magistrates urged the parish priest

* They killed great numbers of them in the night.

priest to banish him; but he said that he could not venture to do so, though he highly disapproved of such persons, for his subsistence depended on the will of the people; and as they had a strong predilection for such holy men, he should incur their displeasure by denouncing him; but he said he would be glad that he was removed.

The conspiracy in the county of Waterford in 1797 and 1798.

A slight sketch of the state of the conspiracy in the counties of Waterford, Cork, and Tipperary, will answer to shew the leading principles of the rebels in the province of Munster, and the designs by which they were actuated.—The informations are in the Crown-office.

IN the county of Waterford, the inhabitants of large districts were sworn, and the protestants in them were disarmed, in the course of a few nights. The main object of the rebels, who were exclusively papists, was to join the French on their landing, to extirpate protestants, and even such persons of their own order as should oppose them, to plunder persons of wealth, and confiscate landed property; but it could not be discovered, that they were headed by any persons of education and fortune. The Roman catholic gentlemen, much to their honour, remained loyal; but from the paucity of their numbers, they must have yielded to the wishes of the multitude to preserve their lives and fortunes, if the constitution had been subverted. It is most certain that a general insurrection would have taken place in the county of Waterford, in the winter of 1797, but that a large body of troops was introduced into it, and divided into cantonments; and that many districts were proclaimed on the fourth of December, 1797. However, such was the infatuation of the people, that they would have risen before these events took place, but for the following difficulty which occurred: The farmers were the leaders, and the peasants, who were to be the immediate and efficient instruments in the business, objected at first to co-operate with them, because they had no prospect of being rewarded for the imminent danger which they should incur; while the others were to enjoy in fee simple the farms which they rented. However, it is believed, that these difficulties were overcome; for plans were formed for murdering most of the gentlemen resident in the country, and for destroying their houses; and even nights were fixed on for that purpose. A numerous banditti assembled near Affane, the seat of Pierce Power, esquire, in December, to destroy it,

it, and murder him and his family ; but the night was so rainy and tempestuous, that they dispersed. It was remarkable that the conspirators held the yeomanry in the greatest detestation : The following anecdote will prove that, and the very depraved state of the popish multitude :

Thomas Scammodin, a yeoman in the Cappoquin corps, just of age, was going on Sunday the twelfth of November, 1797, from that town to Clashmore, about ten miles off ; and as he passed through the village of Aglifs, when the popish congregation were leaving the chapel, his red uniform attracted their notice, and marked him for an object of their vengeance. Some of them invited him to drink in an alehouse, to which all the traitors of the adjacent country had resorted after mass, in order to form their plots. They amused themselves with his singing, (for he was a famous songster) till it was dark ; and then offered to administer to him the United Irishman's oath ; but he refused it, having said, that he had taken an oath of allegiance a few days before. Finding that his loyalty was unshaken, a party of them retired to another room, as a committee, and condemned him to die ; and in obedience to the sentence, two of his pot companions waylaid him, about half a mile out of the village, and murdered him, having perforated his body in eighteen different places with his own bayonet.

In the village of Aglifs, a noted rendezvous of the rebels, and where they formed their plans of organization, the rabble had often fierce disputes about the division and the appropriation of the neighbouring gentlemen's estates ; and two ruffians had a violent conflict about Dromana, the seat of the earl of Grandison.

In the parish of Modeligo, a committee of assassination, consisting of twelve farmers in very good circumstances, deliberately condemned one Thomas Curreen to die in the month of October, 1797, for no other reason, than that they suspected he would not keep their secrets, for he was one of the united brotherhood. They then proceeded in the dead hour of the night, with a number of their associates, and shot him ; after which every one present was obliged to inflict a wound on the body. This atrocity was afterwards proved by the information of one of the party. When they called Curreen out of his house, and informed him that he must die for the good of the cause, he asked permission to have the assistance of a priest before he was put to death ; but they said, that they should not have time for that purpose, and that they would say a prayer for his soul. They therefore
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The conspiracy in the county of Waterford in the years 1797 and 1798.

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On

kneeled down, crossed themselves, and implored the divine favour for the soul of the victim whom they were going to immolate. It has since been discovered, that at least six hundred persons were present at this murder, and that some opulent and well-educated farmers were the leaders in it, and fired the first shots.

On the twenty-ninth of January, 1798, the priest of that parish and seven hundred and eighty of his parishioners assembled at their chapel, published a declaration of their loyalty, and of their abhorrence of the principles and practices of the United Irishmen, which they published in the Dublin Journal, though it was well known, that they were as generally and deeply infected with them, as those of any other parish in the county.

By informations sworn before Henry St. George Cole, esquire, by Michael Hiffernan, turnpike-keeper of Red Cliffe in the county of Waterford, 27th of January, 1798,

IT appears, that some time in the month of November, 1797, one Thomas Christopher of Abbey-side, in said county, assembled with seven or eight hundred United Irishmen in a field near Cusheam, with a treasonable design of taking some cannon out of the Vulture privateer, then lying at Dungarvan, in order to level a number of gentlemen's houses, particularly that of the marquis of Waterford at Curraghmore, and murdering a number of gentlemen, particularly colonel Uniacke, and captain Cole; and that said Thomas Christopher went to informant three different days, and required him to give his consent to put this design into execution.

The same informant swore before the said magistrate, the twenty-fourth of March, 1798, that the United Irishmen in and about Dungarvan, assembled at different times in great numbers, in the autumn of 1797, and took arms from different people, and committed various outrages; and swore numbers of people to be true to their cause.

That on the seventh of October, they cut off one of the ears of Patrick Sheehan of Glynbeg; that they pulled and prostrated a quantity of corn in stack belonging to colonel Uniacke; that on the eighteenth of November, 1797, they resolved to take five pieces of cannon out of the Vulture privateer, in order to level the house of Curraghmore, and to take away the lives of colonel Uniacke, Henry St. George Cole, esquire, Richard Power of Clashmore, esquire, John Musgrave of Ballyin, esquire, Richard Barrett of Snugbo-

rough, esquire, Roger Dalton, esquire, the reverend Jaber Henry, * several others, and of all informers.

Anne Connor swore an information before Thomas Garde, esquire, that her husband Richard Connor, a police constable of the county of Waterford, and parish clerk of the parish of Temple Michael in said county, was murdered about the nineteenth of November, 1797, and was buried in some place unknown to informant; and that some of his clothes and other articles belonging to him were found soon after in the house of Michael Smyth of Garryduff in said county. Sworn the eighth of December, 1797.

By informations sworn before John Keane, esquire, thirtieth December, 1797, John Landy, alias Landers of Dromore in the county of Waterford, blacksmith, alleged that on the night of Sunday the twelfth of November, he saw the body of Thomas Scammaddon of Cappoquin, in the county of Waterford, yeoman, lying dead in the road between Aglifs and Clashmore; and that Thomas Roche, and James Hickey, who had murdered said Scammaddon, were standing near the body; and that they threatened to murder informant, unless he would assist them in removing said body into an adjacent field, with which he complied; and swore him by the cross to keep secret what he saw.

A police constable in the county of Waterford, deposed before the author of this work the third of December, 1797, that the united Irishmen assembled often in the barony of Decies tumultuously and in great numbers, and deprived him of his arms on the tenth of November, 1797; that they had resolved to murder many gentlemen in the country, and to level their houses; and that he heard them say, that John Musgrave, esquire, † of Ballyin, Richard Power of Clashmore, esquire, and Pierce Power of Affane, esquire, were to be served so; that he heard some of the United Irishmen say, that a Roman catholic would ensure salvation by killing three protestants. ‡

Michael Morrissey of Ballykarroge, farmer, swore an information dated the twentieth January, 1798, before John Keane, esquire, that a number of United Irishmen fired many shots into his house, and compelled him to swear to be true to their cause, and to kill all informers, and they threatened to murder him instantly if he refused; they swore him other oaths which he did not recollect.

James

* All magistrates and men of fortune.

† His name and place of abode are concealed lest he should be assassinated.

‡ An assassin of the name of Keefe often lay in wait to shoot him.

James Parker of Killvogue in the county of Waterford, farmer, swore an information dated twenty-first January, 1798, before William Kirby, esquire, that Daniel Killiger, alias Cox, swore him the United Irishman's oath; and that he would keep his secrets, and that he would inform him if the gentlemen of Tallow would take any steps against him or his friends; that said Cox owned he was sworn to be true to the French who would land in Ireland in December, and he recommended to him not to pay his debts, or any rent; and that when they landed he advised him to go to him, or some other friend, to be sworn thoroughly, as it would be necessary for his protection.

An information of Mary Burke, sworn second January, 1798, before L. H. Jephson, esquire, a magistrate of the county of Waterford; that a number of men whose names are set forth, entered the house of Walter Wall of Mafshill in said county, on Wednesday twenty-second November, 1797, and swore him, his father, and brother, to be just and true to them, to keep secret what he saw and heard, to pull down taxes and petty landlords; to be true to the French when they would land, and to weed out protestants as they would an ear of corn.

William Flynn swore an information dated the second day of January, 1798, before Michael Keane, esquire, a magistrate of the county of Waterford, that about the eighth day of August, 1797, Maurice Power, attended by other United Irishmen, swore him in the town of Dungarvan, to be true to the French convention, his God, and his brothers, which words he read out of a paper.

Michael Heffernan swore an information before Henry St. George Cole, esquire, the twenty-seventh January, 1798, that about the night of the seventh of November preceding, Thomas Quealy and others went to the house of Michael Morrissy of Ballykarroge, broke his windows, dragged him out of his house, and swore him to be true to the French convention, and extorted money from him; that some time in said month, the said Thomas Quealy held a meeting near Cusheam, of seven or eight hundred United Irishmen, for the purpose of going to Dungarvan, to take cannon out of the Vulture privateer, with a view of levelling the marquis of Waterford's house at Curraghmore, and of murdering colonel Uniacke, captain Cole, and others.

Patrick Fling swore an information the second of January, 1798, before the reverend Jabez Henry, that Thomas

Thomas Quealy swore informant in the town of Dungarvan, an oath of secrecy, to be true to the French convention, and to have a brotherly love for each other.

Morgan Fowlow of Dungarvan, swore an information the fourth of January 1798, before Roger Dalton, esquire, a magistrate, that John Driscoll, and David Bohan, swore him the first of November preceding, to love God and his brothers, to be true and faithful to the French and their convention, and to put all traitors to death.

Laurence Collins of Dungarvan swore an information the thirty-first of December, 1797, that John Driscoll, and many others, on the twenty-eighth instant at Dungarvan, swore him to be true to the French, and to cut and hack all his majesty's true and loyal subjects, and to join the French whenever they should land.

William Sheehan swore an information the thirty-first of January, 1798, before Roger Dalton, esquire, that a party of United Irishmen entered his house on the night of the seventh of October, 1797, and that his left ear was cut off by Michael Quinlan.

Richard Cahill swore an information the first of January, 1798, that Patrick Heavy, carpenter, some time in the month of November, 1797, agreed to shoot Henry St. George Cole, esquire, and that a subscription was made up for that purpose.

John Goolding and John Keys swore to the same purpose.

Michael Heffernan swore an information the fourth of January, 1798, before Michael Keane, esquire, that Patrick Tagly of Abbey-side, shoemaker, went to him four times in the month of November, to concert measures for taking cannon out of the Vulture privateer, for the purpose of leveling the marquis of Waterford's house; and that he asked the consent and assistance four different times of informant, to murder R. Uniaske, esquire, Richard Power, of Clashmore, esquire, John Musgrave, esquire, Pierce Barron, esquire, Richard Barrett, esquire, Roger Dalton, esquire, Pierce Power, esquire, H. St. George Cole, esquire, and the reverend Jabez Henry.

Many assassinations were committed in the county of Waterford, in the autumn and winter of 1797.

The most noted was that of one Colclough, a publican, within three miles of Youghal. A numerous body of ruffians broke into his house in the night, murdered him, his wife, and servant maid, and mangled their bodies in a most savage

savage manner. They were led to do so by a suspicion that he had given information against some of them, who had houghed his cows.

It was proved that a neighbouring priest who has been since transported, gave the perpetrators of this horrid crime absolution, for having committed it, and for other murders intended to be perpetrated.

It has since appeared, that many of the farmers and labourers in Colclough's neighbourhood were concerned in murdering him and his family.

John Brown, a farmer, deposed before John Keane, esquire, a magistrate, the fourth of January, 1798; that the object of the United Irishmen, in the county of Waterford was to murder all the protestants as soon as the French should land, and to join them. All these informations are in the crown office.

The conspiracy in the city of Waterford.

THE conspiracy at Waterford was as terrifick and as general, as in Dublin or Cork, in proportion to the number of its inhabitants. The conspirators were to have risen, to have set fire to the city in different places, and to have massacred all the loyal subjects in it, if the rebels had succeeded in taking the town of Ross.

The conspiracy was discovered in the following manner :

A person who happened to be in a publick house at Johnstown, a suburb of the city, overheard, through a thin partition, a number of the conspirators conferring in the next room on the plot which was to be carried into execution, on the eruption of the rebellion. They were, in the first place, to set fire to Mr. Alexander Alcock's house, which is about a quarter of a mile from the city ; and as he was a member of the corporation, and had numerous and respectable connections in it, they knew that the most considerable persons in Waterford, their retainers and dependants, would fly to his assistance, and that the fire engines would be carried there. During their absence, occasioned by this wicked device, they were to set fire to the city in different places at the same time ; and such was their malignity, that, for the sake of concealment, and the better to carry their treasonable designs into execution, they meant to have set fire to their own houses* in the first instance.

The

* The rebels did so in Enniscorthy and Ross.

The person who overheard the conspirators repaired directly to counsellor Paul, and revealed to him what he had heard, but under the strictest injunction of secrecy.

Mr. Paul conducted him secretly to Humphrey May, esquire, collector of the revenue at Waterford, and a magistrate for the city and county, and he gave full information to him upon oath, of the whole of what he had heard; on which Mr. May took up many of the conspirators, and among others one Bohan, a baker, who, though enrolled in a yeomanry corps, and had taken the oath of allegiance, was one of the leaders of the conspiracy.

As the mass of the people of Carrick-on-Suir, and most of the yeomen there were deeply concerned in the conspiracy, and as they were to have repaired to Waterford, to co-operate with their fellow traitors there, on the general insurrection, Bohan used to go there three or four times a week, to concert measures for their future operations.

One Sargent, a publican, was also deeply concerned in the plot.

As the yeomen officers, and some of the principal gentlemen of the town, dined frequently at his house, and usually left their swords in an antichamber, he laid a plan of cutting them off while at dinner. Carey, a stone-cutter, deeply concerned in the conspiracy, was taken up, and on being examined, insisted on his innocence; but on receiving about a dozen lashes of a cat-o-nine tails, he acknowledged that he was engaged in the plot, and confessed all the circumstances which had been discovered and related by the person who overheard the conspirators at Johnstown; and at the same time, he disclosed the names of his principal accomplices, who were immediately arrested.

The conspirators had seduced a great number of the Clare militia, quartered some months at Waterford, who were to have acted with them on the general insurrection; and it appeared that their artillery-men were to have fired on the city, with their battalion guns, from a hill which hung over it.

It is to be lamented that there was a strong spirit of disaffection among the Roman catholic yeomen of Waterford, for which many of them were dismissed; and it was proved, that they had entered into the service for no other purpose but to acquire arms and a knowledge of military discipline.

The plot was conducted with so much secrecy in Waterford, that a very respectable inhabitant of it, and a member of

of the corporation, who piqued himself on the loyalty and tranquillity of its inhabitants, was on the point of inserting in the Waterford newspaper a warm panegyrick on them, the day on which the plot was discovered.

The honourable colonel Burton, who commanded in Waterford for some time after the battle of Rofs, assured me, that many Roman catholics, in rather a respectable situation, went privately to him, acknowledged that they were concerned in the plot, expressed contrition for it, and craved his protection and the mercy of government; and that he never disclosed their names.

So sure were the conspirators, that a general rising would take place in consequence of the supposed victory of their friends at Rofs, with whom they kept up a close and constant intercourse, that money was given out to messengers by their treasurers, to repair to the south and western parts of the country, to invoke the mass of the people to rise. But the success of the king's troops at Rofs defeated their schemes.

As many of the fugitives from Rofs to Waterford, announced in their flight, that the rebels had been successful, most of the labourers and farmers in that part of the county of Kilkenny opposite to Waterford suddenly deserted their different occupations, and repaired to their fellow traitors: But on discovering their disappointment, they returned; and, dreading that their conduct would bring on them the vengeance of the law, they slunk into Waterford, and repaired to some magistrates there, to take the oath of allegiance, in hopes of getting protections, to screen themselves from the penal consequences of their treason.

On the trial of Edmond Quin, for being a rebel, held at Waterford, the seventeenth of July, 1799, by court martial, it appeared, that he told John Whelan, when they were both prisoners in the gaol of Waterford, that if matters had remained as they were in the height of the troubles, for two days and two nights, Waterford would have been taken by the United Irishmen, and that in two months from that time, they would be in possession of it.

The facts contained in this account of the conspiracy at Waterford are not founded on vague assertion, but were proved on court martials, which I have read.

On many of the trials of the disaffected inhabitants of Rofs and Waterford it appeared, that there was a constant intercourse between them, and that the fate of Waterford was to have depended on the success of the rebel army at the former.

By a court martial held at Waterford, the twenty-second of June, 1798, John Abbott was convicted of having conspired to assist the rebels in an insurrection in that town, and of saying that he would set fire to his own house for the purpose of confounding the army; and that he declared, that Thomas Gough and Michael Bohan were preparing to do the same. It was proved also that he had concealed arms.

On the trial of Garret Murphy, by court martial, held at Waterford, the twenty-fifth of July, 1798, captain Lowrie, of the thirteenth regiment, president, it was proved, that Mr. Thomas Anthony, architect, who had employed the prisoner, pretended that he had been an United Irishman, for the purpose of learning his secrets, and that Murphy informed him a few days after the battle of Ross, that he had been, previous to that event, with Mr. Colclough, in the county of Kilkenny, and that Mr. C. having left him, went to Carrick and Clonmell, to prepare the people there for rising: That he told Mr. Colclough of the insurrection intended in Waterford, and that he must go there to save a particular friend: That he was sure the king's troops would be completely defeated, as there were so many United Irishmen encamped in the county of Wexford. He told him that there were arms in the outlets of the city of Waterford: That he had been concealed in a ditch in the county of Kilkenny, near Ross, and missed fire twice at two gentlemen, who rode by in their way to Waterford; and that one of them, when they proceeded a little farther, was shot in the arm: He believed one to be young Mr. Tottenham; that Waterford was the object of the United Irishmen, when they had defeated the king's troops at Ross; but that city had nothing to fear, unless they succeeded there. Mr. Anthony gave a most excellent character of him, but fanaticism had made him a rebel.

Before a court-martial held at Waterford, the twentieth of June, 1798, Patrick Bourke was found guilty of conspiring with others, in an insurrection, and an attack upon Waterford, and that at a meeting of United Irishmen at his house, he declared, that, for the good of the cause, he would set fire to his own house; and that he said, the object of setting fire to the house was, to create confusion among the king's troops, the easier to overcome them. It was proved also, that it was said at his house, that some of the Clare militia, then quartered in Waterford, were to seize the cannon, arms and ammunition, for the purpose of taking the city.

William

William Lewis, a soldier of the Clare regiment, proposed at the house of Patrick Rourke, in the presence of some of his fellow-soldiers, and the United Irishmen of Waterford, to seize the cannon and ammunition then in that city, and to carry them upon the hill, and to fire on it; and that that plan had been agreed upon in the presence of the militia men.

By a court-martial held at Waterford the sixth of July, 1798, corporal Curry of the Clare regiment, Simon Ryan, and Thomas Reilly, privates of the same, were convicted of being concerned in the conspiracy to seize the city and all the cannon in it, for the purpose of assisting the rebels in taking it; and in having conspired to murder all their officers, except lieutenant Mc. Mahon, who was a Roman catholic. It was proposed there also by one Carey, to murder the union corps of that city. At the same meeting, corporal Woods, in the artillery of the Clare regiment said, that he had eight or ten United Irishmen in the artillery, who would draw the guns up the hill, and fire on the town: That a committee was formed to carry that plan into execution. Garret Murphy confessed on his examination before some magistrates, that John Forrestall, publican, at New Ross, told him, that the rebel army would march through the county of Kilkenny to Waterford, if the king's troops were beaten at Ross: That great numbers of people at Waterford and Ross, some of whom he mentioned, were concerned as officers, or privates, and that he was a serjeant, and used to collect 6d. per month, from the men under his command, which he paid to messieurs Hunt, Foot, and Farrell, who were captains, for the purpose of sending messengers to Dublin. It was very fortunate that the rebels in the county Kilkenny mistook the day destined for the attack upon Ross.

By two court martials held at Waterford, one on the fourteenth of June, the other the twenty-third of July, 1798, it was proved that Walter Power, Richard Connolly, and James Hynes, went to the house of Mr. Valentine Lannagan, of Charlestown, with some other rebels, and took his fire-arms and ammunition; and that the said V. Lannagan heard the prisoners say in conversation, on the seventh of June, that, if it were not for the cannon, they would have cut off the Roscommon regiment, which marched the day before from Waterford to Ross, as two thousand United Irishmen had assembled at Glanmore, on the sixth of June, for that purpose.

Conspiracy in the city of Cork.

THE conspiracy was infinitely more terriffick in the city of Cork than in Dublin, because the protestants of the established church, whose destruction was meditated, were much fewer in proportion to the Roman catholicks; and the conspirators were better organized and armed, as the vigilance and the exertions of the executive power were not so active and vigorous as in the metropolis, the seat of government.

It was divided into three divisions, the north, the centre, and the south; and each of them was subdivided into sections. It was discovered, that there were one hundred and thirty of the latter, from North-gate bridge, through Blackpool, and that portion of the city, and that each consisted of a serjeant and twelve men. They were all regimented, and had a regular gradation of officers from a colonel down to a corporal.

An immense quantity of pikes was fabricated in Cork. Measures were concerted for taking the magazine; and so sure were the conspirators of succeeding, that poles were prepared, exactly fitted to the socket of a bayonet, that they might mount them the instant those weapons, (of which there was a great number in the magazine,) fell into their hands.

There was great disaffection among the popish yeomen, particularly in the Cork legion. Donovan and Drinane continued members of it till they were arrested; and Sweeny, the chief leader of the conspiracy in Cork, who has been transported to Botany Bay, was seized and committed a short time after he had been expelled from the corps, for disobedience of orders, in which he manifested notorious disaffection. Some of them owed to persons who became approvers, that they entered into it merely to obtain arms and a knowledge of military discipline. Roger O'Connor, confined in gaol, was the chief director of the union in Cork; and he paid the bills at the houses of entertainment which were kept open for the reception of the soldiers, who were regaled in them *gratis*, with the most delicious fare; and they were even supplied with concubines, the more effectually to seduce them.

As two soldiers of the Dublin regiment were condemned to be shot for disaffection, John Sweeny, a woollen draper, distributed

distributed printed hand bills, not only among the soldiers, but among the disaffected of the city, and the adjacent county, inciting them to rise in mass, to overpower the garrison, and to rescue the prisoners; but doctor Harding, at that time high sheriff, arrested Sweeny in the gaol, while conferring with R. O'Connor, on the morning of the day that the execution of the soldiers took place; by which the insurrection was defeated. The great vigilance, and active exertions of that loyal gentleman, preserved the city of Cork from conflagration and a general massacre, for which many plots were formed to murder him.

A man of the name of Casey, was hired to assassinate him, and was on the point of firing a pistol at him, when fortunately a pig ran between his legs, and threw him down, by which the life of that valuable member of society was preserved. A committee of assassination was constantly sitting in Cork, by which sir Henry Mannix, captain Westropp, Mr. Shaw the collector, doctor Harding, alderman Shaw, messieurs Alexander and Johnson, high constables, and other loyal gentlemen, were condemned; and pursuant to their sentence, sir Henry Mannix was fired at, and wounded, near Cork, by one Callaghan, the assassin hired to murder him; and who immediately repaired to John Sweeny, and claimed the reward which the committee had offered for killing him; but Sweeny refused to pay it to him, as he was not actually killed; but being a woollen draper, he gave him two suits of clothes, as a recompense for the zeal which he displayed in the cause of the union.

Four men, who became approvers at an early period of the conspiracy, continued to attend the committees, and constantly gave information to the magistrates of every thing that passed; and their communications exactly corresponded with the evidence which was afterwards given on the trials of the conspirators by different prosecutors.

They often produced black lists of the principal protestant families in the kingdom, who, under the denomination of hereticks, were to be assassinated, and the Beresford family, and Mr. Ogle, were among them; and it was often asserted in these committees, that a person would ensure salvation by killing a certain number of protestants.*

As

*This reward is held out by the council of Lateran, see vol. i. p. 11. of the Memoirs; and this opinion was frequently uttered and maintained by the rebels, see Appendix XIII. an affidavit on the state of Dublin, and Whitney's Affidavit, Appendix XIX.

As captain Westropp's corps, all protestants, were conspicuous for their loyalty, an order for assassinating them was issued by the grand committee, to which all the rest were subordinate; and the bloody deed was to have been performed when they were proceeding to mount a piquet guard at Blarney, four miles from Cork, by a band of assassins,* who were supplied with blunderbusses for that purpose. When in a deep road, they were to have been fired on from the hedges on each side, which were high; and at the same time they were to have been assailed in front and rear, by men appointed with muskets; but the plot was defeated by the seasonable discovery of one of the approvers to whom I alluded.

The members of the union in Cork were so desperate and sanguinary, that a proposal was made, and it was some time discussed in a committee, to murder the amiable doctor Moylan, titular bishop of Cork, partly from motives of revenge, on account of his loyalty; but the principal reason assigned in the committee for it was, that it would be imputed to the protestants, and rouse the vengeance of the Roman catholics against them, as strong stimulants were thought necessary at that time. The protestant yeomen of Cork are entitled to the highest praise for the unremitted ardour which they displayed, and the great fatigue which they endured, in support of the constitution, against the confederated traitors, who conspired for its destruction.

County of the city of Cork. } THE information of Thomas
 Boyle, private in captain Ormsby's
 company of the North Mayo regiment of militia, taken this
 twenty-eighth day of May, 1798. Deponent being duly
 sworn and examined, deposeth and saith, That some time
 since he got acquainted with Thomas Meagher, of Half-
 moon-street, publican; that about a fortnight ago depon-
 ent was brought into the house of said Meagher, by a
 seaman, of the name of Patrick Meade, who called for a
 pot of porter, and taking deponent by the hand, squeezed
 and hurt him with his thumb; on deponent complaining,
 said Meade replied, you are not a true brother, or you
 would return the squeeze; this passed in the presence and
 hearing of Meagher before mentioned.

Deponent further deposeth, and saith, that he frequently
 met the aforesaid Meagher, who was remarkably civil to
 him,

* The author has a list of them in his possession.

him, and invited deponent to his house ; that about eight or nine days ago Meagher, in his own house, told informant, " that the majority of the people were sworn brothers, and " that they would be much better off, if they had been " sworn long ago." Said Meagher then wanted deponent to swear, and to get his friends in the regiment to swear, as no man's life would be safe, who was not sworn ; deponent refused to swear at that time. Deponent deposeth and saith, that he informed ensign Con, and colonel Jackson of the Mayo, of these conversations, and that they advised him to be sworn ; that on the same evening, being Friday the twenty-fifth of May instant, deponent went to the house of the said Meagher, when the swearing was again spoken of by the said Meagher, and he the deponent was then sworn on a book by the said Meagher, " to be true to the " united men, and their party, and never to draw a trigger, " or a ramrod against the United Irishmen, or against the " French, if they should land here ;" said Meagher then wanted deponent to go with him to Cow-lane, where he would meet some friends, but deponent declined going there ; said Meagher advised deponent to get as many of the regiment sworn as he could, and that he would give him money, and also advised him to get fire-arms and ammunition conveyed out of the barrack to him, the said Meagher. Deponent further deposeth, that said Meagher said he would give him money to treat the officers servants, and desired he would get acquainted with them, and appeared very anxious to know when colonel Jackson, and the head officers would dine with general Stewart ; for that there was a quarry at Leitrim very convenient to kill colonel Jackson, and that he could very easily make his escape in a boat without coming over the bridge. Meagher further told informant, that if he did not wish to remain here, he would give him money and coloured clothes to go to Bristol in the packet.

The following very extraordinary circumstance occurred in the conspiracy at Cork : A short time before the intended insurrection, an order was sent to all the inferior committees, as if from a committee of twelve priests, to eject from them any protestant members which they might have admitted. It is supposed that they were afraid of having the plot discovered, after it had come to maturity, knowing that the protestants were loyal, with but few exceptions. All the approvers have uniformly agreed, that this order was conveyed to all the inferior societies, as if from the committee

committee of twelve priests; and one Mockler, a shoemaker, who delivered all the orders, has disappeared, left, it is supposed, he should be led to make a discovery of this transaction, and to disclose the mysteries of it.

As some attempts have been made to palliate the conspiracy in the city of Cork, by asserting, that it was not as dangerous or extensive as has been stated in this work, I think it right to observe, that sir James Stewart, baronet, commanding at Cork, received orders from government to send part of the garrison to the county of Wexford, to assist in the taking of Vinegar-hill; but he had such strong apprehensions of an insurrection of the rebels in Cork, that he refused to obey, and that he did not comply, until he received a second and more peremptory order.

The reader may form some idea of the very alarming state of the city of Cork from the following certificate, given to two persons who had rendered most important services by their discoveries relative to the atrocious designs of the Cork rebels :

On the 5th day of April, 1798, ——— came forward voluntarily, and made many important discoveries of traitorous societies then in existence in this city and county, tending to the entire subversion of his present majesty's government, religion, and laws; and of societies convened, for the sanguinary purpose of assassinating every loyal and well-disposed person in the country, without any exception, particularly that by which messieurs St. George and Uniacke were most cruelly murdered; and of those who made an attempt on the life of sir Henry Mannix, a magistrate of this county, who, by his active exertions to crush the rebellious, incurred their hatred; and of a plot to murder Robert Harding, esquire, then high sheriff of the city, whose very active conduct marked him as an object of their sanguinary vengeance. They also discovered, and prosecuted to conviction, the traitors who procured to be printed, and circulated, hand-bills for the diabolical purpose of seducing the Dublin county and North Mayo regiments of militia (then quartered in this city) from their duty and allegiance; and also gave informations of sixty-nine societies of United Irishmen in Cork, with the names and places of abode of the officers who belonged to each, many of whom were very forward and active in having pikes made, and in collecting money to forward the rebellion.

They

They also made known for what purpose the Sheares's came from Dublin to Cork, viz. to organize the country ; and they likewise gave information of their having returns of men, money, and arms. The truth of the above-recited discoveries, and of their importance to government, have been fully ascertained, and can be authenticated by the mayor and sheriffs of the said city of Cork. The above-recited information we received from ———, with much more, of the greatest importance to this city and county. And we further say, that we never received any information from them that was not corroborated by the testimony or confession of others, whom we took up in consequence of the information received from them.

Cork, December 15th, 1799.

ROBERT HARDING,
*High Sheriff of Cork in 1798,
and from October, 1797.*

T. MYERS,
*Major General, commanding at
Cork.*

GEORGE JACK,
*Local Solicitor for the Crown
on the Prosecutions civil
and military.*

HUGH BAKER,
*Deputy Judge Advocate, South-
ern District.*

Conspiracy in the county of Cork.

THE organization in the county of Cork was exactly similar to that which took place in every part of the provinces of Leinster and Munster. There were committees of assassination in every parish, similar outrages and barbarities prevailed, and the members of the union in that county, who were almost exclusively Romanists, seem to have been actuated by one general design of joining the French, of extirpating protestants, and such of their own persuasion as would not join them, and of confiscating their property ; and it appeared, on most of the trials, that the persons who carried on the business of organization, and disseminated

disseminated the doctrines of the United Irishmen, were sent from the city of Cork.

To give the reader a catalogue of the many instances of nocturnal robbery and assassination which occurred there, in the years 1797, 1798, and 1799, would only fill him with horror and disgust.

Mr. Robert Hutchinson, of Codrum, near Macroom, an amiable and unoffending gentleman, was murdered in his own house, on the night of the 21st of April, 1799, by a gang of assassins, headed by one Timothy Carthy; and it appeared on his trial * that he had concerted plans with several other captains, for murdering every other gentleman in the country, and that they were to destroy four or five of a night.

Patrick Murphy was murdered in the month of December, 1797, at Ballymacody, near Youghall, having been previously condemned by a committee of assassination, consisting of nine persons.

Father Neil, a priest of Ballymacody, was taken up, and confessed, that he advised and approved of the murder of Murphy and another man, and that he gave absolution to the persons who perpetrated it.

Thomas Neil, a farmer, in very opulent circumstances, was hanged at Cork for having been privy to, and present at the murder of Murphy, with a drawn sword; it is supposed at the instigation of his relation the priest. The day before his execution, he confessed to his landlord, Edward Hoare, esquire, a magistrate, that at first he was loyal, and intended to join lord Boyle's corps, but was dissuaded from it by his father, and others of his relations, (among whom it was supposed the priest was concerned) who induced him to swear the following oath: "I do most solemnly swear, that I will pay no rent or tythes; that I will use my utmost endeavours to destroy all protestants, and false brothers;† and be true to the French in case they land in Ireland;" and he confessed, that, in consequence of his entering into this association, he presided at the murder of Murphy; when first apprehended, he made some severe charges against his cousin, the priest, relative to the murder, but said at the time of his execution, that he had them only by hearsay.

Before his confessor was admitted to him, he confessed his crimes in a frank and unreserved manner, and owned that

* His trial took place at Cork the twenty-third of May, 1799.

† By false brothers he meant Roman catholics, who were not true to the cause.

that what he had declared was of his own certain knowledge ; but after he had been visited by his confessor, he became very reserved, and said, that what he had alleged against his relation, the priest, was by hearsay only.

One Desmond, a tobaccoist, in opulent circumstances in Youghall, was committed on some treasonable charges ; and while he was in gaol, a person employed by him in his business, was murdered in his house, with circumstances of horrid barbarity. This unfortunate man was privy to their treasonable schemes ; and Desmond and his associates, fearing that he would disclose them, if threatened with corporal punishment, from his weakness of mind and timidity, had him assassinated. He was found hanging in a garret in Desmond's house, with some desperate wounds in his body ; and a knife, with which they had been inflicted, lay on the ground near the body. This horrid crime was perpetrated by Desmond's brother, and one Dunn, who came to town that day from the place where father Neil lived. The doctrines of the United Irishmen, and their system, were first introduced into Youghall and its neighbourhood, by some soldiers of the Meath regiment quartered there, as the United Irishmen had some missionaries in it, and indeed in almost every regiment.

A young man of the county of Cork, and of the Romish persuasion, was peculiarly active in forwarding the designs, and in disseminating the principles of the United Irishmen, for which he attracted the notice and the esteem of lord Edward Fitzgerald, and all the great leaders in Dublin and Cork. He had received a good school education ; and having afterwards turned approver, declared, that he found nothing so effectual to accelerate his scheme of profelytism, as that part of Mr. Erskine's pamphlet, which I have already quoted, as it varnished over the nefarious proceedings of the United Irishmen.* But he declared, that what crowned his efforts with success, was gaining over to his cause the Romish priests, by awakening their jealousy and hatred against the established church, and by assuring them that, on the subversion of the government, theirs should have an ascendancy, and should enjoy a splendid and an opulent hierarchy ; but he owned at the same time, that some of them remained immoveable by his arguments ; and declared they would resist any efforts to overturn the estab-

VOL. II.

X

blished

* This affords a good lesson to the members of the Imperial Parliament not to interfere with the internal regulations of Ireland, without having a perfect knowledge of the state of that kingdom.

blished government; however, he mentioned but three of those whom he attempted to seduce, doctor Moylan, titular bishop of Cork, Mr. Barry of Charleville, and Mr. Barry of Mallow.

By the circulation of an address to the yeomen of Ireland, which was framed by Arthur O'Connor, he was enabled to pervert a great number of those of the Romish persuasion; but he could not make an impression on any of the established religion.

The conviction of various delinquents at the spring assizes of Cork in the year 1798, proved that the lower class of the people, who are all papists, were strongly infected with treason, even in the most remote and barbarous parts of that immense county, where they are but one degree above animal instinct.

Denis Sullivan, and Daniel Keefe, were convicted of having compelled Luke O'Brien, a soldier, with a cocked pistol at his breast, to swear that he would not be true to the king, because he was not qualified, or entitled to enjoy the crown.*

Timothy Kavanagh, of having, on the twenty-eighth of March, at Sunville, fired a shot at Mr. William Martin, a protestant, whose hat he knocked off with a bullet.

James Coppinger, and others, of having on the thirty-first of March, 1798, at Skibbereen, drank success to the French, and bad luck to their enemies.

John Collins was found guilty of having said at the same place, on the 12th of February, 1798, George the third is a scoundrel and a rascal.

Timothy Carthy, (the murderer of Mr. Hutchinson, a few months after,) was found guilty of having, with many others, attempted to enter forcibly the house of Mr. John Gilman, near Dunmanway, and of having fired many shots into it.

The manufacture of pikes was carried on universally, and with uncommon celerity, in every part of the county of Cork.

Nothing accelerated the progress of treason so much in that county, as assuring the lower class of people that the payment of rent, tythes, and taxes, would be abolished by the revolution; and that they would be allowed to gratify their sanguinary spirit against protestants.

So rapidly was the organization carried on, that in all the country contiguous to Mallow, Doneraile, and Charleville,

* See this doctrine avowed by Romish councils and divines, pages 11, 45, and 46 of the text.

ville, the mass of the people were sworn, and all the protestants were disarmed in the course of a few nights; and such was the system of terror there, that the magistrates would not venture to make any efforts to recover them, until lord Doneraile calling the gentlemen of the country together, encouraged them to unite; and by his own spirited conduct, animated them to step forward in defence of their lives and property.

The leaders of the rebellion in that county used the same device which was successfully practised in many other parts of the kingdom to inflame the Romanists against their protestant fellow subjects, videlicet, that they were united in clubs as orangemen; and that they had bound themselves by oath, not to remit their exertions for the extirpation of papists, until they walked knee-deep in their blood; and such fictions were implicitly believed, not only by the credulous multitude, but by persons of wealth and education, though no societies of orangemen had then existed in that county. It was discovered, that such reports were propagated by the popish clergy of Youghall, and its vicinity, where they were extremely active.

In the month of March, 1798, a Roman catholic gentlewoman, in the barony of Imokilly, expressed very great fears to a gentleman of my acquaintance, that every person of her religion would be assassinated by the orangemen; but being questioned on the foundation of her apprehensions, she acknowledged that no orangemen had ever been seen in the country, and that she had no other knowledge of them but by report.

The Leitrim regiment of militia, quartered between Mallow, Doneraile, and Charleville, were, on their arrival there, very loyal and obedient to their officers; but as they were Romanists, such malignant reports soon made them enemies to the state, and to protestants of every description.

A sanguinary oath, supposed to have been taken by protestants, and which was circulated among the soldiers of this regiment, had such an effect on them, that those quartered at Mallow, wantonly quarrelled with the English artillery stationed there at the same time, and had some conflicts with them, which would have been attended with much bloodshed, but for the seasonable interference of the officers of both regiments.

A committee to superintend and transact the business of the county, sat constantly in Cork; and they sent directions to
X 2 every

every part of it, relative to the finances, the seizing of arms, and the military organization; and they issued orders to all the country committees of assassination, to murder every person in their vicinity, whose loyalty and spirited exertions made him obnoxious to them.

Messieurs St. George and Unisacke were murdered at Arraglin, near Kihworth, on the ninth of January, 1798, by order of that committee.

One Burniston, a most sanguinary wretch, who had been one of the most active and efficient members of the union at Cork, issued the order for that purpose, to a committee at Arraglin; and they having accomplished the business, their leader wrote a letter to Burniston, to inform him of it; and Burniston read the letter to a person in Cork, who turned approver, and prosecuted him.* Burniston had been bred a protestant, but confessed that the constant perusal of Paine's *Age of Reason*, had completely extinguished all religious principles in him.

The following very remarkable event happened at Kinsale, in the county of Cork: Eighteen popish soldiers of the North Mayo regiment, voluntarily conformed to the protestant religion, in the autumn of 1798, before the reverend Peter Foley, curate and sovereign of that town. They unanimously declared, that their conversion arose from the accounts which they received from their own country, of shocking cruelties committed there, on pretence of religion; and that the heads of their communion had been the chief instigators to the commission of them. Mr. Foley explained to them the main points of difference between the two religions; and gave them Secker's Lectures on Popery. They regularly attended the sacrament, and received it apparently with very great devotion.

It appeared on the trial of one Simon Donovan, held at Cork, the sixth of March, 1799, that one Long, a schoolmaster, was employed by the county committee in Cork, to organize different parts of the country; and that he was a most active agent for them. He reported to them, that he had made a most rapid progress in a country called Carnavar; and that he had formed a committee of twelve there, consisting

* The letter was conceived in the following words:

"CITIZEN BURNISTON,

"Your order has been obeyed, and St. George and Unisacke are no more; twenty-seven persons have been taken in Arraglin, on account of their death; if you wish it, they shall be rescued."

listings of the most opulent farmers in that district; but that they wanted the assistance of the people of Cork, to cut off six persons whom they called Stays, because they, by their courage and activity, impeded materially the progress of the business. Sir Henry Mannix was one of these persons, and in about two months after he was fired at and wounded. It was proved on the same trial, that races were set on foot at the fair green of Cork, by the county committee in Cork, for the purpose of assembling the country people to swear them, which answered that design very well. It was proved that Denis Lane, one of the most active agents, gave the following toast in the company of some United Irishmen at the fair green: 'That the king's skin may make a drumhead to beat the United Irishmen to arms!' which toast Lane and the company drank.

On the trial of Daniel Wollaghan, and Daniel Harrington, held at Cork the twenty-seventh of June, 1799, it appeared, that they, with eleven other ruffians armed with scythes on the end of poles, in the month of September, 1798, issued forth in the night to hough cattle; and that they accordingly houghed and mangled, in a most barbarous manner, the cows of different people.

In the month of May, 1798, there was a dreadful mutiny in the Meath regiment quartered at Mallow, which was excited by some agents of the United Irishmen sent there for that purpose; one of them, who turned approver, assured me of it, and stated to me the particulars of it. It was occasioned by reports sedulously circulated among them of the plots of orangemen against papists.

On the trial of Peter Shea, at Cork, on the thirteenth of June, 1799, it appeared that he and others endeavoured to seduce the crew of the Venerable and Ajax men of war, stationed at the Cove of Cork.

On the night of the twenty-third of March, 1798, a band of ruffians forcibly entered the house of the reverend Mr. Stopford, near Blarney, ransacked and plundered it, and broke all the doors and windows, and would have murdered him, but that he escaped in his shirt through a back window.

On the tenth of January, 1799, a number of assassins broke into the house of the reverend Mr. Blackwood, rifled and plundered it of arms, ammunition, and various articles, and murdered in cold blood William Hogg, a soldier,
who

who was stationed there to guard it; and they would have assassinated Mr. Blackwood, but that he happened to be from home.

Some of the priests in that county refused to exhort their congregations to loyalty and obedience to the laws; some of them, when they, by desire of the magistrates, preached from the altar, endeavoured rather to teach their flocks how to evade the vengeance of the law, than to remain peaceful and loyal. One of them recommended sobriety and early hours to his congregation; because, as he said, there were societies of orangemen forming in the country, whose only object was their destruction.

Doctor Moylan's pastoral instructions, which they were all obliged to read from the altar, soon after the arrest of Arthur O'Connor, in Kent, produced a very good effect, in checking the spirit of treason and disaffection.

There were two committees of United Irishmen constantly sitting at Bantry, who organized the whole of the South West of the county, and planned a general rising in that part, in which the Westmeath regiment, at that time much infected, would have joined, but that the seasonable discovery of their designs, and the critical arrival of the Caithness Legion, defeated it. In that immense tract, the house of every protestant was robbed of arms, but none belonging to Roman catholicks were molested.

This rising was to have been begun at Clonakilty, where the Westmeath was quartered, and was to have extended over the whole of the South West. They were to have murdered all the protestant inhabitants, and such of the soldiers as did not join them; but the arrival of the Caithness Legion prevented it.

I have been assured, that the parish priests of Ross and Clonakilty were loyal, and endeavoured to preserve their flocks from the contagion of treason.

There was no difference between the conspiracy in the counties of Cork and Waterford, except that in the former there were some persons of property concerned in it.

One O'Connor, a popish physician, who was independent in his circumstances, was one of the leaders at Bantry.

The county of Kerry was organized, and the Limerick rebels endeavoured to incite the inhabitants to rise; but the example which Mr. Mullins made of the defenders on the twenty-fourth of June, 1793, at Dingle, completely intimidated them.

In the month of August, 1798, forty men rose at Castle-Island, murdered three yeomen, and carried off some arms and ammunition which they guarded. They were incited and summoned to rise by a country schoolmaster, the secretary of a committee; this was the only instance of insurrection in the county of Kerry.

County of Cork. } WILLIAM HEGARTY, of Gurteen, gentleman, swore in his information before Redmond Barry, esquire, the twenty-second of March, 1798, that on the eleventh of March then last, informant was sworn by George Walsh, William Fowlue, and William Joyce, "to be true to the French, to kill, murder and destroy all kings and tyrants, lords and earls, ministers and proctors."

ROBERT BOYD, and James Boyle, privates in the Roscommon militia, swore in their information before Thomas Flyn, esquire, the eighth March, 1798, that on the seventh of March then last, a man of the name of Michael Horrogan, and another man, whose name they did not know, went with the informants into a publick house, in Mallow, to take a pot of beer; that said Horrogan asked informants of what religion they were; that informants replied they were Romans; that said Horrogan then said, that if he could rely on their being true Romans, he would let them into a secret; informants assured him they were. Upon which said Horrogan put his hand into his pocket, and pulled a book half out of it, with an intent, as he said, to swear informants, but was prevented by the other man who was in company; that informants told said Horrogan that they had already taken the oath of allegiance, and would not take any other oaths, when said Horrogan said, that informants might do their duty, and that he would do his; and also said, that the magazine of Cork would be burned before five nights were over; that the United Irishmen would rise, and burn all before them; and that they were all United Irishmen from Bandon to the North.

County of Cork. } JOHN DALY, foldier in the Limerick light company, swore in his information before general Coote, the twenty-eighth of June, 1797, against Michael Canty, for administering to him the following oath: "That he, the said John Daly, should dethrone all
all

all kings, quell all nations, and plant true religion in the hearts of the just ; that he should be true to the Roman catholick defenders of Ireland, and to the French at the first attempt of a French invasion in this kingdom, and sooner if called on by the committee men ; that he would never see a brother struck or abused by a protestant on any account ; that he, said Daly, would not see a brother want when he had two pence, without sharing it with him ; that he should never recommend a man of an unfair character to the society ; and that he, said Daly, should take the life of any man that would give information.*

Conspiracy in the county of Tipperary.

THE conspiracy in the county of Tipperary was exactly similar to that in the counties of Cork and Waterford ; but it was infinitely more terrifick, because some Roman catholicks, possessed of property, were at the head of it, and all the popish multitude were engaged in it ; and one of the chief agents of the directory in Dublin assured me, that the popish priests, who have at all times an unbounded influence over the common herd of papists, embraced the system with eagerness, and promoted it with zeal. The main designs of the conspirators were, to join the French, murder all the protestants, and to confiscate their property. It was very fortunate that Thomas Fitzgerald, esquire, of Lisheen, near Thurles, happened to be high sheriff of that county, in the year 1798 ; for, from the singular boldness and hardihood of his character, he was peculiarly formed to stem the rough torrent of the times ; and it is generally allowed, that by his spirited and seasonable exertions, he prevented the massacre of many thousand souls, and the destruction of half a million of property in that opulent and populous county. A man of his sagacity and courage would have saved the county of Wexford from desolation and indelible disgrace. The first information which he received cost him much trouble and expence. Being thoroughly convinced of the alarming state of things, and that the barony of Ormond was the best organized of any part of the county, he repaired to the town of Nenagh, assembled the people, told them that he was well acquainted with their schemes and combinations, and seized some of those of whose guilt he had undoubted information ; and he announced

to

* These informations are in the Crown-office.

to them in the publick streets, that if the remainder, who were involved, did not acknowledge their errors, and who had led them astray, their secrets should be forced from them; at the same time he told them, that he would give them twenty-four hours to consider and determine what part they would take. They all made the strongest asseverations of their innocence, though he had unquestionable proof that a general insurrection and massacre was to take place in a few days. One man, deeply concerned, was taken up and whipped on the sixteenth of May; however, he called God to witness his innocence, and the barbarous treatment which he received; but after receiving thirty lashes, and having been informed where he was concerned on a particular night, in the commission of a robbery and burglary, and on being assured that he should die under his punishment, unless he made a full confession, he insinuated to a magistrate, that he would make a full discovery, if he was taken into a private room; which having been done, he gave such general and important information, that numbers of arrests were immediately made, to the astonishment of the gentlemen of the country, who were totally ignorant, until that moment, of the storm which was ready to burst over their heads, and overwhelm them. Confession followed confession, and a scene of treason, the malignity of which could be equalled by nothing but its extensiveness, was brought to light; and the loyal subjects were surpris'd at discovering that a committee of assassination, at that time sitting in the town, was actually corresponding with the military committee in Dublin; that the mass of the people were regularly regimented, under the command of a general of division, who was then in Dublin, receiving final orders preparative to the general insurrection and massacre, which was to take place on the night of the twenty-third of May. Every other part of that county was regularly regimented in the same manner, and commanded by generals of division.

Mr. Fitzgerald, therefore, proceeded with the utmost celerity, through the most alarming parts of it; and by whipping some of the most notorious rebels, he developed all their dark and malignant designs, took up some leaders, and hunted others out of the country; by which he broke the links of the organization, and saved that great and opulent county from imminent destruction.

He was so successful in discovering the most latent views and secrets of the conspirators, partly by threats and flagellation

tion, partly by pecuniary means, and by pardoning some notorious delinquents, with whom he compromised, that the mass of them really believed that he was endued with the power of divination; inasmuch, that wherever he went, the multitude prevented his wishes, and were emulous in making discoveries, in surrendering their arms, and in confessing their errors, dreading lest their silence, being considered as contumacy, might provoke his vengeance. A gentleman who constantly attended him in his perambulations, assured me, that fear had operated so strongly on them, as to produce the following effect wherever he went: On approaching a popish chapel, round which a numerous congregation were assembled, he has ordered them to fall on their knees, and they instantly complied. He then ordered the serjeants to rise and come forward, and they instantly obeyed; then the captains, the majors, and the committee men successively, and they yielded obedience. They surrendered their arms in every parish which he visited, as soon as he issued his mandate for that purpose. The disaffected were very active and successful in spreading reports, that the orangemen formed plots for extirpating the Roman catholics; in consequence of which, the latter in great numbers deserted their houses in the night, and assembled in the fields, where they were sworn and organized; which, and to influence them against protestants, were the sole object of such malignant suggestions; and yet no orangemen ever existed in that country. In consequence of this, the inhabitants of Cashel published the following advertisement:

WHEREAS we have heard with much surprise and concern, that several persons in this neighbourhood have lately been induced to desert their habitations at night by false reports of being attacked by orangemen:

We, the inhabitants of the city of Cashel, having met this day, for the purpose of enquiring into the origin of these reports, have, after the most minute investigation, found that they are totally destitute of foundation; and we do hereby offer a reward of one hundred guineas, to the person or persons who shall discover and prosecute to conviction, the author or authors of such fabrication, and do also promise every degree of protection, to people of all persuasions without distinction.

Cashel, September 14th, 1798.

Signed at the request of the meeting,

ALEXANDER DON, *colonel, commanding in Cashel.*
RICHARD PENNEFATHER, *captain, Cashel cavalry.*

On

On the twelfth of March, 1798, at a meeting of the magistrates and gentry held at Nenagh, it was proposed by the protestant gentry, that the Roman catholics should unite in preserving peace and good order, and in mutually assisting each other; and an oath for that purpose was produced, and several protestant gentlemen took it; but not more than one or two Roman catholics.

On that day it was proposed to proclaim the baronies of Upper and Lower Ormond, and seven magistrates were for it, and four against it; but from that mistaken lenity, which has been the ruin of this kingdom, the proposal was withdrawn, and yet so little did it conciliate the people, that the outrages committed by them increased so much, that the whole county was proclaimed on the twenty-second of the same month, by the unanimous vote of twenty-nine magistrates assembled at Cashel.

The reader may form an idea of the boldness and audacity of the rebels in the county of Tipperary, from the following fact, stated in the report of the secret committee of 1798, of the house of commons, page 22: "That eight hundred insurgents, principally mounted, invested the town of Cahir, in the county of Tipperary, and held possession of it, until they had made a regular search through every house, and carried off in triumph all the arms and ammunition they could find.

I shall refer the reader to the following informations, to shew him the state of that county:

Phineas Hunt, a young lad, the son of Mr. Hunt, a protestant gentleman of fortune, of Cappagh, in the county of Tipperary, was impelled, by a system of terror, to be sworn, and to join the United Irishmen, in the month of February, 1798, having been assured, that the French would soon land and join them; and that all those who were not of their party would be murdered: but in swearing him they committed a gross error, for the oath which they exhibited to him contained an obligation to murder all the protestants* in the kingdom; which he acknowledged afterwards, by information dated the eleventh of April, 1798, and sworn before

* In those counties where the rebellion did not explode, they were very retentive of this secret, (which was their primum mobile) in order to lull and inveigle protestants; but still it transpired. When the oath was presented, young Hunt started and said, Am I to murder my father and mother, and all my family? on which the rebel officers seemed much confused, and said, it was not the right oath.

fore the honourable and reverend James St. Leger, a magistrate of the county, which is lodged in the Crown-office.

Philip Cahill, of Kilduff, in said county, swore an information before George Bennet, esquire, a magistrate thereof, dated the eighteenth of February, 1798, and which is lodged in the Crown-office, that he was at Killea in said county, where upwards of a hundred persons were assembled, for the purpose of forming themselves into bodies, and chusing corporals and serjeants, which they did accordingly; [*here comes the names of the persons present*] and swore all the persons then present to join the French, and assist them on their landing.

Richard Murphy, of Kille-naule, in said county, swore an information before Oliver Latham, esquire, a magistrate thereof, dated the twenty-second of February, 1798, that being in the house of Pierce St. John, he was addressed by William Ryan, who, in the course of conversation, offered him a watch if he would take the defenders oath.

Michael Hogan, of Newport, swore before William Anderson, a magistrate, dated the twelfth of March, 1798, that, on the first of said month, he was invited by Daniel Reddy, into his house to drink, and in the course of conversation, he offered him fifty guineas if he would murder Robert Lloyd, and Francis Quinn, esquires; and informed him, that, in the course of a few nights, the united men would put Mr. Waller, of Castle Waller, and Mr. Anderson, of Foxhall, to death; and he shewed him the plan of a pike, according to which he was to get fifty made by a blacksmith.

Oliver Brown, of Boolarec, swore an information before George Bennet, esquire, dated the eighteenth of April, 1798, that on the night of the first of March, 1798, a number of people, about four hundred, assembled on the hill of Tullagh, where they formed themselves into ranks, under officers and serjeants; that James Keary, and Daniel Collison acted as officers, and that the said party, marched three abreast into the village of Templetooky.

John Maher, of Ballingarry, swore before William Despard, esquire, on the eighth of May, 1798, that on the night of the twenty-ninth of April, Denis Maher, of Graghagh, gave him a written paper, containing a kind of catechism, or constitution of the United Irishmen, and swore him the oath of secrecy, and to be true to the said constitution until they

they met again, which he told him would be the Sunday after, at Kilbechan chapel; and informant declared, that he took said oath through fear of the said Denis Maher and the party that attended him.

I shall defer discussing at present the policy and the good effects of whipping and free quarter, but the reader may form some judgment of it from the following instance: Mr. Otway, of Castle Otway, near Nenagh, had undoubted proof that the people in his populous parish were sworn, organized, and well supplied with arms; and that they were soon to rise and massacre all the loyal subjects. He then took up a fellow, well known to have been sworn, and threatened to whip him, unless he disclosed his secrets of the conspiracy; but he called God to witness his innocence, and offered to make an affidavit of it; but Mr. Otway ordered him to receive twenty-five lashes in the presence of sir James Duff; but he persisted in professing his ignorance of the plot. Having been tied up next day, when his skin was tender from the preceding whipping, he acknowledged his guilt, that the parish was organized, and the people were well armed with pikes. Soon after he was taken down, which convinced the conspirators that he had made a full acknowledgment of what he knew. They then instantly became enamoured in making confessions, and in surrendering arms; and, in the space of a few hours, seventeen hundred pikes were surrendered; and father Kennedy, the parish priest, voluntarily acknowledged, that he had been sworn by father Meara, a priest who had sworn many others, though he had been previously examined by Mr. Otway, and swore that he was perfectly ignorant of the conspiracy. —It appears also, that father Meara, parish priest of Nenagh, had sworn many priests in his neighbourhood; and that father O'Brien, of the parish of Doone, and he, were deeply concerned in the conspiracy; and they were both sentenced to be transported.

No. XII.

Some outrages committed by the Defenders and United Irishmen in the year 1795.

THIS month (January,) an attempt was made on the house of Mr. Sterne Tighe of Carrick, in the county of Meath, by a body of defenders, but they were repulsed
after

after many shots fired on both sides. The same night they plundered the house of Mr. Monaghan of Castletown-delvin of arms. In the same neighbourhood many houses were attempted, several cows were houghed, and other damages done.

March twenty-first at Carrickmacrofs, a private of the Galway militia was murdered by three defenders.

March twenty-fifth, the house of Mr. Grattan of Bensfort, in the county of Meath, was attacked by a body of defenders, who broke into the hall, but were repulsed by him and his servants. A short time before, in his absence, they forcibly entered it, and carried off some fire arms, plate, and other valuable articles.

This month, (May,) near Sligo, between two and three thousand defenders had the temerity to attack a company of the Derry militia, who repelled the attack, after killing thirty, and taking many of the insurgents. About the same time, a numerous body of them assaulted a company of the Tyrone militia, quartered at Tuam, who in their defence killed eighteen, and took and wounded a great number of them.

June twenty-second, a party of defenders broke into the house of Coote Molloy, esquire, near Boyle, in the county of Roscommon, but his son having shot one of them dead in the hall, the remainder fled; he also wounded another, who turned approver.

During the summer of this year, the counties of Meath, Westmeath and Kildare, were dreadfully agitated by the defenders. In short, most of the respectable inhabitants of them were obliged to keep soldiers in their houses for their protection. Mr. Thomas Ryan, a magistrate of the county of Kildare, when returning to his house, after having assisted at the committal of some defenders, was way-laid and surrounded by a large number of these ruffians who fired several shots at him, and gave him a severe wound in the temple with a musket ball.

The house of Mr. Lillé, near Castlepollard, county of Meath, was attempted by a numerous body of them; but after a gallant defence he repulsed them.

June twenty-fourth, they attacked the house of Mr. Murdock of Heathstown, county of Westmeath, and robbed it of arms. Four of them were soon after taken, and condemned to be hanged on the evidence of one Sommers his servant. The night before the execution the defenders assassinated Sommers.

In July, William Finlay, of Ginnetts, in the county of Kildare, esquire, was fired at in mid-day, while walking in his demesne, and the ball lodged in his arm.

In the county of Meath, the house of the reverend Mr. Knipe, a protestant clergyman, was attacked in the night, by a large body of defenders. In his defence he killed one of them; in revenge, they afterwards murdered him, and mangled his body with savage barbarity.

In August, in the neighbourhood of Finglas, the houses of Mr. Rowe, and many others, were plundered of arms.

The house of the reverend Mr. Mc. Allister, near Summer-hill, county of Meath, was robbed by the defenders of money and arms. Near Slane, many cows and bullocks were houghed by them. In East Meath, many outrages too tedious to mention were committed; where, improving in cruelty, they often cut off the udders of cows.

Mr. Talbot's house in the Phoenix park was robbed of arms.

August fourth, they attacked the house of Mr. Pentland, of Holywoodrath; and, because he refused to surrender his arms, they burned his hay and corn.

August fifth, not satisfied with houghing eleven cows, the property of Mr. Read, near Old Castle, they burned to the ground his house and offices; and this because he prosecuted two ruffians for burglary and felony.

A body of them burned to ashes the house and furniture of Mr. Peter Brady, of Mace-town, county of Meath.

In September, the house of Mr. Monfort, of Gladston, in the county of Westmeath, was attacked by some defenders, who set fire to it; however, he sallied out with his son and a servant, and repulsed them; but the house and furniture were consumed.

Many houses were forced and plundered, and various outrages committed near Drogheda, and in the county of Meath.

The house of Mr. Walsh, who keeps flour-mills near Drogheda, was forced and robbed of arms.

That of Mr. Taylor, who keeps the Black Lion, was attacked; but, after a vigorous defence, the defenders fled.

They forcibly entered the house of Mrs. Fulham, near Navan; and, because she mildly reasoned with them on the impropriety of their conduct, they shot off the roof of her skull.

The same banditti attacked the house of one Mullins, in the county of Meath, who alarmed his neighbours, and seized one of them.

They forcibly entered the house of Mr. Walsh near Swords, took his arms, and made him swear the defenders oath.

The houses of Sir Henry Wilkinson, of Corballis, near Swords, county of Dublin, and of alderman Lynam near Pickardstown, were forced in the night and plundered of arms.

The latter end of December, a most horrid murder was committed near Trim, by a party of defenders, on James Hyland and his wife, merely because they suspected that they had given information against some of their body. They shot the man through the forehead, and his wife through the back, as she endeavoured to make her escape.

Soon after notices were posted on all the neighbouring chapels, announcing that all those who gave information against, or searched for defenders, should be sacrificed in the same manner as Hyland and his wife.

The confession upon oath of Henry Ledwich who took refuge in the goal of Mullingar, before some magistrates thirtieth January, 1796. He is a private in the 14th dragoons, and voluntarily made a very useful discovery of a murder and robbery intended to be committed in the house of Lavallin Nugent, esquire, of Tulla, in the county of Westmeath. Deponent was two years a defender, and to get rid of them, enlisted about two months ago in the said regiment. The first oath he took was to be true to the king, and to his brethren, when occasion required;—the second was to be true to his brethren, and to join the French when they would land, and to destroy the members of every religion but their own. Deponent was sworn a defender in the county of Cavan, but never acted as such till about a month ago, and was out but three times with them, in Westmeath, whither he came from the county of Cavan to avoid them. Deponent was spoken to by one Clarke a publican, who was a committee man and treasurer to the defenders, and lives at Parson's-town, and has seduced many persons. Deponent's motive for giving information about the Nugent family was, that his family had served under them in the wars of Ireland. That Clarke has the country under contribution, and issues his orders to pass such persons as pay their subscriptions. Deponent was at the robbery of
Mr.

Mr. John Dillon, tenant of count Dalton, and took from him two guns and a case of pistols; and at that of Mrs. Thompson at Parson's-town, from whom they took one gun, three guineas, and six shillings; and at that of K. Kenny's, where they got fourteen guineas, two shillings, and two guns, after firing many shots through the doors; and also at that of Mr. Lestrangle's: That about a dozen defenders went usually on an expedition.

On the first rising they were to seize on the castle of Dublin, and to massacre the protestants every where.

No. XIII.

THE substance of an information sworn by a white smith, in the city of Dublin, in the month of June, 1798, before John Claudius Beresford, esquire, who had him arrested on a charge of being concerned with the United Irishmen. His name is concealed, lest he should be assassinated for being an informer.

That he was seduced and made an United Irishman the first day of May, 1797, and belonged to a society of twelve, of which Rowland Goodman, a flator, was secretary.

That he hoped to rise to the rank of an officer in a superior committee, which regulated his, but which he had never seen, but he saw among their rules, set out in a printed paper, that no blackmouth or blackbean, should ever rise; and he discovered afterwards that these appellations signified a protestant, and Goodman reported him to be such.

That one Hely, a chimney doctor, was substituted as secretary in the place of Goodman; and carried to the superior committee a proposal and plan for burning the castle of Dublin, which was approved of. Informant asked Hely how it was to be done? and when he was about to inform him of it, the rest of the committee prevented him, because, as informant believed, he was a protestant.

Hely told informant, that Herish* was a sound good fellow, and much attached to the cause.

Rowland Goodman, and John Graham, asked informant to make pikes for the United Irishmen; but, on his hesitating, suspicions were entertained of his sincerity in the cause;

VOL. II.

Y

and

* A master sweep, deeply concerned in the conspiracy, who was said to be engaged in a plan to burn the castle and many other buildings and houses.

and Goodman went to his wife, and said, he feared that he was not to be depended on, and that he would hang thousands. One Masterfon said, if he makes the pikes he will do; if not, Browne will *cut him*; which was a cant-word for killing informers.

That a plan was formed in his committee, and carried up to the superior one, to seize the soldiers who lined the streets, when the lord lieutenant was going to the house of lords; that three men armed with daggers were to attack each soldier, and disarm him, and, if he resisted, put him to death; that they were to enter the house of parliament to kill such members as were not their friends, and at the same time to get possession of the castle. At last, strong suspicions being entertained of informant, the question for his expulsion was put, and every member of the committee, but one, voted for it.

That no person of his committee had any knowledge of, or connection with, the superior committee, but the secretary.

While he was in the society, a plan was formed, and sent up to the superior committee, "That each committee should supply two men, who were not afraid of losing their lives, and that they were to form assassination committees of five, to kill the leading men of the kingdom."

That they endeavoured to keep the object a secret from him; but some of the members informed him, that it was to *do out* the leading men of the kingdom.

He understood that every Roman catholic in the kingdom was in the united cause; that the militia and yeomen of that persuasion were attached to it; and that they were to kill all those of a different religion in action.

He was informed that all the popish servants in Dublin were United Irishmen; and he saw many of them at their different meetings.

They made it a religious cause, and often said, that a Roman catholic would certainly go to heaven, if he killed three protestants.

They resolved never to lay out expence with any protestant.

Such fanatical conversation was very common in their clubs.

The castle was to have been attacked in front, and in rear, from Ship-street.

The

* *Do out* was a cant-word for assassinating.

The leading men in government, particularly the Beresford family, were to be *done-out*. There was to be a general rising; a sky-rocket was to be the signal for it, and informant was to get twenty-four hours notice of it.

The following regiments of militia were considered as most attached and steady to the united cause: The Kildare, Westmeath, Longford, Kilkenny, and King's county.

The following paper, found by alderman Alexander in a box, in the possession of Mr. Sheares, was read on his trial:

Note. The words in italicks were interlined: those between crotchets were struck across with a pen.

" *Irishmen,*

[" Your country is free; all those monsters who usurped its government to oppress its people are in our hands, except such as have"]

" Your country is free; and you are about to be avenged, [already] that vile government which has so long and so cruelly oppressed you, is no more; some of its most atrocious monsters have already paid the forfeit of their lives, and the rest are in our hands [waiting their fate.] The national flag, *the sacred green*, is at this moment flying over the ruins of despotism, and that capital, which a few hours past [was the scene] witnessed the debauchery, [the machinations] plots and crimes of your tyrants, is now the citadel of triumphant patriotism *and virtue*. Arise then, united sons of Ireland! arise like a great and powerful people, determined to [live] be free or die; arm yourselves by every means in your power, and rush like lions on your foes; consider that [in disarming your enemy] for every enemy you disarm, you arm a friend, and thus become doubly powerful. In the cause of liberty inaction is cowardice, and the coward shall forfeit the property he has not the courage to protect. Let his arms be seized, and transferred to those gallant [patriots] *spirits* who want, and will use them: Yes, Irishmen, we swear by that eternal justice, in whose cause you fight, that the brave patriot, who survives the present glorious struggle, and the family of him who has fallen, or shall fall hereafter in it, shall receive from the hands of a grateful nation, an ample recompence out of [those funds] that property which the crimes of our enemies [shall] have forfeited into its hands, and his name [too] shall

shall be inscribed on the national record of Irish revolution, as a glorious example to all posterity ; *but we likewise swear to punish robbery with death and infamy.*"

" We also swear, that we will never sheath the sword until every [person] being in the country is restored to those equal rights, which the God of Nature has given to all men,—until an order of things shall be established, in which no superiority shall be acknowledged among the citizens of Erin, but that [which] of virtue and talent [shall intitle to.]"

" As for those degenerate wretches who turn their swords against their native country, the national vengeance awaits them : Let them find no quarter unless they shall prove their repentance by *speedily* deserting, exchanging the standard of slavery for that of freedom, under which their former errors may be buried, and they may share the glory and advantages that are due to the patriot bands of Ireland.

" Many of the military feel the love of liberty glow within their breasts, and have [already to] joined the national standard ; receive [those] with open arms, such as shall follow so glorious an example ; they can render signal service to the cause of freedom, and shall be rewarded according to their deserts : But for the wretch who turns his sword against his native country, let the national vengeance be visited on him, let him find no quarter. Two other crimes demand——

" Rouse all the energies of your souls ; call forth *all* the merit and abilities which a vicious government consigned to obscurity, and under the conduct of your chosen leaders, march with a steady step to victory ; heed not the glare of a [mercenary] hired soldiery, or *aristocratick yeomanry*, they cannot stand the vigorous shock of freedom, [close with them Man to Man, and let them see what vigour the cause of freedom can.] Their trappings and their arms will soon be yours, and the detested government of England, to which we vow eternal hatred, shall learn, that the treasures, [she, it] *they* exhaust on [their mercenary] its accoutred slaves, for the purpose of butchering Irishmen, shall but further enable us to turn their swords on its devoted head."

" Attack them in every direction by day and by night ; avail yourselves of the natural advantages of your country, which are innumerable, *and with which you are better acquainted*

quainted than they: Where you cannot oppose them in full force, constantly harass their rear and their flanks: Cut off their provisions and magazines, and prevent them as much as possible from uniting their forces: Let whatever moments you cannot [pass in] devote to fighting for your country, be [devoted to] passed in learning how to fight for it, or preparing the means of war; for war, war alone, must occupy every mind, and every hand in Ireland, until its long-oppressed soil be purged of all its enemies."

"Vengeance, Irishmen, vengeance on your oppressors—remember what thousands of your dearest friends have perished by their [murders, cruel plots,] *merciless orders*; remember their burnings, their rackings, their torturings, their military massacres, and their legal murders. Remember ORR."

Letter from John Sheares, found on Samuel Neilson, on the evening of the 23d of May.

SIR,

I HAVE fought you in every direction, but unfortunately in vain. It is now too late to use many words upon the subject of our intended interview—let it suffice to say, that I am acquainted with the destructive design you meditate, and am resolved to counteract it, whatever it may cost me—rest assured that nothing shall check a resolution, which honour, private affection and publick duty unite to demand the immediate execution of, and that however unwilling I may be at any other moment to take the only steps which your obstinacy may render necessary this evening, for the preservation of my friends and my country, I will without hesitation take them. The scheme you have undertaken I view with horror, whether its effects be considered as relating to my imprisoned friends, the destruction of whose property and lives must be the consequence, even of your success, or as affecting Arthur O'Connor's existence, the precarious chance for which you thus cruelly lessen, or, (what is superior to every other consideration) as ensuring the ruin of Ireland's freedom.—In short, Mr. to be candid with you, the scheme is so totally destitute of any apology, even from the plea of folly or passion, that I cannot avoid attributing its origin to a worse cause, and nothing can convince me of the contrary, but your immediately foregoing so pernicious an enterprise. In these sentiments I am not singular, nor in the resolution which arises from them; and
should

should you doubt me, you must purchase conviction at a very severe cost : My resolution, and that of my friends, is this, if you do not by nine o'clock this evening, give us every necessary and sacred assurance, that you will counteract and prevent the perpetration of this plot against all that you ought to hold dear, notice of it shall be given to the government without a moment's delay—for we do prefer that a few misguided (not to say guilty) individuals should perish, than that every remaining hope of our country's success, and the lives of our most valued friends should be sacrificed, by the accomplishment of a stupid, perhaps wicked, undertaking. Do not feed yourself with hope that any consideration shall deter me from fulfilling this threat—if every poignard you could command were at my throat, I would do my duty—I did think well of you—I wish to do so still—you alone can prevent me. J. S.

I dine at 52, Abbey-street, where I shall expect your answer before eight o'clock.

No. XIV.

Three papers found in the pocket-book of lord Edward Fitzgerald, and in his possession, at the time of his arrest.

No. I.

T. Keathy, Enverness fencibles	50	with 1 Batt ^a of
Salt, Londonderry	47	- 1
Naas, Armagh	250	} - 1
Green-Horse	22	
Connell	-	- 1
Clane, Armagh	50	- 1
Narragh Rab ^a K ^a county M.	} 500	- 2
Longford		
6th dragoons		
Louth M.	} 80	- 0
Kilkea, Do. Do. Do.		
Kilcullen, 9th dragoons		
Tyrone M.		
Suffolk		
Orange Yeo ^a	90	- 0
Carbery, Inverness fencibles	50	
Ophilia funds	600	- 2
County sundry returns	2319	with 10 batt ^a of
	1500	
	3819	

No. II.

No. II.

50 chains of 6 foot long, with 50 padlocks.
 1000 spike nails, 4, 6, 8 inches.
 200 round staples.
 20 cramp irons,  in this form.
 50 large sledges.
 50 small ones.
 50 hammers.
 50 groove irons.
 100 hatchets.
 300 shovels and spades, or as many as can be procured.
 150 hooks for scaling ladders, the catching point to have
 a hackle face,

No. III.

[In the hand-writing of lord Edward Fitzgerald.]

Suppose R. force divided into three columns. The left
of the Kildare line * to [column] to [assemble at] Cloncurry,
 or between it and Clonard-bridge; a detachment to be sent
 to Clonard-bridge, as soon as possible; that *body* [column]
 to advance by Kileock, Maynooth, Leixlip and Chapelizod,
 towards Dublin.

No. XV.

*An attempt to murder the reverend Mr. Jones in the county of
 Kildare.*

AS the reverend Mr. Jones, curate of the parish of
 Moyglare, in the county of Kildare, was riding between
 Kilcock and Maynooth, on the eighteenth of January, 1799,
 he was informed by a gentleman that some armed rebels
 were riding about the parish in quest of him, for the purpose
 of murdering him; on which he proceeded towards May-
 nooth as fast as possible; but his horse having lost a shoe,
 he stopped at a smith's forge, where it was soon replaced.
 When he was about to mount, he saw some horsemen gal-
 loping towards him, on which he put spurs to his horse and
 fled with the greatest precipitation; but his horse growing
 restif,

* The words in italicks had a line drawn through them in the original.

restif, and refusing to proceed farther, he dismounted, crossed a small river on foot, ran behind a farm house, lay down, and endeavoured to cover himself with straw; but one of the men coming up, cursed the woman of the house for having concealed him; said, he would cut him to pieces as a yeoman and a clergyman, and called to his comrades to come to his assistance; on which Mr. Jones started up, and instantly one of the men discharged a gun at him. The ball hit him on the upper part of the forehead, inflicted a severe wound, and made him stagger some paces; but recovering, he ran at the assassin, and endeavoured to prevent him from charging his gun again. While he was attempting to do so, the other gave him many violent blows with the but-end of his gun; on which he ran towards some men who were ploughing in an adjoining field, and who remained tame spectators of this horrid transaction, without offering him any assistance. Mr. Jones perceiving that they pursued him close, and that he could not possibly fly from them, and deriving courage from despair, he turned about suddenly, seized the pistol of one of them, and while in the act of struggling with him, the other, by repeated blows of the but-end of his pistol on the head, at length knocked him down. As the last resource, he lay prostrate, pretending to be dead, and while one of the ruffians went in pursuit of the horses, the other laid his foot on his body, placed the muzzle of his pistol close to his head, and having fired it off, the ball produced only a small fracture, but which was attended with a great effusion of blood. Though he suffered very great pain, he remained motionless, pretending to be dead; but the assassin, fearing that he had still some remains of life, charged his pistol a second time, and fired it on his hip, and being then certain that he was lifeless, he left him. The names of the assassins were Adams and Fox. The former, after he had perpetrated this atrocious act, exultingly boasted, that he had put out of the world a yeoman and an orangeman, at the same time damning his orange blood. Mr. Jones, with a laudable spirit, had acted as a yeoman during the rebellion. After the last shot was fired, they boasted that they had sent his soul to preach in hell. The ploughman, one of the calm spectators of this bloody deed, was uncle to one of the villains, and the driver of the plough was his brother-in-law. Mr. Jones, having heard that they were taken up and confined in the provos prison in
Dublin,

Dublin, repaired thither, recognised them, and having prosecuted them, they were convicted of this horrid crime and hanged.

Mr. Henley, of Summer-hill, in the county of Meath, in passing near Maynooth in the autumn of 1798, in his chaise, a party of ruffians having stopped him, dragged him out of it, and would have murdered him, but that his postillion swore he was a Roman catholic, on which they let him pass; but one of his servants, who followed him on a jaunting-car having said something that displeased them, they murdered him.

In the month of October, 1798, captain Walsh, of the Kilkenny regiment, quartered at Kilcock, going to dine at Maynooth, about three miles off, was attended by two dragoons to escort him at his return; at the turnpike, which is about half way, eight ruffians rushed from behind a wall, and fired four shots at the dragoons, which fortunately only hit their belts and their saddles. They fired two shots at captain Walsh, quite close to him, and one of the balls passed by his ear. The dragoons having drawn their carbines, the assassins fled with great precipitation, but the enclosures prevented the dragoons from pursuing them; however, they shot one of them. They were deserters from Sir Fenton Aylmer's corps of yeomanry. Their vengeance was directed against the earl of Ormond, on account of his well-known loyalty; for one of them cried out at first, that they had got the bloody Ormond.

Captain Rawson, who commands the Athy yeomanry, composed and published the following exhortation, in hopes of consiliating the deluded multitude :

MY neighbours have hitherto conducted themselves in a peaceable manner; but should any of them have been unfortunately seduced to enter into illegal associations, or to procure pikes or other weapons, with views hostile to the king and government, their lives and properties will be at the mercy of the soldiers.

I beseech them to fly the many evils that must attend a perseverance in error. Nothing shall be left undone on my part to protect the peaceable and well-conducted from sustaining any injury, or even those who have erred, provided they make seasonable atonement by returning to their allegiance.—Such is the lenity of government, that should any

any misguided persons surrender their arms, and acknowledge their errors, they shall find protection and forgiveness. —Some persons have basely and maliciously endeavoured to agitate the publick mind by reports, that certain societies called orangemen have been formed for the extirpation of Roman catholicks : I declare solemnly, that I do not know, nor do I believe, that any such society exists, or ever has been formed in the country. I am convinced in my mind, that such infamous reports were propagated for no other purpose but to disunite the protestants and Roman catholicks ; and to kindle the most implacable hatred in the latter against the former, to answer the purposes of rebellion. It is hoped then, that the members of both these orders will go hand in hand in love, in harmony, and respect for the laws ; and in their joint adoration of the Almighty, and in praying that he will unite all descriptions of christians in mutual affection, and in defence of their king and country. Such union would be worthy of Irishmen, and such is the constant and fervent prayer of

THOMAS JAMES RAWSON,
Glassealy, 27th January, 1798.

N. B. The above was sent to and read at all the chapels in the country, and dispersed through every part of it.

In August, 1798, information was given to captain Rawson, upon the oath of a creditable person, that the protestants of Athy and its vicinity, were to be massacred on the following Sunday, at the time of divine service ; the plan was, to set fire to some cabins outside the town, near the chapel ; a cry of fire was to be given ; and it was supposed the yeomanry would rush irregularly to assist in extinguishing the flames. Three hundred men, who were to be concealed in Walsh's inn-yard, were to rush out, gain possession of the gaol and court-house ; and on a signal being given, the mob at the fire were to seize the yeomanry, and dispatch them ; and then, at their leisure, all the remaining protestants, men, women, and children, were to be butchered. There was an hesitation about giving information to a protestant, who was married to a Roman catholick, not to go to church that day, as was his constant practice ; but it was determined to let him die with the rest, as he might discover.

The informations of the above hellish plot were sent to government, and one hundred and twenty of the Fermanagh militia,

militia, under the command of major King, by forced marches, arrived at Athy, on Saturday evening, to the assistance of the yeomanry, who, but for divine protection, must have fallen an easy prey to the nefarious plot.

At a late hour at night, the chapel of Athy was burned: Large rewards were offered by the protestant gentry, the magistrates, the yeomanry, and some of the towns people. Nothing transpired that has as yet become publick, until Timothy Sullivan, late a soldier of the South Cork, who had volunteered for general service, was about to leave the town. He then told a serjeant, that the officers and men of the regiment were in a very perilous situation, and had much cause to be watchful. The serjeant gave information to his officers, major Hennis and captain Langton, who had Sullivan examined; and the result of their enquiry will appear by his deposition.

County of Kildare,
to wit.

Timothy Sullivan, } TIMOTHY SULLIVAN, late a
private soldier in the South Cork militia, maketh oath, that he was a centinel at the gate next Mrs. Dooley's house on the night the chapel of Athy was burned; saith, he was solicited by James Noud to swear against three men undermentioned, and that he refused, declaring his want of knowledge of the transaction; that he was afterwards followed to Kildare by Patrick Kelly, a Roman catholick priest, and Thomas Fitzgerald of Geraldine, who, having got him into a private place, offered him 400l. to swear against the three men undernamed, for burning the chapel; and on his persisting in his want of knowledge of the transaction, and refusing to swear, said Kelly and Fitzgerald went away; that on the night of the sixth of April instant he was in company with said Kelly, said Noud, Patrick Dooley of Athy, and Joseph Hendrean; that said Noud, in presence of the others, pressed him to swear against a soldier of the South Cork regiment, and two yeomen, videlicet, John Mc. Keon, John Drill, and John Willock; and though he denied his knowing any thing of the business, yet he was still pressed, under promises of large rewards, which they had made up in the country; and after he had sworn, he might desert, and he would find protection at the houses of the undernamed rebel captains, whose names were written down by said Dooley, videlicet, James Ryan, Patrick Dowling, Terence Toole, James Whelan, Cornelius Moore, Patrick Magher,

Magher, and Thomas Connell, and at English's of Mageng, where they used to meet in committee ; that they were all actively employed in engaging large numbers to be prepared for a publick rising on the twenty-seventh of April instant, when they expected French assistance ; that rebel leaders from the counties of Kildare, Carlow, Wicklow, and Queen's county, met at English's on the first Sunday in every month, in order to concert their plans ; that Maguire and Dalton, two rebel leaders from the county Wicklow, had thousands under their command, ready to turn out at a moment's notice ; that Mr. Fitzgerald of Geraldine,* was their great friend ; and that he was then in Dublin, settling about the business of rising with some of their friends there ; that forty thousand would come from Roscrea and Tipperary side, to assist the cause here ; that this country was to be the central situation for the first attack ; that all the county Kildare rebels were to meet at Magengy-bridge ; that the rising was to be general, in order to prevent the military knowing where to act. Saith, that early in the morning of the seventh instant, he again saw said Patrick Kelly, who desired him to wait behind a party he intended going with to Kildare ; that said Kelly would be at Geraldine, where he would have an horse and servant of Mr. Fitzgerald's, with coloured clothes ; that they would then proceed to a magistrate for examinant to lodge the wished-for examination ; that he could then desert, and a place of concealment would be provided by said Kelly, and would send said Sullivan's wife after him.

Sworn, &c. &c. &c.

The original examination, as sworn before a magistrate on the ninth of April, one thousand eight hundred, is in the Crown-office ; and the names of the rebel captains, as written by Dooley, are in the magistrate's hands.

There is not a doubt but that many other chapels were burned wantonly in the night in the province of Leinster, to throw the odium of it on the protestants.

County of Kildare, } THE examinations of
to wit. } saith, that, on or about the fourteenth of April last, Patrick Dooley, James Noud, and Joseph Hendrean, all of Athy, were committed to Athy gaol ; that informant shortly after was informed

* This gentleman commanded a corps of yeomanry which was dismissed for disaffection, and he was imprisoned some time, but afterwards liberated.

informed by said Dooley, that they (meaning the disaffected) were in expectation of the French coming shortly to this country ; that there was a new constitution totally different from the old one ; that they were making pikes on a new plan ; that he had a conversation with a particular friend of his from the lower part of the county of Westmeath, who informed said Dooley, that the people there were going on fast with the business ; and that said Dooley knew that the people in the lower part of the county Kildare were going on with it too, but that it had not properly reached up here yet ; that the said Dooley was as well armed, accoutred, and prepared, as any man on the night they (meaning the rebels) were to have attacked Athy ; that he had a cartridge-box before him, and another behind, both full of ammunition, two pistols and a sword ; that when his house was searched, they could not be found, as he had them concealed behind the fire-place.

That on or about the sixteenth of April last, Terence Toole, of Fonstown, (who to informant's knowledge was a rebel captain,) and Cornelius Moore of Gurteen, with others, were apprehended and committed to said gaol ; that a conversation shortly after took place in presence of informant, between said Dooley, Toole, and Moore, about the chapel of Athy which had been burned ; said Dooley told said Toole and Moore, that he knew the cause of their being committed to gaol, which was, " that the said Dooley, with Mr. Kelly the priest, and James Noud, had offered Timothy Sullivan, a soldier of the South Cork militia, 400l. to swear against John Willock, and John Drill, two of the yeomen, and a soldier of the South Cork, as orangemen, for burning the chapel ;" that he, said Dooley, had written down the names of said Toole and Moore, with several others, in whose houses the said Sullivan would be concealed, after he should so swear ; that he, said Dooley, gave said Sullivan a written order, requiring said Toole and Moore, and said other persons, to conceal said Sullivan ; and said Dooley repeated, that such was the cause of their being confined, as he was afraid said Sullivan had made a discovery ; and that said Dooley, Kelly, and Noud, had offered him said sum to hang three of the loyal men ; and saith, said Dooley further declared that he had mentioned the business of hanging said orangemen to Thomas Fitzgerald of Geraldine, esquire ; and that said Fitzgerald replied, that if said three orangemen could be hanged, he would get him, said

saïd Sullivan, 400l. from government, and make up as much more amongst themselves ; and that he would then, if possible, get Rawson's yeomanry broke ; saith, saïd Dooley also informed saïd Toole and Moore, that the saïd Sullivan was to quit the army, and be protected by other persons in the Queen's county, and so on from place to place, until he got home to his own country ; saith, saïd Toole, in the course of saïd conversation, told saïd Dooley and Moore, that the party under the command of Patrick Dowling, of Fonestown, who were to have attacked Athy, expected Queen's county assistance ; that he, saïd Toole, had gone across the river Barrow, to the Queen's county, to solicit it ; and that the Queen's county people would not assist ; and on saïd Toole's return with the account of such refusal, the saïd party under saïd Dowling, as principal in command, broke up and dispersed.

Sworn before a magistrate the 2d May, 1800.

[The original is in the Crown-office.]*

Note. By any possibility the above informant could not have had any communication with Timothy Sullivan.

After Sullivan's having given information was become publick, Mr. Fitzgerald mentioned, that the persons who burned the chapel, were Drill, Willock, and a Cork soldier ; on the report reaching captain Rawson, he had the two yeomen arrested, and committed to the guard-house.

A long range of stables in the possession of Mrs. Dooley, a publican, were converted into a temporary chapel ; and in three weeks after the first burning, these were set fire to at nine o'clock at night ; the military and yeomanry instantly assembled, and by great exertions got the fire under, without the interference or assistance of any papists, except two servants, and two only of the Roman catholick inhabitants of the town. Captain Rawson then applied to Mrs. Dooley to send her hostlers, lest the high wind should again fan up the flames ; but she positively refused, saying, that her men (poor fellows) were tired, having had two gentlemen's horses to do up, and that they were gone to bed, and she would not disturb them ; and with much difficulty she was prevailed
on

* To the lenity of general Dundas on the Curragh, or what is commonly called his capitulation, the dreadful state of the county of Kildare, and the adjacent counties, is to be imputed ; and it is to be lamented, that wide-extended mercy has produced the same effect in every part of the kingdom, wherever it has taken place.

on to lend some vessels, to put water on the yet-burning straw. After doing every thing possible, the military and yeomanry were dismissed; and about one o'clock at night, the fire again broke out and consumed the whole of the building.

On the following day, a number of gentlemen met at the sovereign's, and Mr. Fitzgerald came there; Drill and Willock were brought in custody, and no charge being preferred against them by Mr. Fitzgerald, or any other person, they were discharged. They have brought actions for defamation.

Captain Rawson felt much for the distress of the reverend Mr. Keegan, the parish priest, a man of most exemplary conduct; and offered him the use of a large house he had lately purchased near the town, for a temporary chapel: He accepted the offer; and the house was prepared accordingly. His good intentions were frustrated, as the rebellious had more influence than their worthy pastor, and not one man would attend him in the house of a heretick. Such is the force of fanaticism!

The affidavit of Thomas Davis, of Prosperous.

County of the city of Dublin,
to wit.

THE examination of Mr. Thomas Davis, late of Prosperous, in the county of Kildare, who being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, maketh oath and faith, That for many nights previous to the night of the twenty-third of May last, this examinant and his family were very much alarmed, lest they should be attacked by the rebels, commonly called United Irishmen; that examinant thought that he and his family were in some degree secure by the arrival of detachments of the Ancient Britons, and the North Cork militia; that, however, examinant still continued to be alarmed, as his house was at a considerable distance from the barracks. Examinant faith, that he was awakened about the hour of one o'clock in the forenoon, by the barking of a large dog he had; and some time after he was alarmed by the firing of some shots. Examinant faith, that on looking out of his window, he perceived a great body of people, armed with pikes and fire-arms, between whom and the soldiers in the barracks a constant firing was maintained; that as the balls passed by this examinant's house, (and one of them
close

close to his head,) he withdrew, and let down the window; that soon after examinant saw the barracks on fire, and heard the soldiers exclaim, "The house is on fire: We shall be burned or suffocated: We can fight no longer!" That soon after examinant saw the roof of said barrack fall in. Examinant saith, that the said rebels, whose numbers had increased so much as to fill the streets of Prosperous aforesaid, and to cover the adjacent fields, on the falling in of the roof of said barrack, gave many shouts, which seemed to rend the skies, and made this examinant and his family thrill with horror; that the said rebels exclaimed, that the day was their own, and they would then plant the tree of liberty. Examinant saith, that the said rebels knocked at his door, and desired to have it opened, expecting to find there a party of soldiers, who had been billeted there a short time before, and Mr. Stammers, who had lodged therein when he went to receive his rents, as part of the town of Prosperous aforesaid belonged to the said Stammers. Examinant saith, that as the said rebels approached his house in a large body, six of them preceded the rest, mounted on some of the horses which they had taken that morning from the Ancient Britons at Prosperous aforesaid; that examinant, as soon as he came out of his door, was surrounded by a party of the said rebels, who presented their pikes at him, and who he expected, from the ferocity of their looks, would instantly have put him to death; that one of said rebels held a musket at examinant's breast, with his finger on the trigger; that another of the said rebels, who was a turf cutter, held a drawn sword over examinant's head; and examinant verily believes, they would have instantly put him to death, but a young man in the crowd, who seemed to have some influence, interposed, beat down the musket which was presented at his breast, and said, they should not kill him. Examinant saith, that he knew many of the said rebels to whom he and his family had been very kind; that soon after the said rebels went in quest of the said Stammers, who lodged at some distance from the said town; that having seized him, the said Stammers, they led him through the street, by examinant's house, surrounded by a number of pikemen, while a low fellow held a pistol at his head. Examinant saith, that as he passed by the house of examinant, he, the said Stammers, cast a melancholy farewell look at examinant and his family; that soon after the said rebels massacred the said Stammers. Examinant saith, that

that soon after he went out, with an intention of enquiring for his friend Mr. Norris, an inhabitant of Prosperous aforesaid; and that before examinant had gone far, he was again surrounded by the said rebels, who, he verily believes, would have put him to death but for the interference of the person who had saved him before. Examinant saith, he discovered soon after that Mr. Brewer, a respectable manufacturer of said town, who had employed many of the said rebels, had been massacred by them, and that his body had been mangled with savage barbarity. Examinant saith, that they also massacred a poor old man, of the age of seventy years, and upwards, who served as a serjeant in his majesty's forces, having considered him as an orangeman, though examinant is convinced in his mind that the only reason why the said rebels murdered the said serjeant was his being a protestant. Examinant saith, that when the said rebels had committed the said barbarities, they exclaimed with savage joy, "Where are the hereticks now? Shew us the face of an orangeman!" Examinant saith, that many women who were acting with the said rebels used expressions of that tenor, as often and as loud as the men; and that some old women who were amongst them, seemed to brighten up on the occasion, and to shew as much fervent joy as the youngest amongst them: That some of the said women kissed and congratulated their fathers, their husbands, or their brothers, on the victory they gained, and exclaimed with joy, "The kingdom is our own, for Dublin and Naas have been taken, and are in possession of our friends—down with the hereticks! down with the orangemen!" Examinant saith, that many of the wretches who had been actors in that bloody scene, had come into the town of Prosperous aforesaid the preceding day, and in the presence of captain Swayne, of the city of Cork militia, (whom with a party of his regiment, they had massacred that morning, viz. the twenty-fourth of May,) and also in the presence of their parish priest, of the name of Higgins, had declared their contrition for their past errors, and gave the strongest assurance of their loyalty in future; that many of the said rebels surrendered their pikes to the said Swayne; and as such surrender was considered as a test of their repentance, and as necessary to entitle them to a written protection, numbers of them lamented that they could not obtain such protection, as they never had a pike; and that many of them declared, they would sell their cow to purchase a pike, if they

knew where it could be bought. Examinant saith, that notwithstanding these declarations, many of the said rebels appeared in the rebel ranks, well armed with pikes. Examinant saith, he is convinced in his mind that the said rebels would have plundered and burned all the other loyal houses of Prosperous aforesaid, and would have murdered the remaining protestant inhabitants thereof, but that a patrol of the Ancient Britons and the city of Cork militia, being a part of the detachment they had murdered that morning, unexpectedly approached the town; and that the said rebels, on their appearance, fled towards the bogs and morasses. Examinant saith, he could not refrain from shedding tears at seeing such scenes of savage barbarity; and that a servant who continued faithful to him, desired him not to shew any signs of concern, lest he might draw on him the anger and vengeance of the rebels.

THOMAS DAVIS.

Sworn before me, the 16th of September, 1798,

THOMAS FLEMING, *lord mayor of the city of Dublin.*

The assassination of Mrs. Dale.

WHEN the general insurrection took place in the county of Kildare, on the 24th of May, 1798, Patrick Dowling, a rebel captain, having assembled his corps, dispatched a party to bring before him Joseph Dale, who lived at a short distance from Dowling's habitation. Dale being a protestant, and dreading the fate of persons of the same persuasion, came very reluctantly. He was then informed, that he and his wife would be put to death, unless he joined Dowling's party, which he consented to do, on obtaining a promise that his wife should suffer no injury. Dale, on marching by his own door with the rebel party, perceived his wife in tears, which was the last time he saw her alive. Dowling and his party having marched towards Athy, in order to attack it, were suddenly intimidated, and immediately dispersed, on seeing captain Rawson and his loyal Athy yeomanry, consisting of protestants, advancing towards them. Dale, on returning to his own house, found it open, and the floor covered with blood. His fears suggested what had happened; for, on going to the garden behind his house, he saw the earth newly turned up; and on removing
part

part of it, he discovered the mangled body of his unfortunate wife. It was proved on the trial of Elizabeth Byrne, James Byrne her son, Mary Dowling, the wife of captain Dowling, with Winifred and Elizabeth Dowling, her daughters, held at Naas, at the Lent assizes, 1801, for that county, that Mary Dowling had addressed a number of women who had collected at her house, and informed them, that they must go murder Catherine Dale, the orange whore. Upon which they assembled a number of boys, and, on entering the house, found the deceased with a prayer-book in her hand. James Byrne knocked her down with the churn-staff; on which Elizabeth Byrne dragged her body out of the house into the road, where she was stoned to death by the boys, who were supplied with stones for that purpose by the women. These facts were proved by two of the boys, who were thus employed in this barbarous murder. They were, at the time of giving their evidence, not more than fourteen years old; and, consequently, at the time of the murder, they could have been but eleven. They underwent a long and strict cross-examination, and yet were perfectly consistent even in the most minute circumstances. They were asked by the learned and humane judge Downes, why they joined in murdering Mrs. Dale? and they answered, because she was a protestant. Their evidence was confirmed by a poor protestant yeoman, who had escaped from the rebels, and lay concealed behind a hedge, and by another man, whom Elizabeth Byrne compelled to bury the body of the deceased, under a threat of reporting him as a cowardly rascal to the rebels, if he dared to refuse. These wretches met the fate which their crimes deserved, having been convicted and hanged.

No. XVI. 1.

The following address to the inhabitants of the county of Wicklow was printed and generally distributed:

WE, the magistrates of the county of Wicklow, after the most serious deliberation, the most correct information, and the most cautious delay, have at length considered it as our indispensable duty, to have recourse to the strong measure of proclaiming the county to be in a state of disturbance, as the only means to crush the seeds of rebellion, to repress outrage, and to protect innocence.

It is with extreme reluctance that we find ourselves thus compelled to impose a temporary restraint, in some particulars, on the freedom of the inhabitants : But this restraint will cease with the occasion ; and will, by preventing its abuse, serve the cause of real liberty. The impartial judgment of the publick, when the present ferment shall be sufficiently subsided to permit calm and dispassionate reflection, will bear testimony to the moderation of our conduct—And we appeal to the Searcher of Hearts for the purity of our intentions.

During the course of several months, we have held repeated meetings ; at which we received too certain proofs that a spirit of disaffection had been diffused through the county ; that seditious meetings were held, and illegal arms concealed. We held our repeated warnings, that unless those arms were surrendered to the magistrates, and those seditious practices desisted from, it would be incumbent on us to pursue measures of vigour. The event has not been such as we had reason to expect ; the same disloyal conduct has been continued, with the addition of many atrocious instances of violence and outrage. While any hope remained that these outrages were casual and local, and not the effects of a systematick plan of plunder and insurrection, we hesitated—we endeavoured to conciliate—we deferred perhaps beyond the bounds of propriety this act of necessary severity : We are now called upon by every motive of prudence and duty to adopt it ; and having adopted, we shall vigorously and steadily support it.

But while the arm of justice is thus strengthened, let it be remembered, that it is only strengthened to crush the traitor, to punish the assassin, to restrain the plunderer. In no point are the rights of the peaceful and honest man infringed : No person can fall under the censure of the insurrection laws, or feel their vengeance, but such as disturb the peace of the publick ; such as conspire the destruction of the innocent ; and such as, forgetting their sacred duty to the country which gave them birth, endeavour to entail on it all the miseries of civil war, of foreign invasion, of desolation and massacre ; and to prostrate its honour and independence at the feet of an insolent enemy, who have treated with equal tyranny the countries they have conquered, and the countries they have seduced.

Let us therefore implore you by every thing sacred, as you respect religion, as you regard your unhappy country, as you value your domestick happiness, awake, ere yet

yet too late, from this fatal delusion ; withdraw from this infamous conspiracy ; prove your repentance by surrendering illegal arms, and refraining from seditious meetings : Act thus, and fear not the laws ; re-establish the character this country has, until lately, sustained for probity, virtue, and order ; and behold in us your friends and protectors ; who, on your returning sense of loyalty, will lose all memory of your temporary errors, and will, with the sincerest joy, restore you again to the full enjoyment of that glorious and inimitable constitution which has rendered these kingdoms the admiration of the world ; whose inestimable value, by those who possess the blessing, is too often not justly appreciated ; but which, if lost for ever, would, for ever, be regretted with deep and fruitless sorrow.

Resolved, that we admire and highly approve of the spirited manner in which Abraham Chritchley, of Ballyboy, esquire, and his family, repelled the attack of traitors upon his house and property on Sunday the twenty-fifth of March last ; and we do hereby pledge ourselves to him, and to each other, to give the most decided assistance and support to him, and to all other persons of every persuasion and description whatsoever, upon whom similar outrages may be attempted.

Resolved, that the thanks of this meeting be, and are hereby given to the reverend Edward Bayly, for the very spirited and loyal address proposed by him to the meeting this day.

Lord Powerscourt having quitted the chair, and William Hoey, esquire, being voted into it :—

Resolved, that the thanks of this meeting be, and are hereby given to the right honourable lord viscount Powerscourt, for his very polite and attentive conduct in the chair.

Signed by order,

JAMES McCLATCHY, *clerk of the peace,*

April 3d, 1798.

2.

County of Wicklow,
to wit.

THE information of Terence Kin-
selagh of Coolahullen, who being duly
sworn and examined, deposed and
saith, That he was sworn a United Irishman—oath of se-
crecy—about twelve months ago, by William Darcy of
Kilmainer, labourer ; that he understood the purpose of the
United

United Irishmen was to rise in rebellion against the king and government ; and that it was their intention to destroy all persons who were not of their own religion of popery ; that for that purpose a number of pikes were made, and that he saw pikes in the shop of William Hopkins of Ballycoog, and that he has heard that John Doyle of Ballykillayver did also make several ; and that to the best of his belief there were pikes made for the following town lands : Killahurler, Ashhinck, Newtown, Ballyfad, Killnener, Croghan, Glinoge ; and that the number, as well as he can judge, amounted to three or four hundred.

TERENCE KINSELAGH.

Sworn before me, the 28th day of August, 1798,
EDWARD BAYLY.

Informant bound to prosecute at the next and every ensuing assizes, until discharged, in the sum of 50l.

3.

COUNTY WICKLOW.

Publick Notice for surrender of arms.

WHEREAS a large body of troops has been ordered into this county for the purpose of protecting the well-affected inhabitants, and suppressing the seditious and treasonable spirit which has of late disgraced the character of this once-loyal and industrious county, and which has manifested itself in various acts of assassination, robbery, and outrage ; and as it is well known that arms, pikes, and other weapons, are concealed in considerable quantities for the purposes of insurrection and rebellion, and that notwithstanding repeated and earnest admonitions from the magistrates to the people, whose arms have been, and still are contumaciously retained, and no appearance has been hitherto manifested of a returning sense of duty :

Lieutenant-general Craig, commanding the eastern district, previous to carrying into execution his orders for coercion, and before the calamities which will attend the obstinately-disaffected, who are well known, are actually inflicted, considers it to be his duty, as well as an act of humanity, to give this publick notice, that he has it in command to assure

assure those wicked and deluded people, if they do not immediately surrender at some of the following depôts, Bray, Newtown-mount-kennedy, Wicklow, Arklow, Coolatin, Rathdrum, Hacketstown, Balinglass, Duncavlin, and Blessington, or to the magistrates or officers commanding the troops in their vicinity, all fire-arms, swords, bayonets, pikes, or pike-shafts, old scythes and spears, and every other offensive weapon, that they must expect to be treated with the utmost severity.

It is his sincere wish that he may not be compelled to have recourse to such rigorous measures, but by a *timely surrender of their arms, which can alone denote their real repentance and determination to return to their former peaceable demeanour and habits of industry.* Those that act so may rest assured of protection, both from the magistrates and officers commanding the several detachments, who are hereby required to use their utmost diligence to prevent the well-affected, or such as sincerely return to their allegiance, from suffering in person or property the smallest injury.

Such as neglect or despise this publick and final warning can have no excuse to offer, and on themselves and families must rest the consequences.

PETER CRAIG, *lieutenant general,*
commanding the eastern district.

Dated this 11th May, 1798.

4.

A list of protestants massacred in the county of Wicklow during the rebellion, and an account of some of the outrages committed therein. The number on the left hand indicates where the affidavits of the sufferers or their representatives are registered in the archives of the house of commons. Each affidavit was verified by the sufferer and the parish minister, upon oath, and attested by a neighbouring magistrate. It is mentioned where persons were killed in battle fighting against the rebels.

No. THE reverend Christopher Robinson, curate of Stratford on Slaney, narrowly escaped from the rebels, the twenty-fourth of May, 1798; one Patrick Lea, a rebel, snapped a pistol four times at him. His house and all his property were destroyed, by which he, his wife and seven children, were reduced to the utmost distress.

Sworn before alderman Manders of the city of Dublin,
9th July, 1798.

The

202 The houses and property of forty-nine persons
to 256 were burned by the rebels at Arklow the 9th of
June.

404 Hannah Wallis swore that her husband, who was
parish clerk of Ballyhack church, was murdered by
the rebels.

418 Judith Frayne swore that her husband, who lived
in the parish of Castle Ellis, was murdered by them.

799 Ann Cahoe swore that her husband was mur-
dered, who lived in the parish of Kiltogan, and left
two children.

Mary Saunders swore that her husband was mur-
dered the 29th of June, and left two children of the
same parish.

805 Margaret Blifton swore that her husband was kill-
ed the 25th of June, lived at Hacketstown, and left
four children.

1332 Sarah Free, of Stoops, swore that her husband
was murdered the 17th of June at Vinegar-hill, be-
longed to the parish of Carnew, and left four chil-
dren.

1411 Eliza Foley swore that her husband was murdered
the 25th of June and left one child; he was of the
parish of Carnew.

1412 Anne Jackson of Graige was murdered the 25th
of June.

2533 Eliza Freeman swore that her husband was mur-
dered at Denoloffory, and left two children; he was
of the parish of Denoloffory.

1635 Jane Carleton of Kilguagan, swore that her hus-
band was taken from his house and murdered the
second of July, and left one child; he was of the
parish of Aghald.

1679 Mary Waddock of Tomriland, swore that her hus-
band was murdered the fourteenth of June with
much cruelty.

1781 Susannah Gore of Marigar, swore that her hus-
band was murdered, and left two children; he
was of the parish of Tomriland.

2786 Mary Twamly of Rossinastraw, swore that her
husband was murdered, and left eight children.

1748 Eliza Bolton, of Rathdrum, swore that her hus-
band, a weaver, was killed there, and left one
child; he was of the parish of Clara.

Eliza Mitchell, swore that her husband was murdered the sixteenth of September at Carnew, and left four children; he was of the parish of Carnew.

John Hope, yeoman, taken the 10th of June, brought to Vinegar-hill and piked; was of the parish of Carnew,

John Brady, do. do. do. of do.

John Foster, piked the Sunday before the battle of Vinegar-hill, at Tinahely, was of the parish of do.

John Walker, shot and piked the day after do. at Shrulce, was of the parish of do.

Thomas Braddel, piked at Monaseed, parish of do.

Joshua Scott, do. at do. do.

Matthew Dowse, of Ballynabarny, parish of Kilpipe, was killed near do.

On the second of July, killed at the battle of Ballyrahin, captain Chamney, his nephew Joseph Chamney of Ballyrahin, captain Nixon of Nurney, James Twamley of do, Christopher Twamley of do. Michael Leonard of do. and James Bardon of do. in the parish of Coolakenny; all protestants.

Taken from Coolkenno town the same day and piked, in cold blood, George Davison, Joseph and William Halfpenny, Thomas Charlton, and also William Mires of Crownalay. The same day William Watters and John Reilly of Coolatin, parish of Carnew, were piked. The same day George Driver, William Rice and Annesley Green of Tinahely, parish of Kilcomen, were piked; all protestants.

The same day, James Smith, and John Waters of Crofs Patrick, were piked.

John Waddock, a papist, was taken out of his bed and murdered, for having seized a rebel with a pistol in his hand, returning from the battle of Newtown-mount-kennedy.

John Beaghan was murdered in cold blood, parish of Tomriland.

Mr. Robert Freeman, sen. do. parish of Tomriland.

John Burbridge do. do.

Henry Marks do. do.

John Mason do. of Rahoon.

John Langrel do. of Cappagh.

Samuel Langrel do. of Ballynabarny.

William Carter do. of Ballintornhigh.

Thomas Hatton was murdered while attending his farm at Tomriland.

Joseph

Joseph Ellison, } Were three supplementary yeomen,
 John Bolton, } and, having gone into the mountains
 John Goggin, } to assist Mr. Chritchley in collect-
 ing cattle, they fell into the hands of the rebels, who put
 them to death with extreme torture with pikes.

Edward Dockrell, of the parish of Glanely, was piked
 to death, with extreme torture.

John Wheeler, and Samuel Wheeler his son, were taken
 from their looms at Mr. Allen's woollen manufactory, which
 they destroyed, in the parish of Greenane, and were car-
 ried to Glenmalure, where they were mangled with pikes
 in a most shocking manner; the father received sixty pike
 wounds.

Michael Twamley, of Coolafaney, and George Heppen-
 stal of Rosnastraw, were taken off several miles and piked
 to death.

Moore and Christopher Kavanagh of Mount Pleasant;
 carried to Ballymanus and piked to death.

Peter Twamley, of Coolkenno, was piked to death.

Peter Twamley, of Crownaleagh, do.

Roger Pierce, of Ballythomas, do.

Edward Hopkins, of Currindog, do.

Thomas Bryan, } Taken from their houses in the even-
 Joseph Bryan, } ing and butchered, two brothers and a
 James Bryan, } son, of Ballyknockan.

Joseph Tate, of Coolflake, piked to death.

Christopher Cooper, of Newbridge, do.

John Leeson, of Ballyteskin, do.

Edward Keegan, yeoman in Mr. Beauman's corps, two
 of Hompesch's dragoons taken in Glenmalure, and two
 commissary generals drivers taken at Killballyowen, and
 killed at Aughavanagh.

On the 6th of October three men of the name of Hall,
 a son and two brothers, of the Castletown corps of yeo-
 manry, were murdered near Wicklow.

In the same month, two farmers, of the names of Stewart
 and Synnott, were murdered near Hacketstown.

One Cooke was murdered at Hollymount the same month.
 George Carr was murdered the 28th of June at Loughpark.
 Lawrence and John Farren, two papists, entered the house
 of William Moody of Coolabeg, county of Wicklow, the
 29th of September, 1798, and ravished Anne his wife, one
 after the other, one held her for the other; and they said,

"We

* We will sow croppies in you, you heretick bitch !^a She had seven children near her while they perpetrated this barbarous act, for which they were afterwards hanged.

A protestant child of four years old was put to death at Finnebawn, on the borders of the county of Wexford. All the houses of the middle and lower class of protestants, with very few exceptions, were burnt in the county of Wicklow, and the mansion houses of the gentlemen suffered the same fate, except such whose proprietors could afford to keep a guard in them.

A proclamation, containing denunciations against the government and against hereticks, was circulated in the parish of Rathdrum and county of Wicklow, in the Spring of 1798, and begins thus ; it was the production of a popish school-master who was a secretary among the United Irishmen :

A notice and caution to the Publick.

" WHEREAS we, the united loyal subjects of different counties to liberty, are credibly informed, that the orangemen and hereticks in general of the parish of Rathdrum and county of Wicklow, and other parts, by the authority of their diabolical government and their own infernal institution, are circulating through different parts of these counties, a proclamation for all United Irishmen of every persuasion whatsoever, and croppies in general, to bring in all their guns, pikes, and arms of all sorts, and to discover all in general one of another, who made them United Irishmen," &c. &c.

This alludes to the manifestoes issued by the magistrates, offering the most conciliating terms to the disaffected, inviting them to return to their allegiance, and offering them a full pardon if they complied with them.

County of Wicklow,
to wit.

} THE informations of Joseph and John Thomson, of Roundwood in said county, yeomen, father and son, who, being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, say, That shortly after the patron of the Seven Churches in June, 1798, they were taken prisoners by the rebels, and after some time they were brought to the Seven Churches and kept prisoners in an old yard. When the Wexford rebels joined those of the county of Wicklow, they asked them, what they, the informants, and the other prisoners were? They received

for answer, that they were bloody orangeman. The Wexford men said, why are you keeping them there, they should die? They were then driven by a mob of the rebels to the butt of the steeple. They surrounded them, and made them kneel down and were going to pike them, when some of the rebels cried out, that, as they were protestants, their blood should not be spilled on that blessed ground. They were then taken to another part of the Seven Churches, again put on their knees and surrounded, first having been stripped of their shoes, hats, and clothes; and again some of the rebels cried out that it was blessed ground, and no protestant blood should be spilled there, and that they should be taken to the mountains, there to be piked; that some of them, so far interfered in their behalf with the officers, that at last their lives were spared on condition of their joining the rebels, which they did, till they had an opportunity of escaping.

JOSEPH THOMSON,
JOHN THOMSON,

Taken and sworn before me, this 20th of June, 1799,

WILLIAM COLTHURST.

Though numbers of the rebels had fallen by the sword, and the gibbet in the province of Leinster, a spirit of disloyalty continued for many months after to be as great and universal as it was previous to the eruption of the rebellion, particularly in the county of Wicklow.

It appeared on the trial of Joseph Reilly and David Condon, by court martial, the twenty-eighth of March, 1799, that they attempted to seduce and attach to their cause some soldiers of the Fermanagh regiment; and that they formed a conspiracy to murder William Booth, a protestant, and his family, and to burn his house and offices. The soldiers pretended that they were Roman catholics, to gain the confidence of the rebels. They desired the soldiers to go to maraud at Booth's house; and that he would entertain them if they said they were protestants. Condon declared to one of the soldiers, that no person would be allowed to live in the country contiguous to Roundwood, that was not a true brother.* He declared that they were well furnished with arms; that they were to have taken Enniskerry, and expected to be joined by the King's county militia.

On

* It appears that the words true brother were used by captain Sharky of the defenders, in the prospectus found on him in the year 1789. See Appendix, No. II.

On the trial of Charles Doyle, at Wicklow, the twenty-second of March, 1799, it appeared on the evidence of John Harrison and Arthur Cooper, two soldiers of the Fermanagh regiment, that they supposed them to belong to the King's county regiment, and therefore considered them as friends. Doyle asked Harrison, whether he was a true catholic? and on being answered in the affirmative, he said "God help the poor catholics of Ireland! if it was not for the militia raised there, not one of them would be alive at this time." He also said, what do you think of the French fleet that were seen off the coast? They are to land, not as they did before, but in two or three places, which will give all the true brethren in the kingdom an opportunity of joining their friends. He said, that they were all true brothers in the Glyn, in which they lived, except Booth, who was a bloody orangeman. He desired him to meet him again on a particular day; and that he would procure for him from his delegate a list of the members of his corps; and he requested that he would bring a list of true brothers in his regiment, that he might return it to his delegate. He told him that they were soon to have a grand meeting of brethren in the Glyn, to inspect all their arms, and see whether they were fit for an engagement. He said, that they had delegates at that time employed in collecting money for the cause at Clonard, in the county of Meath, and at Carbery, in the county of Kildare. He told Harrison, that if he would desert from his regiment, he should have the rank of captain among the brethren. He also said, that the business would be ready for a rising on the sixteenth or twentieth of April; and that they would be joined by some friends from Dublin, and the King's county; that in order to be made a captain, he must assist in murdering Mr. Colthurst, because he was active in taking up pikes. He said, he had a pike hid in the hill, the head of which, covered with bacon, lest it should rust, was concealed in one place, and the handle or shaft in another.

In the month of April, 1799, five soldiers of the Fermanagh regiment were tried at Wicklow, for having conspired to murder their officers, of which three were sentenced to be hanged, and two to be transported. These unfortunate men fell a prey to the delusive arts of seduction, too often successfully practised on the king's troops.*

Early

* The great numbers of the popish militia and yeomen who were disaffected, and the great susceptibility in that order of being seduced, demands the serious consideration of the Imperial government.

Early in the month of June, 1798, the rebels attacked and entered the town of Blessington, and burned the mansion of the marquis of Downshire, which, with the furniture, was valued at 12,000*l.* and many good houses belonging to Mr. Patrickson. A few days after they burned or destroyed every good house in it, except the post-office, and Mrs. Farley's. In short, they burned and destroyed not only the houses of the protestant gentry, but those of the inferior class of that order, and carried off all their cattle for some miles round Blessington; and the army and the yeomanry retaliated by burning the houses of those who were notoriously disaffected and had joined the rebels. The rebels burned also the house of earl Fitzwilliam, who has a very large estate in the county of Wicklow, and whose great generosity and benevolence to his numerous tenantry are universally known.

After the rebellion had existed some time, and had spread universal desolation in that country, the marquis of Waterford repaired to his beautiful mansion at Hollywood, and, with his usual humanity and benevolence, announced that he would rebuild all the houses of the lower class of people which had been burned or destroyed, provided they would return to their allegiance, and accept the amnesty humanely offered to them by government; but, instead of being touched with gratitude by his generous offer, they burned his house on the thirteenth of September.

John Mulligan, of Paddock, in said county, deposed, the twenty-first of May, 1798, before lord Powercourt, lord Monck, and John Edwards, esquire, that on the night when the report was spread that the orangemen were out to murder the Roman catholics, he was met and informed by George Coleman of the Long-hill, that the orangemen were to massacre all the Roman catholics; and that he should not get intelligence of it, unless he was sworn an United Irishman; and that he was accordingly sworn by the said Coleman, to whom he gave soon after 6*d.* to buy iron to make a pike head. The said Coleman, and others, cut some ash trees on lord Monck's land to make pike handles; and said, that they expected the French would land and gain the battle; and then that they would have their land cheap.

Roger Coleman, of Ballyteskin, in said county, swore before the said magistrates the twenty-first of May, 1798, that
in

in the month of November he met one Bushe, a schoolmaster, on the commons of the Long-hill, and supposing him to be a United Irishman, asked him to swear him into that society; because he was informed, and believed, that the French would come, and that his life would be in danger unless he was sworn.

William Kelly of Killcrouney, in said county, deposed before lord Monck, that he was sworn an United Irishman by one Burke, a schoolmaster, for the same reason; sworn the twenty-fourth of May.

Garret Quin, farmer, of Glenene, deposed before lords Powerscourt and Monck the twenty-fifth of May, 1798, that he was sworn an United Irishman by one Kelly, a cabinet-maker; and that Charles Gallagher told informant, that they were to assist the French when they landed, and to fight for Ireland against king George.

County of Wicklow, } ISAAC HARRISON, of Ballinagee,
to wit. } this day came before me, and made
oath on the Holy Evangelists, That
about three weeks ago Daniel Lamb, of Ballinagee aforesaid, in the county of Wicklow, informed him, that a letter had been received from one Byrne, now imprisoned in Dublin, that the French were expected every day, but certainly not later than the last day of May instant; that, as soon as they arrive, it is intended to murder lord Powerscourt, lord Monck, Mr. Quin, Mr. Colthurst, and such gentlemen in the neighbourhood; and farther said, Isaac Harrison has heard, and does believe, that Daniel Lamb and many more United Irishmen, being apprehensive that information has been given against them, intend to rise and massacre all well-affected persons in the neighbourhood, either this day or tomorrow.

Sworn before me, May 5th, 1798, his
MONCK. ISAAC + HARRISON,
mark.

Witness present,
E. QUIN.

*State of the archdiocese of Dublin, in the autumn and winter
of 1798.*

- 1 VICARAGE of KILLSALLAGHAN, three miles from Finglas: Mr. Collis, the vicar, was obliged to abandon his parish and to retire to Dublin through fear of the rebels, who

who broke into his house, and plundered it ; most of his protestant parishioners were obliged to fly to Dublin to save their lives.

- 2 Vicarage of Garretstown : Hector Monroe, vicar, was obliged to fly to save his life ; and all his protestant parishioners were obliged to abandon their houses for the same purpose.
- 3 Parish of Clonmethan : Lord Strangford, rector, Galbraith Fenton, curate ; most of the protestant parishioners obliged to fly.
- 4 Vicarage of Hollywood : John Echlin, vicar ; all the protestants but one obliged to fly for their lives.
- 5 Vicarage of Lusk : Philip Ryan, vicar ; all the parishioners obliged to fly.

N. B. All the above are in Fingal, and the most remote is not more than sixteen miles from Dublin.

- 6 Parish of Hollywood : William Porter, rector ; all the houses in the town burned by the rebels ; the church converted into a barrack ; the glebe-house much damaged ; all the protestant parishioners, except one, obliged to fly.
- 7 Vicarage of Donard : Arthur Conolly, vicar, his house and all his property destroyed ; and many protestant parishioners obliged to fly from their houses.
- 8 Vicarage of Donoghmore : Doctor Edward Ryan, vicar ; some of the protestant parishioners murdered, the remainder obliged to fly ; the houses of most of them burned ; no service in the church for seven months.
- 9 Vicarage of Blessington : Hill Benson, vicar ; the church greatly damaged by the rebels ; most of the protestant parishioners obliged to fly.
- 10 Vicarage of Narraghmore : Reverend dean Keatinge, vicar ; obliged to fly and reside in Dublin ; glebe-house much injured by the rebels ; many of the protestant parishioners murdered ; and the remainder obliged to fly to preserve their lives.
- 11 Rectory of Fonestown : Walter Baggot, rector ; the church almost destroyed ; one-half of the protestant parishioners murdered by the rebels ; the rest obliged to fly for their lives.

A song of the United Irishmen.

ROUSE, Hibernians, from your slumbers !
 See the moment just arrived,
 Imperious tyrants for to humble,
 Our French brethren are at hand.

Vive la, united heroes,
 Triumphant always may they be,
 Vive la, our gallant brethren,
 That have come to set us free.

Erin's sons, be not faint-hearted,
 Welcome, sing then Ca Ira,
 From Killala they are marching,
 To the tune of Vive la.

Vive la, united heroes, &c.

To arms quickly, and be ready,
 Join the ranks and never flee,
 Determined stand by one another,
 And from tyrants you'll be free.

Vive la, united heroes, &c.

Cruel tyrants who oppressed you,
 Now with terror see their fall !
 Then bless the heroes who care for you,
 The orange now goes to the wall.

Vive la, united heroes, &c.

Apostate orange, why so dull now ?
 Self-willed slaves, why do you frown ?
 Sure you might know how Irish freemen
 Soon would put your orange down.

Vive la, united heroes,
 Triumphant always may they be,
 Vive la, our gallant brethren,
 That have come to set us free.

This was found on the mother of Dogherty, an United Irishman who was killed by Woollaghan at Delgany, in the county of Wicklow in autumn 1798. She was seen to throw it out of her pocket, yet she swore she never saw it.*

VOL. II.

A a

No. XVIII.

* By means of songs the passions of the multitude were very much raised.

of gratitude for your opposition to the determination of the twentieth; and you will add to the obligation by conveying our acknowledgments to the seven other magistrates who so liberally stepped forward to justify us from an imputation which we reprobate as unprovoked and unmerited.

In consequence of this, lord Mountnorris, and some more magistrates at his desire, attended those priests at their respective chapels, and swore the following oath, on the altar:

Union of Blackwater, Killina, and three more parishes—Nicholas Redmond, parish priest.

Millina—Nicholas Synnott, parish priest.

Union of Rosmanogue and two more—Francis Kavenagh, parish priest.

Kilcormuck, (the chapel is at Boulavogue)—John Murphy, curate, a rebel general, who was hanged at Tullow.

Killina—Nicholas Redmond, parish priest.

Monomoling—Michael Lacy, parish priest.

Castle-ellis contains the following chapels, Blackwater, Killila, Ballivaloe and Ballivalden—David Cullen, parish priest.

Ballycanew—Michael Murphy, a rebel general, shot at the battle of Arklow.

Kilmuckridge and Killincooley—Michael Lacy.

Clogh—Francis Kavenagh, parish priest; John Redmond, his curate, a noted rebel, was hanged.

Ardemin, called the River chapel—Nicholas Redmond, parish priest; Nicholas Stafford, his curate, a notorious traitor.

Gorey and Killinabew—Francis Kavenagh, parish priest.

Kilbride and Ferns—Edmond Redmond.

Donamore and Kiltirisk—Nicholas Redmond.

Balwaldin and Blackwater—David Cullen.

N. B. The Roman catholic bishops made subdivisions of the parishes, and they are denominated from the place where the chapels stand.

A copy of an oath, sworn by nineteen priests and their congregations, comprehending many Unions, in the county of Wexford, before lord Mountnorris and other magistrates, in the month of November, 1797.

I DO sincerely promise and swear, upon the Holy Evangelists, that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to his

majesty king George the third, and to the succession of his illustrious family to the throne. That I will, to the utmost of my power, support the constitution as by law established. That I will use every possible exertion to prevent and suppress all tumult, riot, or secret conspiracy. That I am not an United Irishman, and that I never will take the oaths of the united men. That I will give up all kinds of arms, or offensive or defensive weapons, in my possession, and that I will inform against any man keeping arms without being registered. All the above I most solemnly swear in the presence of the Almighty, and as I hope to be saved through the merits and mediation of my blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, without any equivocation or mental reservation whatsoever. So help me God.

Copy of a certificate given by the protestant clergymen, church-wardens, and protestant parishioners, of different parishes, in the county of Wexford, of the loyalty and peaceable deportment of their Roman catholic fellow-subjects, at the instance of the latter, in the month of December, 1797.

WE, the minister, church-wardens and protestant parishioners of the parish of Kilcormuck, in the county of Wexford, do hereby solemnly declare, that we know of no disposition to turbulence or disloyalty now existing in any part of the said parish. We see the generality of the inhabitants of our parish as quiet and as industriously employed as in the most peaceable times. Given under our hands, the third day of December, 1797.*

THOMAS HANDCOCK, *rector.*

It is remarkable that John Murphy, the popish curate of this parish, laid a plot to assassinate Mr. Handcock and his congregation, on Whitsunday, when in church, but very fortunately the breaking-out of the rebellion prevented them from going to divine service.

The

* This does not appear like cruelty or oppression in the protestants of Ireland, so basely and falsely imputed to them by traitors, to palliate their disaffection!

The following address was presented to the viceroy, the eighteenth of April, 1798 :

Parish of Killenerin, and barony of Gorey : signed by John Synnott, parish priest, &c. sir Thomas Esmond, of Ballynastra, baronet, Laurence Doyle, of Springhill, Laurence White, of Scarnagh, James Doyle, of Mayfield, and one thousand three hundred and sixty inhabitants of said parish. Dated Killenerin chapel, April the twelfth, 1798, and published in the Dublin Journal the third of May, 1798.

To his excellency John Jeffries Pratt, earl Camden, lord lieutenant and general governor of Ireland.

WE, the Roman catholic inhabitants of the parish of Killenerin, in the barony of Gorey, and county of Wexford, do think it our duty to come forward at this crisis of internal disturbance, thus publickly to declare our unalterable attachment to his sacred majesty king George the third ; and we do hereby declare, and in the most solemn manner pledge ourselves, to support with our lives, fortunes and influence, his majesty's happy government established amongst us, determined as we are to exert ourselves for the suppression of rebellion and sedition. And we do likewise solemnly pledge ourselves, should any person attempt to disseminate amongst us seditious or levelling principles, all of which we hold in the utmost abhorrence, that we will use our utmost endeavours in bringing such miscreants to condign punishment. And we do further assure all our protestant brethren, of our sincere affection for them, and our absolute determination to co-operate with them in every means in our power, for the support of this happy constitution, the suppression of rebellion, the welfare of his majesty's government, and in love and loyalty to his sacred person.

And we do request of the right honourable the earl of Mountnorris, and sir Thomas Esmond, baronet, to present these our declarations to his excellency the lord lieutenant.

The following priests and their congregations adopted the same address :

1. Castlebridge chapel, signed by Michael Redmond, parish priest, and one hundred and fifty Roman catholic parishioners.
2. Ballynamonaboy chapel, signed by Nicholas Synnott, parish priest, and above one hundred and sixty parishioners.
3. Ferns

3. Ferns and the Union ditto, signed by Edward Redmond, parish priest, and others, for themselves and one thousand five hundred of the Union, by and with their consent.

4. Kilmallock ditto, signed by Redmond Rooke, parish priest, and above one hundred and seventy parishioners.

5. Gorey ditto, signed by Barnaby Murray, and others, for themselves and six hundred and forty-five other Roman catholics of the parish.

6. Kilcormick ditto, signed by John Murphy,* curate, for himself and seven hundred and fifty-seven of the inhabitants at the chapel of Boulavogue, on Monday, April the ninth.

7. Tomb, Killincher, Rossmanogue, Clough and Ballyconeen, signed by Francis Kavenagh, parish priest of said Union, for himself and eight hundred inhabitants.

8. Ballycanoe, signed by M. Murphy,† coadjutor priest, for himself and seven hundred and seventy-three parishioners.

9. Ardmine, signed by Nicholas Stafford, parish priest, and three hundred and sixty parishioners.

10. Donoghmore, signed by Nicholas Redmond, parish priest, for himself and congregation, consisting of five hundred and thirty.

11. Kilmuckridge, Killincooly, and half the parish of Monomolin, signed Michael Lacy, parish priest, and eight hundred and thirty-four persons of said parishes. Dated April the eighteenth, 1798, and published in the Dublin Journal of May the fifth.

One hundred guineas reward was offered by the parishes of Killenerin, Arklow, and Kilgorman (that is the Roman catholic inhabitants,) for the discovery of wicked and designing persons, who spread a report that all the different churches in the neighbourhood were to have been attacked on Sunday the twenty-ninth of April, and that a general assassination of their protestant brethren was to have taken place.

Signed by **WILLIAM RYAN,**
Parish priest of Arklow and Kilgorman,
JOHN SINNOTT,
Parish priest of Killenerin.
D. MURPHY,
Parish curate of ditto.
Sir THOMAS ESMOND, baronet.
LAURENCE DOYLE, and others.

In this they assure their protestant brethren, that they wish to have no interest separate from theirs, &c. No.

* He was a rebel general. † He was killed heading the rebels at Arklow.

No. XVIII. 1.

The diploma of the reverend father John Murphy.

EGO doctor dominus Franciscus de Aquilar et Rivon, presbiter, Hispalensis doctor theologus, ejus regie universitatis portionarius atque prebendatus metropolitane ac patriarchalis ecclesie ipsiusmet civitatis, administratorque actualis hujus sancte domus hospitii venerabilium sacerdotum, pauperum atque infirmorum salutem, fidem facio dominum Johannem Murphy, presbiterum Hibernicum dioecesis Fernensis, qui ad has partes studiorum causa transivit atque existit a die decimo tertio mensis Julii, anni millesimi septingentesimi octogessimi usque ad presens, in predicta domo vivere ac sustentari pie cum assistentia ad spiritualia exercitia, cum bono exemplo, ac obedientia; vacandoque, cum applicatione, ad studia philosophica ac theologica, majoris collegii divi Thomae Aquinatis ordinum predicatorum. Propter quod predictum dominum Johannem Murphy dignum ac idoneum existimamus ad sue patrie redditum, ut sacram missionem spiritualique officia adimplere possit; in quorum testimonium presentibus literis subscripsi die vigesimo nono Martii, anni millesimi septingentesimi octogessimi quinti Hispali.

Doctor Franciscus de Aquilar et Rivon,

The testimonium of the reverend father John Murphy, obtained in the university of Seville, in Spain.

+

IN DEI NOMINE. AMEN,

NOS, infra scripti, rector, regens, ac collegiales cathedralici sacre theologie, et artium almi majoris collegii, ac generalis studiorum scholae publicae, pontificae, caesareae, ac regie sancti Thomae Aquinatis, ordinis predicatorum civitatis Hispalensis, notum facimus omnibus, ac singulis praesentes literas inspecturis, D. Joannem Murphy, ex dioecesi Fernensi oriundum, in publicis scholis nostris philosophiae cathedras tribus integris annis Melchione Canono, alcoxove theologiae attente, sollicito, sineque notabili interruptione, audivisse; in quorum fidem hoc illi instrumentum sigillo parvo

parvo hujus nostri majoris collegii munitum damus, juridice denuntiati in supradicto majori collegio, die quinto mensis Martii, anni Domini millesimi septingentesimi octogessimi quinti,

Signed by

F. FRANCISCUS DE LEON,
Rector ac theolog. moralis cathed.

And a number of others, whose names are now illegible,

[SEAL.]

Father John Murphy's journal; found by captain Hugh Moore,

Saturday night, May 26, at 6 A. M. 1798.

BEGAN the republick of Ireland in Boulavogue, in the county of Wexford, barony of Gorey and parish of Kiloornick, commanded by the reverend doctor Murphy, parish priest of the said parish, in the aforesaid parish, when all the protestants of that parish were disarmed, and amongst the aforesaid, a bigot, named Thomas Bookey, who lost his life by his rashness.

26. From thence came to Oulart, a country village adjoining, when the republick attacked a minister's house for arms, and was denied of, laid siege immediately to it, and killed him and all his forces; the same day burned his house and all the orangemen's houses in that and all the adjoining parishes in that part of the country.

The same day a part of the army, to the amount of one hundred and four of infantry and two troops of cavalry, attacked the republick on Oulart-hill, when the military were repulsed with the loss of one hundred and twelve men, and the republick four killed; and then went to a hill called **Corrigrua**, where the republick encamped that night, and from thence went to a town called Camolin, which was taken without resistance, and the same day took another town and *sate* of a bishop.* At three in the afternoon, the same day, they laid siege to Enniscorthy, when they were opposed by an army of seven hundred men, then they were forced to set both ends of the town on fire, and then took the town in the space of one hour, and then encamped on
a hill

* It alludes to Ferns.

a hill near the town, called Vinegar-hill, where they remained that night.

BRYAN BULGER,*

DARBY MURPHY, his hand and pen,
dated this 26th day of

Orangemen are men that formed alliance to kill and destroy all the catholics of this kingdom.

GARET LACEY.

28th. At three in the afternoon, which was Whitsunday, they marched towards Wexford, and encamped on a hill that night, called the Mountain.

2.

County of the city of Dublin,
to wit.

} THE examination of Samuel Whealey, of Dranay, in the parish of Kilcormuck, and county of Wexford, farmer, who, being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, maketh oath and faith, That he, this examinant, received information from some of his friends and neighbours of the protestant religion, on the first day of May last, that there would be an insurrection of the United Irishmen on that night, at the hour of one o'clock, and that a signal would be given to them for that purpose, by the lighting of a fire on the top of mount Leinster† in said county, which was to be answered by fires lighted on the highest hills in all the adjacent counties, as a signal for a general insurrection; that in consequence thereof he and his protestant neighbours were on their guard for many nights after, but that examinant could not perceive any such fire until Saturday evening the twenty-sixth day of May last, when about sun-set examinant saw a fire kindled on an adjoining hill, called Corrigrua, † in said county, and that examinant saw a few minutes after another fire, on a rising ground, contiguous to the house of father John Murphy, of Boulavogue, in said county, and about a quarter of a mile from the house of examinant; and that soon after the said John Murphy, and some other men, repaired to the house of one William Goff, a near neighbour of examinant, and that the said John Murphy cried out aloud, "Pull him out!

* This, it is supposed, was written by one Bulger, who attended father Murphy as aid-de-camp.

† Plate II. 6.

† Plate II. 7.

out! Pull him out! Have you got him?" to which answer was made, "Aye, aye;" and that soon after examinant saw the houses of John and Robert Webster, both protestants,* in a state of conflagration, and which houses were set on fire by the said John Murphy and his party. Examinant saith, that said John Murphy, and his party, proceeded to a townland called Mullaunree, in said county, and set fire to the house of James Dennison, a protestant farmer, after having put him and his family to flight. That he and his family sat up all night, as the said John Murphy, and his party, were proceeding in their destructive progress; and that being very much alarmed and terrified, one of this examinant's sons, a private in the Ballaghkeene cavalry, repaired to captain White, who commanded said corps, to inform him thereof, and his other son went to Enniscorthy, to communicate intelligence thereof to the yeomanry and king's troops quartered there. That early on the morning of Whitsunday last, the said John Murphy, after having burnt many protestant houses in the neighbourhood, attacked that of the reverend Mr. Burrowes, a protestant clergyman, and that soon after examinant saw the house of the said Mr. Burrowes on fire; that the said John Murphy proceeded in his destructive progress, burning the houses of protestants, until he arrived at the hill of Oulart, † in said county, where the said Murphy encamped, with a numerous body of rebels, and where he, the said Murphy, was joined by one Edward Roche of Garrylough, attended also by a considerable body of rebels. Examinant saith, that having been informed that the said rebels meant to burn his house on the night of Whitsunday, he, this examinant, ordered his family to take the furniture thereout, and which they accordingly did; that on the said night, as soon as it grew dark, the said rebels, headed by said John Murphy, and the said Edward Roche, went to the house of examinant, and burned the same; and that examinant lay concealed in a ditch, so close to the said house while burning, that examinant could with difficulty bear the heat thereof. Examinant saith, that the said rebels carried off, or destroyed, the whole of examinant's furniture, except one bedtick; that a great number of rebels went the next day in quest of examinant, in order to put him to death, but that examinant lay concealed in ditches at Dranay aforesaid. That two or three days after the burning of his house, the two daughters of examinant dug
a hole

* Of Garrybrit.

† Plate III. 2.

a hole in the bawn of said house, and having laid some oak planks thereon, and having covered the same with straw, and afterwards with the ashes of his house so burned, examinant lay concealed in said hole for about the space of one month; and that examinant during that time was supplied by his wife and daughters with food, but in the night only, lest he should be discovered; examinant saith, that during his concealment, the rebels came often and examined the ruins of said house, and the fields and ditches in its vicinity, for examinant, declaring at the same time, that they would put him to death; and that the said rebels often said during their search, at one time that he was a bloody orangeman, though examinant saith he never saw an orangeman, nor knew what they meant by that appellation, except that examinant has been universally informed that they meant a protestant by the word orangeman. That one day that the said rebels went to the ruins of said house, in quest of said examinant, they the said rebels knocked down the son of examinant, of the age of nine years, with the but-end of a fire-lock, because the said son refused to point out where his father lay concealed, and that said rebels put examinant's son on his knees three different times, and swore they would shoot him, unless he would do so, but that his said son declared his ignorance thereof. Examinant saith, that during his concealment at Dranay aforesaid, a great number of protestants were shot contiguous to examinant's house by said rebels, as they were flying across the country from various quarters from the merciless rage of said rebels; and that Michael Shea, Anthony Thackberry, Samuel Judd, Benjamin Judd, Clement Goff, James Shaw and Henry Lancaster, were of the number of protestants so shot or killed with pikes. That when the king's troops were victorious at Vinegar-hill, examinant's daughters called to his relief three of the Ancient Britons, who conveyed examinant to Oulart aforesaid, on horseback, as examinant was unable to walk, having had a bad fever from his confinement, and that he was afterwards conveyed by his two sons to Gorey, in said county, where Mr. Peppard gave examinant a small house, as examinant's house at Dranay aforesaid, and all his substance, were destroyed.

SAMUEL WHEALEY.

Sworn before me, the 24th day of
September, 1798;

WILLOUGHBY LIGHTBURNE,

County

3.

County of Wexford,
to wit.

JOHN ROSSITER, of Grange, in said county, came before me this day, one of his Majesty's justices of the peace for said county, and voluntarily made oath on the Holy Evangelists, That he, this deponent, heard and believes that John Murphy, assistant priest of Boulavogue, was at the head of the rebels who had burned the houses of the two Websters of Garrybrit, and killed lieutenant Bookey, &c. some hours before the house of the said John Murphy was burnt by his Majesty's troops.

Sworn before me, this 27th day of
July, 1798,
JAMES BOYD.

his
JOHN + ROSSITER,
mark.

County of Wexford,
to wit.

PETER CRAWLEY, of Glandaw, in said county, farmer, this day came before me, and voluntarily made oath on the Holy Evangelists, That the reverend John Murphy was at the head of the rebels, and had burnt the houses of John Webster and Robert Webster, both of Garrybrit, in said county, farmers and protestants, long before the house of the said John Murphy was set on fire by the Enniscorthy cavalry; and further, that lieutenant Thomas Bookey, of the Camolin cavalry, and John Donovan, a private of said corps, were killed by the said rebels, with the said John Murphy at their head, many hours before said Murphy's house was set on fire.

Deponent further saith, no house was burned in the said John Murphy's parish by the army, until he the said John Murphy and party had burnt the said Websters' houses as aforesaid.

PETER CRAWLEY. *

Sworn before me, &c.

RICHARD NEWTON KING,

4.

Copy of an affidavit made before the honourable judge Downes,
by T. C. Burrowes, late of Kyle, county Wexford.

THIS deponent saith, That the late reverend Robert Burrowes, this deponent's father, was rector of the parish of

* Crawley was a lieutenant-colonel in the rebel army.

of Kilmuckridge, in the county of Wexford, and resided with his family, consisting of this deponent's mother, this deponent, who is aged between fifteen and sixteen years, and two brothers and two sisters, all younger than this deponent, upon the lands of Kyle, within about half a quarter of a mile of the village of Oulart, which is distant about ten miles from the town of Wexford.

That upon Saturday evening, the twenty-sixth of May last, several of the parishioners of Kilmuckridge, and other loyal inhabitants of the neighbourhood of this deponent's father, with their families, took refuge in his house from an attack which they said was to be made on them by a numerous body of rebels; that they continued in said house until eleven o'clock of said night, when a man named Murphy came to the house and informed deponent's father, as this deponent has heard and believes, that he, said Murphy, was himself an United Irishman, and warned deponent's father to protect himself against an attack which was intended to be made at day-light in the morning; that this deponent looked out about the house, and that, it being an uncommonly light night, they could clearly discern men crowding about the adjacent cabins, and lurking about the hedges and ditches; that having fire-arms and ammunition sufficient for eight or nine persons in said house, they resolved to defend themselves to the last extremity; that they accordingly barricaded the lower part of the house, and stationed themselves at the upper windows at different sides of it. Deponent saith, that about sun-rise of said morning, a numerous body of rebels, amounting to three or four hundred persons, as this deponent believes, armed principally with pikes, approached said house and attacked the same, and set fire to a range of thatched out-houses belonging to and adjoining said dwelling-house, and fired several shots at the windows at which this deponent and said men were stationed; and notwithstanding the utmost endeavours of this deponent and said men, by firing several shots at said rebels, and killing and wounding several of them as they approached said house, the said rebels set fire to the kitchen door, which shortly after came to the staircase and other parts of said house.

This deponent saith, that after a defence of about half an hour, being in danger of being suffocated by the smoke, or consumed by the flames, and one Murphy, a priest, who headed said party, having promised protection to deponent's father,

father, upon condition of surrendering his arms, deponent and his father issued from said house, and this deponent and his father gave up their fire-arms, whereupon a shot was immediately fired at this deponent, and deponent's father was attacked and murdered by several men, and this deponent himself was severely wounded by a stab of a pike through the body, and left by the side of his father apparently dead; and that seven of the nine men, who were armed by this deponent's father in defence of the house, were murdered, and that the house and furniture, plate, clothing, leases, securities for money and property of every kind contained in said house, were destroyed, and that the entire stock upon the grounds belonging to this deponent's father, except four cows and two calves, were taken away by said rebels; that this deponent, about three o'clock in the afternoon of said day, after the said mob had departed, was found languishing in the lawn before said house, and conveyed upon a door to the village of Oulart, where deponent's mother and brothers and sisters had been received; and that on Tuesday, the twenty-ninth of said month, this deponent, his mother and brothers and sisters were escorted by a party of said rebels to Castle-Annesley, about five miles distant, and kept in custody of a party of said rebels, until Wexford was re-taken; and general Needham having discovered where they were, sent a party of the Durham fencibles, who escorted this deponent and the rest of the family of this deponent's father to Wexford, where deponent's mother, his brothers and sisters are now living. And deponent saith, that deponent's mother and her family have been deprived of the means of subsistence, by the losses sustained by said rebels, and are now reduced to a state of great indigence.

T. C. BURROWES.*

Sworn before me, this 12th
day of July, 1798,
 W. DOWNES.

5.

County of the city of } THE information of George Williams,
Dublin, to wit. } farmer, and Elizabeth Williams, wife
 ————— } *of the said George, both of Bally-*
adams, in the parish of Kilmuckridge and county of Wex-
ford;

* This amiable young man died in the summer of 1800 of the wound which he received.

ford; who being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, make oath and say, That the said George is tenant to William Bolton, of Island, in said county, esquire, and that said George Williams, who, with his wife, commonly resides at Ballyadams, frequently slept at the house of the said William Bolton, his landlord, for some time previous to the twenty-seventh of May last. Informant, George Williams, saith, he was alarmed on the morning of the said twenty-seventh of May, about the hour of four o'clock, in the said house of Island, where he had slept the preceding night, by the barking of dogs, and the noise of a concourse of people, tumultuously assembled in different parts of the country, and also by the firing of shots. That, on mounting to the upper story of said house of Island, he saw the houses of many protestants on fire in different parts of the adjacent county, and great numbers of the lower class of people assembled together in a tumultuous manner, and moving from one part of the country to the other. This informant, George, saith, that he saw among other houses, those of the following persons in a state of conflagration: Edward Webster's, John Davis's, Edward Fox's, the reverend Mr. Burrowes's, at Kyle, in the parish of Kilmuckridge; James Johnson's, Joseph Aston's and James Aston's, John Rath's and James Rath's, William Walsh's, Richard Burke's, Edward Thackaberry's, Francis Colbyrne's, Robert Johnson's, Charles Francis's, Blakeney Ormby's, and the houses of many other persons, whose names this informant cannot at this time recollect; all of whom were of the protestant religion. This informant, Elizabeth, who had passed the preceding night at her own house at Ballyadams aforesaid, saith, that she was alarmed during the whole of the night by the barking of dogs; and that, on rising about four o'clock, on the morning of Whitsunday last, she saw great numbers of people moving about in a tumultuous and riotous manner, and some persons on the tops of houses, looking out, as this informant verily believes, for signals; and that two boys, the servants of the said George, were on the top of the house of the said George Williams, at Ballyadams aforesaid, looking out in the same manner. This informant, Elizabeth, saith, that being much terrified at such alarming appearances, she repaired to her husband, at Island, aforesaid, for protection. These informants say, that about the hour of ten o'clock, on the same day, Hawtrey White, esquire, captain of the Ballaghkeene yeomen cavalry, arrived.

arrived at the house of Island aforesaid, and informed the said William Bolton that the rebels had assembled in so large a body, that his corps, joined to the yeomen of Gorey and Camolin, were not sufficiently strong to face them; and the said Hawtry White recommended to the said William Bolton, to make his escape to the town of Gorey, in said county, as fast as possible. These informants jointly say, that the said William Bolton and his family set out soon after for Gorey aforesaid, consisting of himself, Mrs. Bolton and ten children, he and his eldest son on horseback, the remainder of his family in his chaise and on cars. These informants jointly say, that they attended the said William Bolton and his family in their retreat; and that when they had advanced about one mile from Island aforesaid, the said William Bolton, who preceded the party, was surrounded by a large party of rebels, who robbed him of his arms. That the said William Bolton and his eldest son on horseback, and the chaise containing Mrs. Bolton, and some of the children, were suffered to proceed, but that three cars, containing some more of her children, and some maid-servants, were obliged to retreat to some farm-houses in the neighbourhood; and that one of the said children, a son, of about the age of twelve years, alarmed at the scuffle which took place, jumped off of the car, and made his escape in a circuitous manner, over hedge and ditch, to Gorey aforesaid. Informants say, that the said rebels dismounted and disarmed the steward of the said William Bolton, and that some of them cried out, "Cut at him!" And these informants say, they are convinced in their minds that they would have murdered the said steward, whose name is Richard Bolton, but that some of them, who happened to have a regard for him, saved his life by their interference. These informants say, they were so much alarmed at the blood-thirsty disposition of the said rebels, that they retreated precipitately, and that these informants were closely pursued by the said rebels a considerable way; but these informants escaped, and arrived at their own house, at Ballyadams aforesaid, where he, the said George, was disarmed of his gun by some rebels. That on their arrival at their house, they found two boys, who were in their service, plundering it of different articles. That this informant, George Williams, asked one of the said servants (both of whom were of the popish religion) what he, the said George, should do to save his life? and that the said

servant

servant replied, pointing at the same time, "You had better go to that country, which is inhabited by Romans, (meaning Roman catholicks) as the men who reside there are gone to the protestant country, to burn the protestants' houses, and lie down there till night, and then you can make your escape." These informants say, that when they had gone about a mile and a half from their house, they saw many houses in Ballyadams aforesaid in flames, and that the house of these informants was also in flames. These informants say, that soon after they were pursued by a body of rebels from Ballyadams aforesaid; and they verily believe, that the said rebels were sent in pursuit of these informants by their two servants whom they left behind them; but they eluded the pursuit of the said rebels by altering their course at different times, and by creeping under the cover of hedges, till they arrived at the sea shore; that having ascended on a high bank near the sea, they saw a great number of protestants' houses on fire; that they saw, at some distance on the sea shore, a woman, who they feared would betray them to the rebels; but, on approaching her, they found her crying bitterly, and lamenting the state of the country; and, as she said she was servant to Mr. Burkett, a gentleman farmer whose house was contiguous, they asked her, whether she thought her master would give them some nourishment, as they had fled from their own house, and narrowly escaped with their lives from the rebels, who had plundered them of all their substance, and that they were almost famished? These informants say, they were well treated by said Burkett, who gave them a plentiful meal; and that the said Burkett, who is of the protestant religion, fearing that his house would be burned, had taken out a great part of his furniture, which lay near the shore, and that a new-born child lay crying in a cradle near the sea-shore. That said Burkett lamented his situation to these informants, and expressed his fears that the rebels would destroy him and his family, as he was a yeoman in captain White's corps of cavalry; and the said Burkett implored these informants, on their arrival at Gorey, in said county, to excuse his non-attendance there, as he could not abandon his family, who he feared would be murdered, and that all his substance would be destroyed, if he left them unprotected. These informants say, they were informed by said Burkett, that he was under the necessity of soliciting the protection of a mean popish servant, who lived

with him, to save his life, the lives of his family, and his substance from being destroyed, and that his reliance on him arose solely from his being of the popish religion; and that the said servant severely rebuked him, the said Burkett, for making free with this informant George, because he was a loyal subject and a yeoman. That they arrived at Gorey in the evening, much harassed and fatigued, without any clothes but what they had on their backs; and that their house and out-offices have been burnt, and that all their substance has been destroyed or carried off, except four cows and two yearlings, and a few metal pots. These informants say, that soon after their departure from their house at Ballyadams afore said, Mary Thackaberry, the mother of this informant Elizabeth, was attacked, near Ballyadams afore said, by Michael Redmond, servant to these informants, about the age of twelve years, who threatened to put her to death with a pike, which he then had in his hand; and threatened, at the same time, to burn her other daughter's house, unless she would deliver to him some wearing apparel of the said George, which the said Mary had in her custody; and that the said Mary, who is very old and infirm, was obliged, from motives of fear, to give the said wearing apparel to the said Michael Redmond.

GEORGE WILLIAMS,
ELIZABETH WILLIAMS.

*Sworn before me, the 27th day
of August, 1798;*

THOMAS FLEMING,
Lord mayor of the city of Dublin.

6.

*County of Wexford, } THE examination of John Horton,
to wit. } of Ballingale, of the parish of Ferns
_____ } in said county, who being duly sworn
and examined upon oath, faith, That on the twenty-seventh
day of May last, examinant was in the house of the reverend
Francis Turner, of Ballingale afore said, and that then
and there examinant saw James Maher and William Beahan,
both of Ballycarney, in said county, with a large number
of rebels, armed with pikes and guns, who violently at-
tacked said Francis Turner's house, and did then and there
murder the said Francis Turner, William Christian, Thomas
Dowse,*

Dowd, said three men of the name of Oanford; and that examinant saw the aforesaid William Beahan come into the room where the said Francis Turner lay dead and flourishing scythe blade; and said "You lye there, my lad, in lavender, like Larry Ward's pig." Examinant further saith, that in a few hours after he saw the aforesaid James Maher fire at the Newtownbarry cavalry, at Tombrack, in said county.

Taken, sworn and acknowledged
before me, being first truly read
to examinant, this 16th March,
1799, at Newtownbarry, in
said county,

his

JOHN + HORTON,
mark.

JOHN JAMES.

Examinant bound in the sum of 50s. to prosecute.

County of the city of Dublin,
to wit.

THE examination of James Doyle, aged seventeen years, servant to William Turner, esquire, who being duly sworn and examined on oath, saith, That on Whitsunday last, examinant being at his master's brother's house, the reverend Francis Turner, of Ballingale, in the county of Wexford, about the hour of two o'clock in the afternoon, a large party of armed rebels, amounting to three hundred and upwards, came to Francis Turner's house aforesaid, who called to them from one of the windows not to attempt his house; or he would transport them; whereupon they fired at him, and wounded him in the jaw; saith, they afterwards broke into his house, and demanded of him to deliver up his arms; upon his refusal, they murdered him and several other protestant neighbours, who came to his house for protection, and then burned and destroyed his house and concerns; saith, said party of rebels was headed by Denis Carthy, of Ballycarney, who was armed with pistols, and fired several shots into the window of said house, in said county of Wexford, likewise Luke Kehoe, Matthew Bulger, Murtha Nowlan, James Ryan, John Hendrick, John Meade, — Furlong, Peter Bryan, Mogue Redmond, Mogue Bryan, Martin and Michael Rorke and William Beahan.

JAMES DOYLE.

Sworn before me, the 17th day of
March, 1798,

WILLIAM JAMES.

B b 2

County

County of Wexford. } THE examination of *Cambia Carthy*,
to wit: } wife of Mr. William Carthy, of Bally-
 carney, in this county, who being
 duly sworn and examined, deposed and saith, That on the
 morning of the twenty-seventh of May last, Denis Carthy,
 of the city of Dublin, Moses Redmont, of Ballycarney,
 farmer, with many other persons not known to informant,
 left the house of said William Carthy, of Ballycarney, with
 the professed intention of going to the house of the reverend
 Francis Turner, of Ballingale, in this county, to destroy
 the same; that in about three hours after, he, the said
 Denis Carthy, returned to the said house of William Carthy,
 accompanied by James Maher, of Ballycarney, publican;
 and both the said Denis Carthy and James Maher, did there
 and then declare, that they, with a number of other per-
 sons unknown to informant, had broke open, and after-
 wards burned the house of the said Francis Turner, of
 Ballingale, and that they had shot the said Francis Turner,
 and afterwards burned him in his house; and that the said
 James Maher did declare to informant, that a quantity of
 blood, which appeared on his breeches, was the blood of
 the said Francis Turner; and the said Denis Carthy and
 James Maher did declare; they had also killed, at the
 house of said Francis Turner, five other men, one of whom
 fell by the hands of the said Denis Carthy, as he the said
 Denis Carthy did declare.

CAMBIA CARTHY.

Sworn, taken, and acknowledged before me, this 24th July, 1798,
SOLOMON RICHARDS.

Informant bound in 20l. to prosecute when called on.

No. XX. 1.

County of the city of Dublin, } THE information of Ben-
to wit: } jamin Warren, of Kilcormuck,
 in the county of Wexford, yeo-
 man, who being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, in-
 formeth and saith, That he was taken prisoner by the rebels,
 at Kilcormuck aforesaid, on the twenty-ninth day of May,
 1798, and was conveyed to the rebel camp on Vinegar
 hill, in said county, together with another protestant pri-
 soner, of the name of Samuel West, of Kilcormuck afore-
 said.

said, that on the arrival of this informant at said rebel camp, they put him into the walls of an old mill, where there were many other protestant prisoners; informant saith, that half an hour after the said rebels led out informant to put him to death, for no other reason than because he was a protestant. Informant saith, that the said rebels asked him, in what religion he would die? when informant answered, he would die a protestant as he had been bred such. Informant saith, that the said rebels then said to informant, "You bloody orange thief, you are damned, and will go to hell the instant we put the breath out of you." Informant saith, the rebels thereon gave him several stabs of pikes in the body and neck, and that while some of the said rebels were wounding informant, others were engaged in tearing off, with great vehemence, the clothes of informant. Informant saith, that he suffered the most excruciating pain from his wounds, and was so exhausted by the loss of blood, that he lay motionless and speechless for some hours. Informant saith, that said rebels led out soon after thirteen protestants, whom they put to death with pikes one after the other in the said rebel camp, and that the body of one of the said protestants fell on this informant, which put him to very great pain, and almost extinguished what little remains of life there were in him. Informant saith, that next morning, finding he had strength enough to creep all-fours, he crept to the gripe of a ditch near the road, where he remained till it was dark, and then informant contrived to make his escape. Informant saith, he heard, and which he verily believes to be true, that the rebels shot, or butchered with pikes, twenty-four protestants on the said day on Vinegar-hill aforesaid. Informant saith, that father Murphy, parish priest of Kilcormuck aforesaid, was commander in chief in said rebel camp, and that this informant applied to the said Murphy to save his life, but that said Murphy replied, he would not interfere about him, as he was going to take Wexford, and that he would leave them (meaning the rebels) to do as they pleased with them. Informant saith, that the said father Murphy was the first person who promoted an insurrection in the county where he lived; and that, on Saturday the twenty-sixth, and Sunday the twenty-seventh of May last, he, at the head of a rebel mob, caused all the protestant houses in the said parish of Kilcormuck to be burned, except three or four which were saved.

saved. Informant further saith, that among the prisoners so killed on said day were Henry Harton, esquire, portricye of Enniscorthy, in said county, and a yeoman in captain Richards's corps of cavalry, Thomas Colbourne, of Enniscorthy aforesaid, victualler, George Stacey, of Enniscorthy aforesaid, two men of the name of Gill, of a place called the Oiled-gate, between Enniscorthy and Wexford, Benjamin Stacey, of Enniscorthy aforesaid, farmer, Jacob Minchint, of Enniscorthy aforesaid, cabinet-maker, Edward Brisket, of Enniscorthy, aforesaid, merchant, George Sparrow, of said town, farmer, Joseph Maud, of said town, farmer, and a yeoman in captain Cormick's corps, William Tugman, of the parish of Enniscorthy, weaver, and several others whose names informant cannot at this time recollect. Informant saith, he heard, and which he verily believes, that a man of the name of Murtagh Bryan, a common executioner, shot twenty-four protestants in one day on Vinegar-hill, aforesaid; that he obtained a glass of whiskey for every person so shot. Informant saith, he was informed, and verily believes, that one Luke Byrne, an opulent farmer, assassinated many protestants, and among others, one Samuel Goodison, an opulent farmer, of Glendawa, in said county.

Sworn before me, this 23d day
of August, 1798,

THOMAS FLEMING,

Lord mayor of the city of Dublin.

his

BENJAMIN + WARREN,

mark.

2.

County of the city of Dublin,
to wit.

THE information of Richard Sterne, of Enniscorthy, in the county of Wexford, staymaker, who being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, maketh oath, and saith, That, on Whitfun-monday last, when the king's troops and the yeomanry were obliged to evacuate the town of Enniscorthy aforesaid, which they had defended for some hours against the rebels, captain Richards of the Enniscorthy cavalry, recommended to this informant, and to many other protestant inhabitants of said town, to accompany them in their retreat, which they were about to make, to Wexford from Enniscorthy aforesaid, to escape the furious rage of the popish rebels, who in great numbers had attacked said town, commanded by the reverend father John

John Murphy, of Boulavogue, in said county. Informant saith, that he being an infirm old man, and having carried on his back a grandchild of the age of five years, he was unable to keep up with the said troops in their march for Wexford; and therefore that he, this informant, accompanied by his wife and a son, who was far gone in a consumption, concealed themselves in a wood, called Ringwood, within half a mile of Enniscorthy aforesaid, where this informant and his said family remained four days and four nights, without receiving any nourishment whatever, except some potatoes and about a pint of milk from a fisherman who lived on the banks of the river Slaney; that he, this informant, sooner than perish with hunger, went out of the said wood, on or about the fifth day, in the morning, after he had made his escape from Enniscorthy aforesaid, and that he, this informant, was taken prisoner on the high road near Enniscorthy, aforesaid, by a numerous body of the said rebels, who were headed by the said father John Murphy, to whom the said rebels conducted this informant; and that they asked the said father Murphy what the said rebels should do with this informant, and that the said Murphy desired the said rebels to discharge informant, as they were on their march to Wexford. Informant saith, that nevertheless the said rebels kept this informant in their custody; that the said rebels led this informant a second time before the said father Murphy, who preceded the said rebels on horseback with a large crucifix in his arms, and that they asked the said Murphy a second time, what they should do with this informant? and that the said Murphy replied, they, the rebels, might do as they chose with this informant; that the said rebels rebuked and abused this informant for not having prostrated himself before the said crucifix, and frequently pricked him with their pikes for not having done so; that the said rebels frequently told him, this informant, that he was a heretick, that he was damned, and would go to hell; that said rebels strongly urged informant to be christened, to receive the sacrament from their priest, and to go to mass, and that by doing so, he would be sure of going to heaven, or to purgatory, either one or the other. Informant saith, he asked the said rebels, whether he would save his life by conforming to their religion? and that the said rebels replied, he would not, but that by so conforming, he should die an easy death by being hanged, instead of being tortured by pikes; and that the said rebels said to informant that they would hang him

him to save his soul, lest he should afterwards relapse and become a heretick; that the said rebels then conducted him to the cross roads near the church of Killuran in said county, where the said rebels again urged this informant to change his religion, having threatened to put him to death with their pikes, unless he would do so; but informant replied, he would not, that he would die any death, and that instant, sooner than change his religion. Informant saith, that a rebel serjeant thereon gave this informant a violent blow of a spade handle in the head, which spade handle was shod or pointed with iron; and that when the said serjeant was on the point of giving him the said blow, he called out to the other rebels to pike him; that he was knocked down and made senseless and speechless by the blow so inflicted by the said serjeant; and that when he lay quite insensible on the ground, the other rebels gave him many stabs of their pikes in the body; and that one of the said pike wounds passed through the body of this informant from one side to the other. Informant saith, that the said serjeant gave him, this informant, a desperate wound in the head, from whence there issued a great quantity of blood; that he lay speechless and senseless on the road where he was wounded for about an hour, when, having recovered his senses, he crept to the house of George Ogle, esquire, about two miles distant, where he received some nourishment from the steward of the said George Ogle; and that the said steward told informant he must depart, for that as he was an orangeman, (meaning a protestant) that his master's house would be burned; and that he, this informant, would be killed by the rebels if he kept him in it; that he thereon repaired to an adjoining wood, where this informant remained two days and two nights, during which time he received some nourishment from the same steward. Informant saith, he was at last discovered in said wood by a rebel woman, who was constantly plundering the house of said George Ogle, and who informed the rebels who were stationed therein, that the said wood was full of orangemen; but that said steward informed the said rebels, that this informant was not an orangeman, and had nothing to do with them; and that he was a poor old man that was wounded, and that he would bring this informant to them, the said rebels; that the said steward, and the said rebels, repaired to the place where informant lay concealed in said wood; and that

that said rebels declared, on seeing the deplorable state of informant, that they would not hang or pike this informant; that he was then taken to the stable of the said George Ogle, where he remained two days and two nights; and then, that he, this informant, was suffered to make his escape. Informant saith, he was soon after taken prisoner by another body of rebels, who conducted him to a rebel guard-house at Enniscorthy aforesaid, where he remained four days, with thirty-two other protestant prisoners, where informant would have been starved but for some nourishment which informant received once a day from his wife; that he, and his fellow prisoners, were conveyed, on the fifth day, (to the best of informant's recollection) to Vinegar-hill, to be tried by a committee of rebel officers, on which hill, contiguous to Enniscorthy aforesaid, he remained two days and two nights; that said rebels shot twenty-three of the fellow-prisoners of this informant, and in the presence of this informant, on Vinegar-hill aforesaid; and this informant is convinced in his mind, that the said rebels had no other charge or accusation against the said prisoners, but that they were of the protestant religion. Informant saith, that before the execution of the said prisoners, another priest, of the name of Murphy, harangued the said prisoners, in words of the following purport: "You sons of Belial, that withstood our holy religion which existed eight hundred years before yours began, (cracking the fingers of his right hand, and then of his left,) you will see how these pikemen will treat you tomorrow, unless there is a great reformation in you;" that the said priest expressed the said words with a loud voice, and in a very angry tone. Informant saith, that his life was saved by the interference of one William Lacy, brother to a priest of that name, who seemed to have great power in said rebel camp on Vinegar-hill aforesaid, and with whom informant had been long acquainted, and from whom informant obtained a protection. Informant saith, that the rebels before they wounded him at Killuran aforesaid, stripped informant of his hat and wig, coat and waistcoat.

RICHARD STERNE,

*Sworn before me, this 29th
of August, 1798,*

THOMAS FLEMING,

Lord mayor of the city of Dublin.

County

3.

*County of the city of Dublin,
to quit.*

CATHARINE HEYDON,
} widow of the reverend Samuel
Heydon, late of Ferns in the
county of Wexford, deceased, and late vicar of the said
parish of Ferns, and also late rector of Carpe in the said
county, having been duly examined on the Holy Evange-
lists, deposeth, and saith, That examinant, her husband,
and all the protestant inhabitants of Ferns aforesaid, on
hearing the rebels were advancing in great force, com-
manded by the reverend John Murphy, a priest, on the
morning of Whitsunday, the twenty-seventh day of May
last; and that this examinant, with her said husband, was
obliged to fly precipitately to Enniscorthy, in said coun-
ty, along with a small detachment of the North Cork militia;
and deposeth, that said town of Enniscorthy was taken by
the rebels on Monday the twenty-eighth day of May last; and
that on the said day the king's troops and yeomanry, with
most of the protestants there, were obliged to retreat to the
town of Wexford, to avoid the merciless rage of said re-
bels; by which examinant and her said husband were left
unprotected, and were obliged to fly from one house to
another for protection, as most of the houses there were on
the same day pulled down or burned by the rebels. This
examinant saith, that she, and her said husband, retreated at
last to the house of one Stephen Lett, a cabinet-maker, and
that two parties of the rebels came into said house, and as-
sured the said Samuel Heydon, that they would not injure
him, he being a good-natured man, as some of them de-
clared; and that soon after one other rebel came into said
house, and said, that his information was right, for that
said Mr. Heydon was there; on which said Heydon replied,
that two parties were there before, and said he should not
be molested, at which time stones were thrown up at the
windows; on which said Lett declared, that his house
would be destroyed, if he gave examinant and said Heydon
protection any longer, and advised examinant and said Hey-
don to apply for a protection to a priest. Examinant saith,
that this examinant and said Heydon immediately after left
said house, and did accordingly apply to the reverend John
Sutton, a popish priest, for protection, in the street of said
town, as they were surrounded by a large party of the re-
bels

bels who became riotous, and jostled examinant, and her husband; on which said Sutton cried out to said rebels, "Fie! fie!" but afforded them no other protection, at which time this examinant perceived blood running from the nose of her said husband; and that his cheek was laid open by a pike, as examinant believes. Examinant saith, that soon after he staggered and fell to the ground, with this examinant, who kept her arms about him; that thereupon the said rebels dashed his head several times against the stones, for the purpose of extinguishing what life remained in him; that he soon after groaned and expired in this examinant's arms, during which time this examinant, and after, received from them several blows on the back; that said rebels thereupon took from said Heydon his watch, money, and pocket-book, containing several bank notes, the amount of which this examinant knows not, but believes said pocket-book contained the amount of his whole property, both in money and bank notes. This examinant further deposeth, that soon after, a ferocious rebel dragged this examinant by her arm down a steep hill with great violence, and over the bridge, and to the water side, using at the same time very insulting and opprobrious language, and asked examinant if she would go to mass, and damned examinant for a bitch; said, she was always an enemy to the Roman catholicks; and asked examinant why she had left her house; said, they (meaning the said rebels) had settled it this morning; and said rebel declared, he would take examinant to the camp at Vinegar-hill, though said rebel was dragging examinant a contrary way. Examinant further deposeth, that she called out for help, when a rebel, unknown to examinant, rescued examinant, and conveyed examinant to the house of one Walsh a rebel captain, who had been that morning liberated out of prison. Examinant saith, that soon after she arrived at said house, her aunt, a lady aged eighty-one years, or thereabouts, was brought there by her servant maid, after having been robbed of her ready money, and all her worldly substance, which she by her will bequeathed to this examinant to a considerable amount. Examinant deposeth, that during ten days she resided at said Walsh's house, she suffered very much from poverty, filth, and the society of the most profligate wretches, who constantly uttered treason and blasphemy, and often hinted that examinant had better go to mass; and said Walsh, and his wife, informed examinant

examinant that it would be at the risque of their lives to harbour a protestant, as an order came from the camp not to protect any such; that during examinant's residence at said house, and for some time after, she had no other clothes to wear, but what she had on her back, and no bed to sleep on for five weeks and five days. Examinant saith, that on leaving said Walth's, she repaired to the ruinous house of Henry Gill, postmaster of the said town, which had been plundered and made a wreck of by the rebels. Examinant saith, that soon after she went to the said Gill's house, a message was sent to her by said Walth, that her life was not safe unless she went to mass; and in a few days after, about five o'clock in the morning, two rebels, armed with muskets, broke into examinant's room, and called out to Mrs. Gill to throw this examinant down stairs, and if she did not, they would, and her house should be burned; on which examinant asked them what charge they had against her? to which they replied, her obstinacy had been reported yesterday, and that she must go to Wexford, meaning by the word obstinacy, as she verily believes, was for not going to mass; that examinant, dreading she might be abused by the rebels, asked the said two ruffians to shoot her; on which they replied, they would have nothing to do with one of her sort, meaning, as she verily believes, a protestant; and then said examinant might stay there until further orders. Examinant saith, that Mrs. Gill told examinant, that she could not any longer protect her with safety to herself, and eleven children; on which examinant went to several houses, whose inhabitants refused to receive her, though protestants, from motives of fear, and the papists from motives of hatred; that thereupon one father Clinch, a priest, brother to a tenant of examinant's, informed her, that she need not leave said house, where she remained in great poverty and distress, until the king's troops arrived; after which time some of the officers, from motives of compassion, supplied this examinant with provisions. This examinant saith, that the loss she sustained by having her house plundered of household furniture, and other valuable articles, amounts to between five and six hundred pounds, exclusive of the money and notes her said husband was plundered of at Enniscorthy aforesaid. This examinant saith, that her late husband, by his livings and his agency from the right honourable lord Monck, including the glebe-house

House and lands at Ferns aforesaid, enjoyed a yearly income of six hundred pounds and upwards.

CATHARINE HEYDON:

Sworn before me, this 31st day of August, 1798,

THOMAS FLEMING, lord mayor of the city of Dublin.

Part of a conversation which Lewis Bulger had with Mrs. Heydon, after the death of her husband in Enniscorthy. He had lived fourteen years with her as butler, and was very active in plundering her house at Ferns as soon as the rebellion broke out.

A FEW days after the death of Mr. Heydon, and while Mrs. Heydon was in the utmost distress in Enniscorthy, Lewis Bulger visited her, told her he would save her jaunting-car, and convey her in it to her own house; she said she had no house, as it belonged to the bishop, until he appointed another incumbent. "The bishop!" said Bulger with much contempt; "the bishop has no house now, it may be mine, or that man's," pointing to a pikeman who sat in the room; "but the bishop has nothing to do with it; there will be no laws now, for in about three months, every thing will be settled in a much better way than they were." He told her, that she might live happily again in her own house, provided she would become a Roman catholic, and be surrounded by none but by persons of that religion. She answered, that she had charity for persons of every religion, but that she would live and die in the faith in which she was brought up. Bulger then said, you are liable to be shot if you appear in the street; there will be but one religion on the face of the earth; this is all the handywork of God, and as a proof of the divine interposition in favour of the rebellion, he said, "Father John Murphy catches red-hot bullets in his hand."* If a priest were to bless a piece of meat, the most hungry dog would not touch it; this is a common opinion among the lower class of papists: A priest can bring a lighted candle out of a tub of water: He said to her, sure you won't remain there; she answered, that she had no house to go to, but that she hoped soon to meet his master in heaven: On which he observed, "I will promise you, that you will never meet him there?"

What

* All the priests actively concerned in the rebellion endeavoured to persuade their flock that they could do so.

What can be expected from a populace drenched with such superstitious and deleterious doctrines; and who believe that their priests can suspend and counteract the operations of nature! What a fruitful source of treason must that opinion be, that the divine will was visible in favour of a rebellion, formed for the prostration of the protestant state, and the exclusive establishment of the popish religion, by which alone the mass of the papists believe they can be saved!

4.

County of the city of Dublin, } THE information of Ed-
to wit. } ward Stacey, of Tomgara, in
 the county of Wexford, farmer, who being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, maketh oath, and saith, That he, this informant, was taken prisoner at his own house at Tomgara aforesaid, by four rebels armed with muskets and spears, on the sixteenth day of June, 1798; and that having led informant to a solitary place, about a mile and a quarter from his house, one of the said rebels asked informant of what religion he was, to which informant replied, he was born and bred a protestant; on which one of the said rebels asked informant, whether he did not know that while his body was creeping on earth, that the souls of him and all his sort were burning in hell? Informant saith, that he answered said rebel by telling him he believed no such thing. Informant saith, he was then led by said rebels to a deep marl pit which was full of water, and then that one of said rebels asked informant whether he could swim, and that he should have his choice of leaping into said pit, or of being shot; to which informant replied, that he would not be accessory to his own death. Informant saith, that one of the said rebels asked him in what he believed; to which informant replied, that he believed in the great God that made the heavens and earth; on which the said rebel asked informant, whether he believed that the virgin Mary was blessed above all women; to which informant replied, that he believed she was. Informant having answered, because it was left on record, that all generations should call her blessed; and that the said rebel said thereon, "You vagabond, how should you know what was left on record?" Informant saith, that the said rebels then compelled him to go on his knees with his back turned towards

towards them; and that one of the said rebels then fired a musket at informant, charged with a ball, which ball entered at informant's rump, and passed through his private parts. Informant saith, he fell to the ground as if dead; that his wife, having heard the shot, came up to him, and had informant carried to his own house, where he continued confined to his bed for six weeks, and at length recovered, though informant had not the assistance of a doctor or a surgeon. Informant saith, that the rebels deprived him of his arms on the twenty-eighth day of May preceding. Informant saith, that his nephew, Benjamin Stacey, was shot in the rebel camp on Vinegar-hill for being a protestant; and that George Stacey, the son of informant, was killed at Vinegar-hill aforesaid, for the same reason. Informant saith, that of the four rebels who took informant prisoner as aforesaid on the sixteenth day of June, Edward Sinnot was the only person he knew; that informant was the near neighbour of said Sinnot, and had been in a state of friendship with him; and yet the said Edward Sinnot was the person who shot informant as before mentioned. Informant saith, he verily believes that twenty-three protestants were massacred on account of their religion, and for no other reason, within one mile and a half of the house of informant; and that the following persons were among those who were so massacred: John Clifford of Castle Annesley, esquire, John Lord, his servant, James Johnson, Robert Johnson, Robert Aston, William Abraham, John Colburne, William Johnson, James Shaw, Charles Ormsby, Eyre Ormsby, John Johnson, Elizabeth Stacey, sister-in-law of informant, George Greenlee, Margaret Greenlee his sister, Henry Rousom, Robert Aire, Edward Earle, Joseph Aston.

EDWARD STACEY,

Sworn before me, 24th of August, 1798.

THOMAS FLEMING,

Lord mayor of the city of Dublin.

5.

A copy of Mrs. Margaret Hunt's petition, whose husband, a lieutenant in the Enniscorthy yeomanry, was murdered at Vinegar-hill.

THAT her husband, fighting against the rebels at Enniscorthy on the twenty-eighth of May, 1798, was wounded
in

in the morning of said day by a gun-shot in the belly, and on the said day received seven wounds in his head, three in his body, and one in his arm.

That having in part recovered the several wounds of said twenty-eighth instant, he was on the day following seized and taken out of his bed by said rebels, one of whom ran up and fired a loaded pistol at him, by which he fell; another, supposing him not killed, fired a second pistol, and a third fired at him, while down, with a musket.

That having survived all this barbarous and cruel treatment, he was dragged from his bed by said rebels, and was afterwards confined with petitioner in a cold guard-house for nine days, where they had no bed, and but little food.

That from thence he was dragged to the rebel camp at Vinegar-hill; from thence to a prison near said hill, where he was shot; that after his body lay exposed on the publick high road for many days, not being suffered by said rebels to be buried or given up to petitioner.

MARGARET HUNT.

Sworn before me, 29th July, 1798,

RICHARD NEWTON KING;

And verified on oath by her and the reverend Joshua Nunn, vicar of Enniscorthy, who swears he was an eye-witness of a great part of the said savage treatment.

[No. 200, archives of the house of commons.]

6.

County of Wexford,
to wit.

EDWARD ST. LEGER of Brompton, in the county of Wexford, having been duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, deposeth and saith, That on the first day of June last, he was made a prisoner by a party of rebels, and brought to the old wind-mill on Vinegar-hill, in said county, and which the rebels used as a prison. That he remained in said prison about half an hour, when he was released at the intercession of one Penlon. Deponent saith, as he was leaving the prison, he saw a man sitting on the ground without clothes, with a bit of a ragged blanket thrown over him, that he never saw so horrible a sight, that his eyes

eyes were out, his head and body swelled, his cheeks covered with ulcers; that on deponent's exclaiming, "My God! what miserable object is that?" the man attempted to speak, but was unable to articulate, and from the sounds he uttered, deponent believes his tongue had been cut out. Deponent saith, that a rebel with arms in his hands, who deponent believes was one of the guard, told deponent that the man was under punishment, and mentioned something of a slow death; meaning, as deponent believes, that the wretched object was condemned to suffer a slow death.

EDWARD ST. LEGER.

Sworn before me, this 10th day of January, 1799,

JOHN W. LYSTER.

7.

County of Wexford,
to wit.

THE information of John Pickering, of the Shelmaliere yeomen cavalry, who being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, deposeth and saith, That on or about the second of June last, about mid-day, a large body of rebels appeared near the town of Enniscorthy, and in a field of Mr. Beal's immediately joining the road, that amongst others he saw a man, commonly called Gray Thomas, a protestant, who lived at Newcastle, near the house of Mr. John Hay, and that he saw the said Mr. Hay make a desperate stroke of a sword at the said Gray Thomas, without any provocation that informant could hear, which stroke divided a considerable portion of his skull, and that immediately afterwards a shot was fired by a person * unknown at the said Gray Thomas, of which he immediately died; but informant is of opinion, that the first wound he received from the sword of said John Hay would have proved mortal; and informant further saith, that, upon the murder being committed, the rebels shouted and exclaimed that they had put one devil out of the world; after which Mr. Hay addressed the rebels, in words to the following effect: "Boys,

VOL. II.

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* Laurence Furlong was convicted of this crime at the Spring assizes of Wexford, 1801, and hanged. It was proved on said trial, that John Hay (the prisoners having been led out of Beal's barn for execution), said, that they would not have luck or grace while a protestant was left alive; on which Gray Thomas approached him with his hat off, and expressed a hope that he would protect him, as he had been his friend and neighbour; and that thereon he said, By G—d, I will protect you, and instantly cleft his skull. That then he asked, was there no person to finish the fellow? on which L. Furlong knelt down, and shot him through the heart with a musket; for which the popish multitude applauded him with acclamations.

if there is any among you of the same profession (meaning, as informant declares, a protestant) put him to death immediately ; and if you know any of you to harbour or protect one, I will myself put such person to death, for they will betray you hereafter." And informant further saith, that during the whole of this transaction he was not above six or seven yards from the said John Hay, being detained a prisoner by the rebels.

JOHN PICKERING.

Sworn before me, this 28th December, 1798,

being first duly read to him,

NATHANIEL CAVENAGH,

a magistrate.

Witness present,

ARM. BROWNE,

First lieutenant Shelmalier cavalry.

8.

An authentic account of the behaviour, conduct and confession, of James Beaghan, who was executed on Vinegar-hill, on Saturday the twenty-fourth day of August, 1799 : taken before Christian Wilson, esquire, high sheriff of the county of Wexford, and J. H. Lyfter, esquire, one of the justices of the peace for the said county.

THE day but one before his execution, two popish priests went to visit him, and upon their entering his cell, he exclaimed against them in these words : " Begone from me, you accursed, who have been the cause of my eternal damnation ; for were it not for you, I never would have been guilty of murder."—Having so said, he turned from them, and requested that they might be put out ; and in some short time after, he requested that captain Boyd might be sent for, to whom he made the following confession :

I, James Beaghan, acknowledge and confess that I am guilty of the crime for which I am to suffer ; but that I did not commit it from ill-will to the people that were murdered, but from the order of * Luke Byrne ; I could not disobey him—no person dare refuse to obey the orders of the commanders. I am sure that any man in command could save the lives of the poor ; every man that was a protestant was called an orangeman, and every one was to be killed, from the poorest man in the country. Before the rebellion, I never heard there was any hatred between Roman catholicks

* Luke Byrne, a priest, and a commander in the rebel army.

tholicks and protestants, they always lived peaceably together. I always found the protestants better masters and more indulgent landlords than my own religion; during the rebellion, I never saw any one interfere to prevent murder, but one Byrne, who saved a man. I think all that were present were as guilty as those that perpetrated the murders. It was thinking that we were all equally guilty, that prevented me from flying the country. The women were numerous, and were as bad as the men. The rebels treated the prisoners with great severity, very different from the way that I have been used in goal. They thought it no more a sin to kill a protestant than a dog; had it not been that they were so soon quashed, they would have fought with each other for the property of the protestants. They were beginning before the battle of Vinegar-hill. Ever since the rebellion I never heard one of the rebels express the least sorrow for what was done; on the contrary, I have heard them say, they were sorry that whilst they had the power they did not kill more, and that there were not half enough killed. I know that the rebels were determined to rise if the French should come; and I believe they did not give up half their arms. There are guns, bayonets and pikes hid in the country.

* Now, gentlemen, remember what I tell you: If you and the protestants are ever in the power of the catholicks again, as they are now in yours, they will not leave one of you alive; you will all go smack smooth; even those who campaigned with them, if things had gone well with them, would in the end have been killed. I have heard them say so many times.

Taken before us, August 23, 1799, his
JAMES + BEAGHAN,
mark.

CHRISTIAN WILSON, *Sheriff.*

J. H. LYSTER, *justice of the peace.*

(A copy.)

Having arrived at the place of execution, captain Boyd brought him aside, and read his confession, and asked him if it was correctly taken down, to which he answered in the affirmative. Just as the executioner was about to turn him

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* From this mark Beaghan spoke without having been asked any questions, and with an earnestness and in a manner that shewed his sincerity.

him off, he called out saying, "Stop!" and lifting up his cap, said with a very loud voice, "Captain Boyd, you have taken down my confession perfectly correct; if it was not for the priests I never would have been guilty of murder, nor have dragged five unfortunate persons out of the wind-mill to be murdered." Amongst these five, were the sons of old Minchin the carpenter.

9.

A list of some of the protestants massacred in the diocese of Ferns and county of Wexford, specifying the parish or townland where they resided and were killed, with an account of many atrocities. The surviving sufferers made application to the commissioners appointed by parliament for part of the fund appropriated for their relief, and their loss was substantiated by their own affidavit and that of the parish minister, and was certified by their landlord and by a neighbouring magistrate. Such affidavits were numerically registered in the archives of the house of commons. The number in the left column refers to the number of the affidavit.

No. Samuel Atkin, tide-waiter at Wexford, massacred at 69 the bridge of Wexford.

James Austin of Ballyadams murdered; left a wife and six children.

James Aston of Kilmuckridge murdered there.

47 Reverend Thomas Troke, curate, murdered on Vinegar-hill first of June, his widow in a state of derangement from her misfortunes; one of her children was starved to death, and another died from the same cause.

2 William Daniel, surveyor, murdered on the bridge of Wexford twentieth of June, 1798, left a widow and seven children in the utmost distress.

3 Middleton Robson, excise officer, murdered same time and place.

5 Reverend Arthur Conolly, his house and all his property destroyed.

7 Reverend Simon Little, reduced to the utmost want and indigence with his wife and four children, by the destruction of all his property at Killan.

44 Lieutenant Carden of the Scarawallh yeomen infantry, killed the twenty-eighth of May, 1798, in defence of Enniscorthy.

- 36 John Clarke, weaver, massacred on the bridge of Wexford, twentieth of June.
- 58 John Smyth, hatter, do. do.
- 58 Thomas Crane, hosier, do. do.
- 58 Abraham Henesy, do. do.
- 69 Kenneth Mathewson, do. do.
- 58 Thomas Ganford, do. do.
- 69 George Tully, clothier, do. do.
- 69 Richard Whitney, farmer, do. do.
- 60 Reverend Ulysses Jacob, curate, obliged to fly on Whitfunday from the parish of Donamore.
- 69 Edward Turner, esquire, a magistrate, murdered at the bridge of Wexford twentieth June, 1798.
- 78 Robert Earl, murdered near Arklow, and all his property destroyed.
- 101 Jane Restwicke swore, that her husband was burned at Scullabogue.
- 102 Elizabeth Powel swore, her husband was burned at do.
- 113 Mary Reel swore, her husband was burned at do.
- 114 Frances Tweedy swore, her husband was burned at do.
- 121 Ann Barrett swore, her husband was shot through mistake by a Hessian, while standing at his door.
- 123 Ann McCoy swore, her husband was shot on the bridge of Wexford.
- 124 John Giffard swore, that his father, Milward Giffard, surveyor of excise, was shot at Scullabogue.
- 122 Susanna Turner swore, her husband, Samuel Turner, a school-master at Taghmon, was shot at Scullabogue.
- 134 Eliza Box swore, her husband was murdered by the rebels near the Carrig ferry-bridge, the thirty-first May, 1798.
- 131 Henry Roe, M. D. was obliged to fly from Gorey when colonel Walpole was defeated, and had all his property destroyed.
- 145 John Hatchel, hatter, massacred at the bridge of Wexford.
- 158 David Dalton, gauger, of the Enniscorthy yeomanry, was murdered at Wexford.
- 159 ——— Tomkin, of Ballygullen, was murdered by the rebels.
- 169 Robert Miller, of Tintern, burned at Scullabogue.

- 170 David Cruin, of Tintern, burned at Scullabogue.
- 171 Thomas Power, and his son aged 15 years, do. do.
- 172 John Pierſon, ſhoe-maker, burned or ſhot at do.
- 173 Patrick Power, maſon, do. do.
- 174 George Smith, ſlater, do. do.
- 175 Joſhua Box, weaver, and ſon aged 12 years do. do.
- 176 Samuel Boyce, ſhoe-maker, do. do.
- 177 George Boyce, butcher, do. do.
- 178 George Canney, weaver, do. do.
- 179 James Duſfield, do. do.
- 180 Thomas Eakins, do. do.
- 181 James Carlisle, labourer, do. do.
- 184 Reverend James Morgan, rector of Horetown, was driven out of the county, with a large family, and deprived of ſubſiſtence.
- 190 Robert Wheatley's ſon was murdered at the church of Gorey.
- 270 The Reverend George Howſe, rector of the union of Inch in the dioceſe of Dublin and county of Wexford, was obliged to fly from his houſe to ſave his life, which the rebels plundered to the amount of four hundred pounds. His wife, three ſons and three daughters, fled without any clothes but what they had on their backs.
- 274 Mary Rigly ſwore, her husband was murdered by the rebels the 29th of May, at Enniſcorthy, and her houſe, offices, and all her property deſtroyed.
- 275 Lucy Hunter ſwore, her husband, William Hunter, was murdered ſame time, and her houſe and property deſtroyed at Enniſcorthy.
- 276 Peter Bates, of Monart, farmer, ſwore his houſe, offices, and all his property, were conſumed by the rebels, who murdered his two brothers, two brothers-in-law and one uncle, the twenty-eighth of May, 1798, all of Templehambo.
- 277 Frances Gill of Monglaſs ſwore, her husband John Gill, farmer, was murdered on Vinegar-hill the twenty-ninth of May, her houſe and property deſtroyed, and ſhe, with ſix children, reduced to great want.
- 278 Alice Butler of Marley ſwore, her husband, Richard Butler, was murdered at Enniſcorthy the twenty-eighth of May, for his loyalty; his houſe, offices, &c. burned, and ſhe and three children reduced to want.

- 280 Joseph Hawkins of Fairfield, murdered on Vinegar-hill for his loyalty, his house, offices, &c. burned, and his wife and three children reduced to want, do.
- 283 William Simmons, of Shanraul, burnt at Scullabogue, fifth of June, his widow and three children reduced to want.
- 284 Thomas Whitty, of Rattfilla, shot at do. do.
- 285 Samuel Simmons, burnt at do. do.
- 291 John Hogan, an opulent shop-keeper, imprisoned by the rebels at Wexford, and his house plundered to the amount of 1000l.
- 294 Reverend Roger Owen, lost to the amount of 700l. and he, his wife, and seven children reduced to the utmost want, at Camolin.
- 295 John Harries, of Gorey-hill land, murdered by the rebels.
- 297 Robert Burkett of Enniscorthy, plundered to the amount of 1263l.
- 298 Reverend William Hinson, curate of Enniscorthy, deprived of means of subsistence.
- 304 Jane Hatton, of Hollywood, swore, her father, Henry Hatton, deputy portrieve of Enniscorthy, was murdered on Vinegar-hill, sooner than change his religion.
- 328 John Whitney, of Oldcourt, was shot at Scullabogue, of the parish of Adamstown.
- 329 William Neile, had one brother shot, and another burnt at Scullabogue, and Robert Parslow's father was shot, and his brother burnt at do. do.
- 300 William Dobbyn, of Myster, with his father and two brothers, were burnt at Scullabogue.
- 331 Elizabeth Dobbyn, widow of James Dobbyn, of Old court, burnt at do. do.
- 322 Patrick Dobbyn, of do. do.
- 360 Mary Store, swore, her husband, James Store, of Windmill, near Wexford, was dragged from his house to Three Rock camp, and shot there.
- 366 Jane Rath, of Jamestown, swore, her husband, Joseph Rath, was murdered at Enniscorthy for his loyalty, parish of Rosldroit.
- 371 Margaret Shaw, of Clough, swore, her husband, Abraham Shaw, was killed by the rebels.
- 390 Rebecca Colebyrne, of Ballnastra, swore, her husband was

- was murdered the thirtieth of May, of Monomolin parish.
- 382 George Abraham, of Ballyedmond, murdered by the rebels, the second of June.
- 392 Henry Johnston, of Balmurtra, murdered on Whitfun Sunday, of the parish of Monomolin.
- 395 Mary Rowfom, of Cullentragh, swore, her husband, a weaver, was murdered by the rebels, of the parish of Monomolin.
- 429 John Oaks, gardener, of Hawtrey White, esquire, of Peppard's castle, murdered on Whitfun Sunday.
- 434 Thomas Thoruton, coachmaker, of Taghmon, murdered in the beginning of the rebellion.
- 435 John Boyd, esquire, murdered at Wexford.
- 442 Reverend Richard Radcliffe, rector of Whitechurch, plundered by the rebels, and deprived of subsistence.
- 445 Robert Johnstone, of the Ballaghkeene cavalry, killed in a battle near Carnew, the thirtieth of June.
- 450 Edward Slye, shop-keeper, murdered at Enniscorthy, twenty-eighth of May, of St. Mary's parish.
- 452 John Plumer, white smith and yeoman, wounded, and afterwards murdered at Enniscorthy, twenty-eighth of May, of St. Mary's parish.
- 454 Thomas Oaks, of Enniscorthy, publican, murdered on Vinegar-hill, the thirtieth of May.
- 455 Francis Monk, and his son Edward, massacred at Scullabogue, of Rossfarland.
- 456 William Jordan, of Foulkes-mill, shot at Scullabogue, of do.
- 457 John Eakins and his son, Thomas, burnt at do.; left a widow and five children, of do.
- 458 Thomas McDonnell, steward of Mr. Leigh, M. P. massacred at Scullabogue, left a widow and six children, of Rossfarland.
- 459 William Gray, weaver, and son, seventeen years old, both murdered at Scullabogue; left a widow and four children destitute.
- 460 John Magrath's daughter, of Ballybrack, aged eighteen years, was shot by the rebels; he, his wife, and six children reduced to want.
- 461 Richard Davis, of St. John's, burnt at Scullabogue; left a widow and six children.

- 462 Joseph Stannard, and Mary, his wife, both burned at do. ; left six children, of do.
- 463 Owen Field, weaver, massacred at do. ; left a widow and six children, of do.
- 464 John Lindsay, aged twenty-one, and William, his brother, aged nineteen, burnt at do. of Clongeen.
- 466 John Moran, aged twenty years, massacred at do. ; left a mother and five children, younger than him, in want and misery, of do.
- 543 Mary Edmonds, of Rathaspeck, union of Wexford, swore, her husband, John Edmonds, was murdered by the rebels, and left four children.
- 548 John Chamley, burnt at Scullabogue, of Horetown.
- 549 Samuel Hall, yeoman, of Templeshannon, killed at Enniscorthy the twenty-ninth of May ; left a widow and four small children, of St. Mary's.
- 550 Henry Reason, a quaker, shot at Scullabogue, left a widow and two children.
- 551 William Fanner, burnt at do. left a widow and three children, of do.
- 552 John Crumpin, yeoman, in the Scarawallh corps, murdered the twenty-fifth of July ; left a widow and three children, of Drumgold.
- 556 Edward Byron, burnt at Scullabogue ; left a widow and two children, of Horetown.
- 557 Joseph Power, do. do. left a widow and children, of do.
- 561 Joseph Turpin, murdered by the rebels in cold blood, at Foulks's-mill, on the fifth of June ; left four orphan children, of do.
- 567 George Fisher, murdered the twenty-fourth of June ; left a widow and four children, of Mothel and Dysart.
- 568 Anne Tracy, swore her son was killed by the rebels, who was her only support ; she is a widow with seven children, of do.
- 588 Margaret Tugman, swore, her husband, William Tugman, a weaver of Enniscorthy, was killed by the rebels, and left eight children.
- 589 Francis Plumer, of Enniscorthy, murdered on the bridge of Wexford, the twentieth of June ; left a widow and four children.
- 594 Benjamin Stacey, murdered the first of June, on Vinegar-hill ; left a widow and four children, of Templeshannon.

- 595 William Power, of Enniscorthy, murdered the first of June, on do. ; left a widow and four children, of St. Mary's.
- Samuel Radwell, killed at Enniscorthy, the twenty-eighth of May, in battle, of Rosfdroit.
- Andrew Radwell, murdered the thirtieth of May, at David's town.
- 1824 Anne Caulfield, her husband murdered at Oulart.
- William Hawkins killed at Enniscorthy.
- Six of that name and family were murdered, a father, five legitimate, and one natural son.
- 597 George Stacey of Enniscorthy, wheelwright, murdered at Vinegar-hill ; widow and six children left.
- 598 Joseph Mackins, schoolmaster of Enniscorthy, murdered on Vinegar-hill ; widow and three children left.
- 599 Thomas Walkins, farmer, of Clonjordan, murdered on Vinegar-hill, thirty-first of May ; widow and one child left.
- 600 James Campbell, and son, murdered on Vinegar-hill ; a widow and four children left.
- 602 Thomas Simpson, linen-weaver, murdered on do. ; a widow and two children left.
- 606 William Caslin murdered on Vinegar-hill, thirty-first of May ; a widow and six children, and an infirm mother-in-law left.
- 609 John Croshaw, murdered at Enniscorthy, twenty-eighth of May ; a widow left.
- 612 William Carrol, murdered on Vinegar-hill, thirty-first of May ; a widow and seven children left.
- Mary Maud, widow, her son killed on do. twenty-ninth of May, of Craken, Enniscorthy.
- 616 Samuel Crumpton, killed at Enniscorthy, thirtieth of May, of do. a widow and eight children left.
- 620 Samuel Barber, of Clevas, murdered, twenty-eighth of May ; a widow and five children left, parish of Enniscorthy.
- 622 Charles Cooper, brazier, murdered near Wexford, first June ; widow and two small children, and she pregnant.
- 623 Benjamin Sunderland, hatter, of Enniscorthy, murdered on the bridge of Wexford, twentieth of June ; widow and five children left.
- 627 Eliza Pepper, of Tincurry, a son killed by the rebels,

- bels, she a widow, and seven children left, parish of Ferns.
- 628 Patrick Connor, murdered on Vinegar-hill, thirtieth of May; widow and one child left, of Enniscorthy.
- 630 John Baubier, of Finchoge, near Enniscorthy, killed the twenty-eighth of May; three small motherless children left.
- 631 James Rigley, murdered, thirtieth of May, on Vinegar-hill, a wigmaker and a Chelsea pensioner; widow and three small children left, of Enniscorthy.
- 632 Thomas Hall, murdered on Vinegar-hill, fourteenth of June; a widow and nine children left, of Enniscorthy.
- 633 William Baubier, of Enniscorthy, murdered twentieth of June, on the bridge of Wexford; widow and two children left.
- 634 John Hawkins, murdered, twenty-eighth of May, at Enniscorthy, of Tomakippeen; widow, three daughters, and one grand-child left.
- 635 James Sutton, of Clonmore, murdered, fourteenth of June, on Vinegar-hill; a widow, one child, father and mother left, of Enniscorthy.
- 637 John Smith, murdered at Enniscorthy, twenty-ninth of May; a hatter; a widow helpless, aged seventy-nine, left, of Enniscorthy.
- 639 Samuel Oakes of Finchoge, killed at Enniscorthy.
- 640 Michael Sutton, murdered, thirtieth of May, at Enniscorthy, of Finchoge; a widow and six children left.
- 643 John Copeland, killed twenty-eighth of May, at Enniscorthy, of Enniscorthy.
- 645 John Larkin, of Enniscorthy, killed by the rebels.
- 648 Walter Green, shoemaker, murdered at Enniscorthy, twenty-eighth of May; a widow and four children left, of Enniscorthy.
- 656 Margaret Dixy, of Enniscorthy, two sons killed for their loyalty.
- 657 Joseph Copeland, murdered on Vinegar-hill, twenty-first of June, parish of Kilcormuck.
- 659 William Willis, corn-merchant, of Enniscorthy, murdered on Vinegar-hill, twentieth of June.
- 660 Edward Sly, of Blackstoop, farmer, murdered at Enniscorthy, twenty-eighth of May, parish of Enniscorthy.

- 662 William Mooney, innkeeper, murdered, first of June, near Wexford; widow pregnant, and four small children left, of Enniscorthy.
- 676 Thomas Crowley, shoemaker, killed at Enniscorthy, twenty-eighth of May; widow and five children left, of Ferns.
- 678 William Richardson, parish clerk and schoolmaster of Ferns, killed at Enniscorthy, twenty-eighth of May; widow and five children left.
- 683 James White, nailer, killed at Ros, fifth of June; widow and seven children left.
- 710 William Sherlock, of Monart, farmer, murdered the twenty-eighth of May; four motherless children left.
- 722 John Whiteacre, of Gorey, murdered.
- 729 Hannah Walker, of Killinahue, near Gorey, her husband murdered on Whitsunday, and she fled and left her property; two children left.
- 730 Robert Webster, of Garrybrit, murdered in cold blood on the bridge of Enniscorthy; left a widow and eleven children, property burned, his eldest son in Ballakeen cavalry, parish of Kilcormuck.
- 731 Eliza Crane, her husband killed on the bridge of Wexford, twentieth of June.
- 738 Cornelius Hogan, of Gorey, killed by the rebels.
- 749 George Horneck, of Girrane, two sons killed, one between Enniscorthy and Wexford, the other shot at Enniscorthy, thirtieth of May. His son-in-law, George Cooper, was also murdered, his house burned and property destroyed, parish of Killahe. His brother Philip murdered on Vinegar-hill.
- 748 William Neal, two sons killed, one on Vinegar-hill, and one at Scullabogue, of Ballybrennan.
- 778 Eliza Bates, her husband killed the fourth of June, 1798, parish of Camolin.
- 857 Jane Maud, her husband and two sons killed; nine children left, parish of Clough.
- 866 Anne Maule, her uncle murdered, parish of Clough.
- 933 Mary Murphy, of Tomgara, her husband killed; two children left, parish of Killincooly.
- 936 Anne Johnson, her husband, son, and apprentice, murdered, of Gorey.
- 958 Alice Kennedy, her husband killed, parish of Clough.
- 986 Anne Piper, her husband killed, parish of Clone.

- 996 Anne Hendrick, her husband and son killed ; three children left, parish of Clone.
- 1002 Catherine Crofts, her husband murdered, at Enniscorthy, twenty-eighth of May ; four children left, of Clone.
- 1009 Jane Cooke, her husband killed at Ballatigan.
Reverend Mr. Pentland, a protestant clergyman, murdered on Vinegar-hill, he was a resident at Killan parish
- 1001 Alice Butler, her husband killed, twenty-eighth of May, at Enniscorthy, parish of Templehambo.
- 1015 Margaret Stanford, of Tubberneering, her husband killed ; five children left.
- 1072 Jane Gibson, her husband murdered on the bridge of Wexford ; twenty-first of June ; two children left, of Wexford.
- 1094 Eliza Ellison, husband killed ; six children left, parish of Killan.
- 1098 Mary Byron, her god-father, mother, uncle, and husband, murdered at New Ross.
- 1010 Jane Warren, her husband murdered at New Ross, her eldest son gone mad.
- 1126 Susanna Whitney, her son murdered on the bridge of Wexford, parish of New Ross.
- 1130 Anne Vero, of Verona, her husband, Charles Vero, esquire, a magistrate murdered at Enniscorthy, of Rossdroit.
- 1134 Alice Foxton, of Kyle, her husband murdered, twenty-second of June, near Gorey ; three children left.
- 1136 Sarah Hinch, her husband murdered near Gorey, parish of Killnechew.
- 1137 Mary Lord, of C. Annesly, her husband murdered at Kilmuckridge ; six children left.
- 1143 Sarah Hubster, her husband murdered ; five children left, parish of Killnechew.
- 1144 Eliza Bass, her husband, Joseph, murdered fourth of June ; two children left, parish of Gorey.
- 1146 Mary Whitty, her father murdered at Enniscorthy, twenty-eighth of May, of St. Mary's parish.
- 1152 Elizabeth Dormer, her husband murdered ; four children left, of St. Mary's parish.
- 1156 Margaret Goodeson, her husband killed at Enniscorthy ; nine children and mother left, of Kilcormuck.

- 1158 Mary Johnston, of Garane, her husband killed fourth June; one child and mother left, parish of Kilmuckridge.
- 1160 Elizabeth Comerford, of Kyle, her husband killed; five children left, of Kilmuckridge.
- 1194 Mary Edwards, her husband burned at Scullabogue; one child left, of Kilavin.
- 1202 Mary Ralph, her husband killed; twenty-eighth of May, at Enniscorthy; seven children left, of Ferns.
- 1203 Alice Brownrigg, father murdered; five children left, of New Ross.
- 1211 Catharine Warren, her husband murdered; two children left, of Ballycanew.
- 1215 Anne Saunders, her father and mother murdered, of Ballycanew.
- 1217 Esther Croshaw, her husband and three sons murdered, verified by the reverend Joshua Nunn, of Rosdroit.
- 1255 Elizabeth Walth, of Carrigeen, her husband killed twenty-eighth of May, at Enniscorthy; one child left.
- 1269 Anne Love, her husband murdered, parish of Ballycanew.
- 1272 Esther Hawkins, her husband murdered, fifth of June, near Enniscorthy; three children left, of Templeshannon.
- 1274 Susanna McDaniel, of Daphne, husband, William, murdered twenty-eighth of May, at Enniscorthy; four children left, of Rosdroit.
- 1280 Elizabeth Sparrow's husband, of Templeshannon, murdered on Vinegar-hill, twentieth of June; two children left.
- 1284 Mary Hatton's husband, of Enniscorthy, murdered on Vinegar-hill, was portrieve of Enniscorthy, of St. Mary's.
- 1288 Mary Sparrow's husband, Henry, of Enniscorthy, murdered on Vinegar-hill, thirtieth of May, of St. Mary's.
- 1289 Agnals McDaniel, of Ballygeffen, husband murdered on Vinegar-hill, thirtieth of May; five children left.
- 1296 Sarah Ganford, of Monglass, husband murdered on Vinegar-hill, twenty-first of June.
- 1292 Mary Prescott, of Enniscorthy, husband murdered on Vinegar-hill, twentieth of June; five children left.

1300. Hannah Birt, of Enniscorthy, husband murdered there, twenty-eighth of May ; two children left.
- 1315 Elizabeth Jones, of Tincurry, husband murdered on Vinegar-hill, seventh of June ; six children left, parish of Ferns.
- 1319 Sarah Brickley, of Enniscorthy, husband murdered ; three children left.
- 1321 Martha Rath, of Enniscorthy, husband killed there ; one child left.
- 1322 Anne Warren, of Ballinbeg, husband killed, parish of Killan.
- 1336 Reverend Mr. Heydon, murdered in Enniscorthy, rector of Ferns.
- 1354 Elizabeth Beates, of Ballynamona, son-killed ; three children left, parish of Tomb.
- 1358 Elizabeth Butler, of Ballycomeclone, husband killed ; two children left.
- 1375 Mary Langrish, of Sandysford, husband killed at Gorey, in June ; three children left young.
- 1392 Jane Gordon, of Ballyduff, husband murdered on Wexford bridge, twentieth of June ; four children left, parish of Tomb.
- 1445 Catharine Taylor, husband killed ; five children left, parish of Camolin.
- 1463 Elinor M'Bryan, husband killed at Enniscorthy, twenty-fifth of June ; one child left, of Enniscorthy.
- 1464 Mary Saunders's husband, of Enniscorthy, murdered the thirtieth of May.
- 1467 John Stringer, killed at Enniscorthy by the king's troops, through a mistake.
- 1489 Sufanna Leech, of Enniscorthy, husband murdered first of June ; three children left.
- 1491 Anne Bint, of Enniscorthy, husband murdered, twenty-eighth of May.
- 1496 Anne Bassett, of Enniscorthy, wounded at Enniscorthy, twenty-eighth of May, and murdered on Vinegar-hill, thirtieth of May.
- 1497 Margaret Hawkins's husband, of Greenville, Enniscorthy, murdered on Vinegar-hill, seventh of June ; six children left.
- 1500 Thomas Daly, of Enniscorthy, miller and yeoman, two sons burned at Scullabogue, one twelve years old, the other fourteen.
- 1502 Mary Coplin's husband murdered on Vinegar-hill, thirtieth of May ; seven children left, of Edermine.

- 1504 Rebecca Darmond's husband, of Corrygrege, murdered on Vinegar-hill, twenty-ninth of May, parish of Templehambo.
- 1506 Elizabeth James, of Mangan, husband murdered at Enniscorthy, twenty-ninth of May; seven children left, of Templehambo.
- 1509 Mary Martin, of Oulart, husband murdered near Enniscorthy, first of June, parish of Kilcormuck.
- 1512^a Jane Whitney, of Tinnick, husband, Thomas, murdered near Enniscorthy, first of June, parish of Kilcormuck.
- 1517 Rebecca Mowles, of Craneful, husband murdered, twenty-ninth of May, in flying from Enniscorthy, to Rofs; two children left, parish of Clone.
- 1521 Anne Hawkins, husband murdered on Vinegar-hill, twenty-ninth of May; three children left, of Clone.
- 1526 Margaret Thomas's husband murdered at Enniscorthy, twenty-eighth of May, sexton to Ferns' church; four children left.
- 1566 Henrietta Parsons, of Gorey, husband killed near Carnew, thirtieth of June, of Gorey.
- 1577 Mary Lett, of Newtown, husband murdered; eight children left, parish of Kilmuckridge.
- 1579 Winifred Slator, of Smithfield, county of Dublin, husband murdered at Scullabogue.
- 1652 Hannah Pender, of Clough, husband murdered; four children left.
- 1667 Eliza Sutton, Enniscorthy, husband murdered at do. twenty-ninth May, three children left.
- 1672 Mary Brophy, of Curraghmore, husband murdered at Scullabogue, of Tintern.
- 1681 Eliza Austin, of Ballyadams, husband murdered; six children left.
- 1682 Eliza Frances, of Ballyadams, husband killed, six children left.
- 1698 Eliza Butler, husband killed, of Gorey cavalry, two children left, of Prospect.
- 1755 Elinor Johnson, husband murdered, four children left, parish of Kilrush.
- 1759 Ann Stephens, of Ballinree, husband taken prisoner 11th June, stripped almost naked, marched, after five days imprisonment, to Vinegar-hill, without hat or shoes, and shot there, carried first to Gorey, her father also killed, three children left, of Tomb.

1761 Mary

- 1761 Mary Hawkins, of Monart, husband murdered, three children left, of Monomolin.
- 1769 Mary Lord, of Monomolin, husband murdered, nine children left.
- 1771 Hannah Hawkins, of Enniscorthy, husband murdered near do. first June, four children left, of St. Mary's.
- 1807 Ann Griffin, husband murdered at Vinegar-hill, six children left, parish of Killan.
- 1808 Jane Donovan, of Tubbergall, husband John killed, three children left, parish of Kilcormuck.
- 1809 Mary Lawler of Wexford, killed at do. in a gun-boat, three children left.
- 1812 Mary Johnson, husband murdered, parish of Kil-muckridge.
- 1817 Mary Whitney of Adamstown, son John burned at Scullabogue, parish of Adamstown.
- 1829 Catherine Reynolds, of Monart, husband murdered at Enniscorthy.
- 1830 Catherine Murphy, of Enniscorthy, husband murdered at Vinegar-hill, thirtieth of May, of St. Mary's.
- 1831 Mary Farrel, of Enniscorthy, her son, one of the five murdered in Killoughrain wood.
- 1833 Juliana Pepper, son murdered eleventh June, on Vinegar-hill, parish of Killan.
- 1837 Mary Edwards, husband murdered at Vinegar-hill, parish of Wexford.
- 1841 Ann Ormsby, of Gorey, husband, father, brother, and three cousins, murdered.
- 542 William Butler, of Clough, three miles from Gorey, murdered, widow and three children left.
- 1630 Ann Christian, of Clobemon, husband murdered at Ballingale, at Mr. Turner's, with torture, left four children.
- 949 Mary Cane, of Clone, her husband murdered.
- 1277 Margaret Callister pursued and wounded at Enniscorthy by rebels, twenty-ninth May, and killed unknowingly by the king's troops, twenty-first June.
- Thomas M'Daniel, Joseph M'Daniel, murdered 20th May, of Rosfdroit.
- Henry Bistot murdered 28th May, at Enniscorthy.
- Jacob Minchin, wounded on 28th May, at Enniscorthy, afterwards murdered on Vinegar-hill.
- Richard Whealy, an old man of eighty-five years, murdered at his own door, of St. Mary, Enniscorthy.

Thomas Hall murdered, in presence of his wife, on Vinegar-hill, being first cruelly whipped with a scourge, composed of whipcord and twisted brass wire, of do.

Thomas Cavenagh endured the same treatment, and suffered in presence of his wife, of do.

628 Pat. Connors, killed on Vinegar-hill.

631 James Rigly murdered on Vinegar-hill, of do.

William Basset, do. do. of do.

Michael Furlong, do. do. being first cruelly scourged, do.

Edward Prescot, do. do. of St. Mary, Enniscorthy.

Thomas Robson, murdered on Vinegar-hill, of St. Mary, Enniscorthy.

William Sly, do. do. of do.

Thomas McBair, an officer on half pay, murdered on the hill, of do.

Richard Bennet, murdered near St. John's, of do.

Garret Murphy, murdered on the hill, of do.

Richard Murphy, murdered in Barony of Forth, of do.

Henry Drury, murdered in Templeshannon, of do.

Thomas Rigley, murdered and burned in the market-house of Enniscorthy.

Sarah Daly, wife of a yeoman, forced to Scullabogue and burned in the barn, of do.

William Daly, James Daly, only children of the above, burned with their mother in the barn, the eldest seventeen years, the other fourteen, of do.

John Plunket, senior, murdered at home, of do.

John Plunket, junior, yeoman, wounded in the attack on the town, afterwards thrown by the rebels from an upper window and killed, of do.

Jeremiah Smith murdered on the hill, of do.

John Smith do. do. of do.

Charles Taylor, revenue officer, murdered at Edermine, of do.

Joseph Smith, murdered on the hill, of do.

Benjamin Sunderland, murdered on the bridge of Wexford, of do.

William Moony, murdered on the road from Wexford to Enniscorthy, of do.

James Lett, do. of do.

Thomas Wilkinson, do. of do.

622 Charles Cooper, murdered near Castle-bridge, of do.
 Thomas Knight, killed in the engagement at Enniscorthy, of do.

John Brahee, murdered on the hill, of do.

Henry Bass, murdered fourth June, at Gorey.

James Wheatly, do. at do.

William Spencer, and William Walker, do. sixth of June, at do.

Thomas Jolly, George Reed, Michael Patchel, John Needham, Joshua Chease, William Hill, Henry Rogers, Joseph Reed, George Nicholson, George Cockell, William Bates, John Cooke, William Spencer, Humphrey Spencer, all murdered twenty-second June, at Gorey, called bloody Friday, with twelve more.

John Godkin, George and William Butler, Peter Clough, Stranford Clough, John Buttle, all killed at the battle of Ballyellis thirtieth June, of Kilbride.

Ralph Williams, murdered second July, at Gorey.

Robert Webster, Henry Kinch, do. twentieth June, at do.

William Buttle, do. twenty-third June, John Burke, John Ellis, John Fowler, murdered sixth June, at do.

Robert Maude, Jonathan Sadler, George Carley, George Thomas, John Bennett, protestants, killed in the union of Ardcolm, the church in Castle-bridge.

Two brothers of the name of Bateman, compelled by their landlord John Hay, to join the rebels, were killed by the king's troops, on their return from Vinegar-hill.

——— Stephens, of Castle-bridge, was killed there by the rebels on their first rising.

John Shee, burned at Scullabogue, of Ballybrazil.

William Jeffares, killed at the battle of Ross.

Richard Burrell, killed by the rebels in their retreat from Ross, of Mulrankin.

Hyacinth White, burned at Scullabogue, of do. do.

Isaac Jeffords, killed by the army, of do. do.

Peter Burb, Robert Burb, murdered on Wexford-bridge, of do.

Samuel Murphy, James Fannin, John Warren, George Piper, Joseph Henry, Thomas James, Samuel James, Robert Hughes, Michael Deacon, protestants, murdered in the parish of Killan.

Edward Dorman, shot fourth June, at Gorey.

William Prender, piked on Gorey-hill, at do.

William and Robert Bale, killed at do. twenty-second of June, of Rossmenouge.

James Dorman, do. of do.

Robert Mercy, killed tenth June, of Killtennell.

Robert Earl, do. twenty-second June, of Monomolin.

William Griffin, do. twenty-second do. of Ardemine.

Isaac Earl, piked on Vinegar-hill, of do.

John Feltis, piked on Gorey-hill, of Kilnahue parish.

John Tomkin, do. tenth June, on Limerick-hill, of do.

James Moore, do. ninth June, at Arklow-hill, of do.

William Inman, do. thirtieth June, at Ballyellis, of do.

—— Dowger, second July, piked on Gorey-hill, of do.

Roger Pierce, do. at Limerick-hill, of do.

John Maud and son, piked on Gorey-hill, of Clough.

John Shaw, do. of do.

William Debbin, do. of do.

Peter Stanford, do. thirtieth June, at Ballyellis, of do.

William Butler, do. thirtieth do. at do. of do.

William and Joseph Spencer, twenty-second June, of Killcaben.

John and George Hall, killed by Hacket's party, fifteenth October, of do.

John Lancaster, twenty-seventh May, of Kiltrish.

John Dangrell, do. of do.

Two Shaws, shot do. of do.

—— Grindly, and sister, shot do. of do.

Henry Johnson, of Killena; twenty-seventh May, of Donoughmore.

James Wrath, do. twenty-seventh May, of do.

Joseph Kennedy, twenty-second June, of Tomb.

Richard Errett, John Lee, John Sharp, of Clough, killed at Gorey, twenty-second of June.

Timothy Foxton, killed at Gorey, second June, of Kilcormuck.

—— James

James, father and son, murdered, striving to escape from Rofs, before the battle of Rofs.

Clement Gifford, piked to death, of Rofs.

Three gentlemen, messieurs Bartholomew Cliffe, Richard Elliot, and Richard Annesley, murdered at the Roar, of Rofs.

Two others, a father and a son, named Meany, were also murdered at a little distance in the county Kilkenny, of Rofs.

William Hoare, esquire, of Harperstown, captain Allen Cox, of Coolcliffe, piked on Wexford-bridge, twentieth of June.

William Eakins, of Slevoy, burned or shot at Scullabogue.

Robert Cook, butler to reverend Robert Hawkshaw, do.

Do. his wife murdered.

James White, of Taghmon, killed in Rofs.

Benjamin Green, of Coolstuff, murdered in Wexford.

Two men of the name of Esmond, William and Thomas, burned or shot at Scullabogue.

James Wade, mason of Coolstuff, burned at do.

Peter Standford, and William Butler, killed at Ballyellis, of Clough.

William Butler, at Gorey, twenty-second of June, of do.

William Dobbin, and Joseph Kennedy, twenty-second June, of do.

William Jones, fourth June, Thomas Fennel, twenty-second June, of do.

Richard Dugan, do. William Pendor, fourth do. Henry Rynehart, on Wexford-bridge, of do.

Reverend Mr. Burrowes, Joseph Aston, of Kilmuckridge.

Thomas Earl, and Edward Howlan Darcy, esquire, twenty-seventh May, of do.

James Eston, Henry Rath, Robert Johnston, of do.

Clement Goff, killed in cold blood on his own ground of Tomnaboly, parish of Kilcormuck.

Anne Escott, a poor old school-mistress, wife of a Chelsea pensioner, wantonly smothered with others, in a pump-hole, of do.

George

George Warren, murdered on Vinegar-hill, of Killan-

James Fannin, do. do. of do.

Allen Ellison, do. do. of do.

Thomas James, do. on the road to Ross, of do.

Reverend John Pentland, murdered on Vinegar-hill, of do.

James Wade, burned in the barn at Scullabogue, of do.

Samuel Cottom, shot at Scullabogue, of Adamstown,

John Cottom, do. do. of do.

John Whitney, do. do. of do.

John Parslow, murdered near his own house, of do.

Thomas Parslow, almost an idiot, murdered near his father's house, of do.

Shepherd Parslow, escaped from the first persecution to Ross, returned to make up his harvest, when he was horribly murdered by some of the rebellious banditti that infested the country, of do.

Thomas Bell, shot at Scullabogue, of Tintern.

David Besley, do. do. of do.

Miles Vaughan, do. do. of do.

William Reel, burned at do. in the barn, of do.

Walter Bassett, do. do. of do.

Thomas Kelly, burned at Scullabogue, of Tintern,

John Duffield, do. do. of do.

John Power, do. do. of do.

Jane Presley, do. do. of do.

Ann Presley, do. do. of do.

Walter Green, murdered on Vinegar-hill, St. Mary's, Enniscorthy.

William Owens, an aged man, his brains dashed out by an iron bar, of do.

John Larkin, do. in the barony of Forth, of do.

Henry Cookman, a gentleman deranged in mind, murdered in the street, of do.

J. Kenersley, murdered on the hill, an old man, of do.

John Hill, do. do. of do.

George Sparrow do. in the town of Wexford, of do.

John Clarke, do. in Enniscorthy of do.

Edward Flinn, do. of do.

John Walsh, do. of do.

Philip Annesley, do. on the hill, of do.

William Clampit, John Dixcy, John Farrell, John Crumpton, and James Peppar, yeomen, surprised and murdered near the woods of Killophoran, of do.

Thomas

Thomas Cook, murdered on the road from Wexford to Enniscorthy, of St. John's.

Joseph Grothier, do. on the hill, of do.

William Power, do. of do.

Saunders Fraim, forced by the rebels to Ross, and put in front of the battle where he was killed, of do.

J. English, burned in the barn at Scullabogue, of do.

James Trimble, do. of do.

J. Prescott, murdered in the town of Enniscorthy, of do.

Edward White, senior, esquire, do. at home, of do.

Edward White, junior, do. do. of do.

William Hawkins, murdered at Davidstown, of Templeshannon.

John White, esquire, do. on the hill, of do.

James Brickley, do. at Oulart, of do.

Samuel Brumpton, do. barony of Forth, of do.

John Brumpton, do. on the hill, of do.

Edward Hayes, do. do. of do.

Thomas Rath, do. at the fort of Duncannon, of do.

Samuel Hall, do. in the town of do.

Samuel Mills, missing, of do.

Mrs. Esmond, starved while the rebels held Enniscorthy, of do.

Edward Hawkins, murdered on the hill, of Ballinwisshard.

John Carton, do. do. of do.

Samuel Babier, do. on the hill, of do.

James Sutton, do. do. of do.

Miles Fraim, do. at Ballinmurrin, of do.

Thomas Watkins, do. at home, of Templeshambo.

Edward Watkins, do. of do.

John Stafford, do. of do.

Thomas Dormer, do. of do.

Roger Percival, murdered on the hill, of Templeshambo.

Joseph Brown, do. of do.

William Nanton, do. of do.

Richard Ganford, do. of do.

Stephen William Reynolds, do. on Vinegar-hill, of do.

George James, do. at home, of do.

Richard Coplin, do. do. of do.

John Hawkins, do. on hill, of do.

William

William Sherlock, do. at Enniscorthy, of do.

John Sherlock, do. do. of do.

John Pounden, esquire, first wounded in the engagement twenty-eighth May, then murdered, of do.

Samuel Murphy, murdered on Vinegar-hill, of Killan.

George Kearley, boat-builder, aged about seventy, a protestant, was dragged out of his house, put on his knees in his garden, where his brains were blown out; an innocent honest man.

William Thornton, coachmaker in Wexford, in endeavouring to make his escape to Waterford, taken near Taghmon, his eyes first piked out, and barbarously murdered the next day.

Protestant inhabitants of the parish of Ferns, murdered in the rebellion.

Thomas Bookey, esquire, lieutenant of the Camolin cavalry, killed by father John Murphy's party.

Reverend Francis Turner, rector of Edermine, murdered in his own house, of do.

Robert Ganford, farmer, Richard Ganford, his son, Richard Ganford, his nephew, Thomas Dowse, farmer, all murdered in the reverend Mr. Turner's house, all of do.

W. Richardson, parish clerk, F. Smith, ditto, R. Thackaberry, farmer, W. Rudd, farmer, T. Crofts, ditto, J. Crofts, his brother, J. Crofts, his nephew, all killed in Enniscorthy, the day of the first engagement, twenty-eighth of May, and all of do.

Roger Sparks, farmer, John Sinden, labourer, John Hawkins, farmer, Thomas Piper, farmer, Thomas Kendrick, farmer, Samuel Kendrick, ditto, his son, Samuel Crofts, farmer, William Kane, labourer, T. Mowles, farmer, all murdered on Vinegar-hill, of do.

John Pounder, farmer, John Sly, ditto, John Rickaby, linen weaver, Nicholas Jones, carpenter, John Mackee, gauger, all murdered in Vinegar-hill, of do.

John Berry, labourer, killed at Gorey, of do.

Philip Bacon, labourer, murdered on Wexford-bridge, of do.

George Graham, farmer and miller, murdered in his own house, of do.

Thomas Hawkins, and Edward Sly, farmers, killed in retreating to Duncannon Fort, of do.

Thomas

Thomas Wallis, labourer, killed at Ferns, of do.
 Francis Monk, murdered, of Horetown.
 Richard Davis, do. of do.
 Edward Monk, do. of do.
 J. Chamney, do. of do.

*Protestants who were murdered in the rebellion in the parish of
 Kilcormuck.*

Robert Webster, the nephew of Robert, senior, of Kilcormuck.

Holland Finley, Thomas Floyd, Roger Floyd, Thomas Floyd, Thomas Whitney, Samuel West, Samuel Judd, Benjamin Judd, Thomas Fogan, Ann Escott, George Kearley, all of Kilcormuck.

10.

*County of the city of Dublin,
 to wit.*

ANNE PIPER, alias Kendrick, widow of the late George Piper, came before

me this day, and made oath on the Holy Evangelists, and faith, That she and her late husband, George Piper, lived in the Parish of Clone, in the county of Wexford, where their house and offices were burned, and all their substance was destroyed by the rebels, on the twenty-ninth, or thirtieth of May, 1798, for no other reason, as she verily believes, except that they were protestants; for the property of all the loyal protestants in that county was destroyed. Depo-
 nent faith, that her said husband was taken prisoner between Vinegar-hill and Scullough's-bush, in said county, by a party of rebels, who conducted him to Vinegar-hill aforesaid, where the said rebels were then encamped; and that deponent and her said husband, with four children, remained there till next morning, viz. Thursday the thirty-first of May, 1798, when they were discharged, in consequence of an oath sworn by one Thomas Hart, to the following purpose: "That he, the said George Piper, was a quiet innocent man;" which oath was sworn before a rebel court-martial, at that time sitting at Vinegar-hill aforesaid. Depo-
 nent faith, that her said husband was discharged, but at the same time was informed, that he could not be safe without the protection of a priest. In consequence of which she and her husband repaired to father Edward Redmond, parish priest of Ferns, in said county, but as deponent and her husband were going there, they were arrested at Milltown-bridge, near Ferns, aforesaid, by another party of rebels, well armed, who led her said husband before one William Gpff, who seemed to be a captain of said rebels, who ordered
 him

him to be put to death, and repeatedly said and swore that he and every person of his profession that came in his way should be put to death; on which the said George Piper produced a pass obtained from one William Lacy, a rebel leader, and commissary to the rebels on Vinegar-hill aforesaid, to enable him to go and to secure his person, while he went to father Edward Redmond aforesaid; but as the said Goff declared that the said pass was a forgery, she, this deponent, went off with the utmost speed to the said Edward Redmond, whom she solicited to save the life of her husband, but the said Edward Redmond declared that he could not, and would not do any thing for deponent or her husband, though the father of deponent and the said Edward Redmond had always lived on terms of intimate friendship. Deponent saith, she returned directly to Milltown-bridge aforesaid, and that she told the said rebels, though falsely, in hopes of saving her husband's life, that the said priest desired that her husband should be conducted to him, and he was accordingly led by a party of rebels before said priest. Deponent saith, that the said priest became very angry, and much enraged, on seeing her and her husband, and declared he would do nothing for her, or any of her husband's sort, and he ordered the said George Piper to Vinegar-hill, to suffer, where he would get his deserts; and said, that he and all his sort, that came in his way, should die, though deponent on her knees, and with tears in her eyes, solicited him by the early friendship of their fathers, and their close intimacy as neighbours, to save her husband's life; but the said priest remained deaf to her intreaties, and ordered her husband to Vinegar-hill to suffer; in consequence of which deponent saith, a rebel attempted to put her said husband to death with a pike, but the said priest seized the rebel in his arms, and ordered the said rebels to take the said George Piper to Vinegar-hill, the place of sufferance for him and all his sort. Deponent saith, her said husband was immediately conducted to Vinegar-hill, and, as she verily believes, was put to death there that evening, as a woman of the name of Walkin, related to the said George Piper, declared, and has since proved, on a court-martial held at Enniscorthy, in the aforesaid county, that she saw the body of the said George Piper after he was killed, on the evening of same day, on Vinegar-hill aforesaid.

Sworn before me, this 8th day
of June, 1799,
W. LIGHTBURNE.

her
ANNE + PIPER,
• mark.

ROBERT

II.

ROBERT WHITNEY, of Moneytucker, in the county of Wexford, a member of captain Richards's yeomen cavalry, deposes, That he was at Enniscorthy on the twenty-eighth day of May last, on which day the rebels made an attack on said town; that when the troops evacuated said place, he returned to his house to protect his wife and family, was pursued, and narrowly escaped the fury of the rebels, by concealing himself in a covert of furze; that deponent and wife, feeling their situation unsafe and dangerous, quitted their house, and went for better protection to Henry Alcock's of Wilton in said county, esquire, where they remained for that night; the next morning deponent, anxious about the fate of his house and property, returned and found that his house was nearly plundered, and learned that vengeance was denounced against him; that in consequence thereof, he and his wife on the same day removed from his own house to Lingstown, in the barony of Forth, to the residence of Mr. Boxwell, distant about twenty miles, and remained there for a few days; in the mean time the rebels plundered him of the entire of his household furniture, provision of all kinds, horses, cows, sheep, pigs, calves, fowls, &c. burned his dwelling-house and out-offices, propagated evil reports of his conduct, as the means of working his destruction; in consequence of which, a search was made for deponent by the rebels, under the command of Thomas Doyle of Moneytucker, who styled himself a captain. Deponent was found and brought a prisoner by a guard of rebels from Lingstown to Enniscorthy; the charge against deponent was, that he was an orangeman, as his mittimus set forth, signed by John Colclough of Ballyteigue. Deponent on his way experienced several severe assaults and insults; being brought to Enniscorthy, deponent was put in close confinement for three days, was then taken under a strong guard to Vinegar-hill, where he expected every instant to be murdered; that many of the rebels sharpened their pikes in his presence, and, with a savage pleasure, exclaimed they did so in compliment to him, that he might the sooner be put out of pain; that he was confined in the tower of a windmill on said hill, from seven o'clock in the morning until about five in the afternoon without receiving any kind of nourishment; was then marched back to Enniscorthy, and put into his prison again, where he remained about an hour, when he was desired to come out by Thomas Carty

Carty of Enniscorthy, to a place where the rebels had just whipped one George Stacey a loyalist ; without any trial or reason that deponent could account for, he was stripped of his coat, waistcoat, and shirt, and tied up to a tree, planted in the main street of Enniscorthy, which the rebels called the tree of liberty ; when one of the rebels present ordered him to get one hundred and fifty lashes with a scourge composed (he was told) of whipcord and wire ; before he had received this number, the cords with which his hands were bound loosed by his struggling, when deponent fell on his knees to supplicate the rebels not to punish him any more, declaring that the face of God he might never see if he knew any thing of an orangeman ; that the rebels immediately cried out that he was very safe in saying that, as he knew that no heretick could ever see the face of God ; not content with this cruelty, they kept him in the streets with a gun presented at his breast, declaring that they would deprive him of his existence. After suffering all this agony, they blindfolded him with his shirt tied about his head, and dragged him in this condition back to prison, exclaiming in the most shocking manner, that if he did not relent before morning, and make some discoveries of orangemen, that they would pike him to death ; that he was ordered dressing for the wounds he had received on his ribs and loins ; the next day he was marched along with other prisoners to the town of Wexford, guarded by several rebels, who frequently goaded him with their pikes, to make him get on with that speed, which his languid and reduced condition would not permit him to do ; that the said rebels stopped him three times on his way, swearing that they would shoot him ; that he was confined in the coal-house of the barrack of Wexford, and remained there standing in mire for one whole night, fastened by cords to another prisoner, nor did he receive more food than a few cold potatoes ; that deponent was removed from thence to another apartment not quite so bad in the barrack, and continued there a prisoner until liberated by his majesty's forces, when they took possession of said town of Enniscorthy.

ROBERT WHITNEY,

*Sworn before me, this 13th day
of October, 1798,*

STEPHEN RAM.

County

F2.

County of Wexford,
ta wit.

ROBERT WHITNEY, of Money-tucker, in the county of Wexford, yeoman in the Enniscorthy cavalry, maketh oath, That he heard the rebels say while their prisoner, that if any one of them killed three protestants he was sure of salvation ; and if any one of them were killed they went directly to heaven, as they were fighting the battle of Christ ; that on the contrary, that any heretick like him went to hell immediately ; that they said it was prophesied many years ago, that there would be but one religion, and that it would be theirs (meaning the popish religion,) and any that would not comply by *fair means*, should by the point of the sword ; he also deposes, that the rebels (conversing about the murders that had been committed) said that was the way to put down heresy, from which he firmly believes, that it was their intention to murder all protestants ; and he further believes, that no protestant can at present reside with safety in the country ; that his farm is between four and five miles from Enniscorthy, and that he has not been there since the twentieth of September last, through fear of being murdered ; he also deposes, that while he was at Mr. Boxwell's in the barony of Forth, whither he fled for security, he heard and truly believes, that one Whitty a popish priest in that country christened many protestants ; and that he, with thirty-seven other prisoners in Enniscorthy, were obliged in preservation of their lives to cross themselves (or to bless themselves) as the papists term that ceremony.

ROBERT WHITNEY.

Sworn before me, at Enniscorthy,
in the county of Wexford, this
3d day of December, 1798,

WILLIAM RICHARDS.

County of Wexford,
ta wit.

THE information of Samuel Hendrick, of Kilconnel, in said county, farmer, who being duly examined and sworn, saith, That on the twenty-ninth day of May last, informant was taken prisoner by a number of rebels, and by them brought to Patrick Quigley, a popish priest of the parish of Clone, in said county, in order to obtain a protection

protection from him, to preserve him from being murdered. That informant been brought, as aforesaid, to the said Patrick Quigley, he replied, when asked for a protection, that informant, until married, could not obtain a protection, as his present marriage, viz. by the reverend Mr. Handcock, minister, of the parish of Kilcormuck, was of no use, as it only served to gratify a brutal passion; and must therefore be married by him, or some other of his persuasion. That informant, in preservation of his life, was again married by the said Patrick Quigley, and that the said Patrick Quigley, at the time of his thus being married, extorted from informant the sum of one pound two shillings and nine pence.

SAMUEL HENDRICK.

*Sworn before me at Enniscorthy,
this 29th day of March, 1799,
A. JACOB.*

13.

The trial of Thomas Clooney.

ON the trial of Thomas Clooney, a rebel leader, held at Wexford, the eighth of July, 1799, it appeared, on the evidence of Richard Ganford, and others, that a gang of rebels, who were sent in quest of protestants, seized on Whitfun Monday, 1798, at Mountglass, near Clooney's house, the said Ganford, John Gill, Isaac Rigley, his son, and some other protestants; that after burning their houses, they kept them prisoners that night, and conveyed them next morning to a place called the Leap, where Clooney, and a Mr. Devereux, another rebel leader, were, at the head of a numerous body of them; that these two captains ordered the loyalists into a gravel pit, and desired them to prepare to be executed; that soon after, an order was given to march to Vinegar-hill, which was instantly obeyed; that when they arrived at Mr. Swiney's house, in Templeshan-non, a suburb of Enniscorthy, William Hanton, a protestant, was dragged out by a party of rebels, and put to death; that the remainder of the prisoners were committed to the old walls of the windmill; that John Gill applied three or four times to Clooney, to save his life; that at last he ordered the rebel guard to let Gill out to him, which they complied with; that Gill stood near Clooney, who was on horse-

horse-back, for near two minutes, about three steps from the mill door, when Clooney turned his horse away, as if to depart. He was then forced back into the mill, and soon after some person cried out, "Drag the orange rogue out!" on which Gill was forced out of the mill, and a rebel cut his throat with a scythe. Edward Hampton, one of the prisoners, while on his knees, preparing for death, was so near Gill, that his blood spouted on him.

14.

VINEGAR-HILL.

The trial of William Fenlon.

ON the trial of William Fenlon, the twelfth of September, 1799, at Wexford, for the murder of Thomas Hall, a protestant, on the fourteenth of June, 1798, at Vinegar-hill, it appeared, on the evidence of Mary Hall, widow of the deceased; that on the morning of that day, she sent her son with some tea to her husband, who was at that time a prisoner in Mr. Bayle's barn: her son returned soon after, and told her that his father begged she would repair directly to him, as he had been put into the windmill, on the top of the hill, and was afraid of being put to death; and on going to her husband, he said, pointing to William Fenlon, the nailer; Bill Fenlon is the person that will kill me. Fenlon then entered the mill, and desired her husband to come out with him. She asked Fenlon, whether he would not give her husband a trial? He answered, that he would, and that Daniel Flaherty (a man who had sworn against her husband) should try him. She said she was contented, provided he was tried; and begged he would have compassion on her and her ten children. Fenlon then said he would shoot him first, and try him afterwards. Fenlon, on that, tore her husband out of her arms, and placed centries on each door, to keep her in. Some time after, hearing a shot fired, she forced her way out of the door and saw the rebels dragging a body by the heels. Fenlon was there with a blunderbuss and an officer's sash; and on enquiring, she found that the body they were dragging was her husband's. She took the body in her arms, during which time it thundered violently, with much lightning; on which the rebels fell on their knees, and blessed themselves. Some of them desired

desired her to throw away the body of her husband, and to bless herself. They asked her, "What was the reason of the thunder?" She answered, "That God was angry at their acts." "No, you whore!" replied they, "God is sounding the horn of joy, because an orangeman is killed." Her husband, who she thought was dead, stretched out his feet, and turned to her, saying, "Molly, my dear, take me from these people;" on which he expired. His body was black, as if from a cat-o-nine-tails, and had the mark of a bullet, that entered his breast, and came out at his shoulder. The rebels, among whom was the prisoner, refused to let her take the body; but she said she would not leave it. They said they would not kill her, as she was with child, and she would have a christian,* which she never had before; but that if she was so fond of a dead husband, they would cut him in pieces, and put him in her skirts.

James Hall, son of the deceased, confirmed her evidence, and added, that Morgan Byrne,† ordered a man to whip his father, and called out for one Murtagh Keane,‡ to come to shoot him; but some one answered, that Keane was gone to Mr. Richards's.

15.

The following facts appeared on the trial of Andrew Farrell, a leader of the rebels, charged with being concerned in various murders. He was tried the twenty-second of May, 1800, at Wexford, having eluded justice a long time.

WILLIAM FURLONG, a protestant, declared upon oath, that he was taken prisoner by the rebels, on Whitfun Tuesday, 1798, and conducted to the windmill, where he saw the reverend Mr. Pentland, and the reverend Mr. Trocke, three men of the name of Gill, and about thirty more loyalists. Andrew Farrell had a sword in his hand, and was called captain by the rebels. He desired the loyalists to fall on their knees, and prepare for death, as they should be killed directly. He then seized Mr. Pentland by the breast, and dragged him out of the mill by force, though he resisted as much as he could. He was instantly put

* On a supposition, that the child must be brought up a Roman catholic.

† The son of Luke Byrne, a man of wealth and education.

‡ The common executioner, who it is said put three hundred persons to death on Vinegar-hill.

put to death, and fourteen or fifteen more immediately met with the same fate. Andrew Farrell told the witness, that he must know where there were arms and ammunition concealed in Enniscorthy, and that he should be saved if he discovered where they were. He said he would ; and on going there, his life was saved by a man who had been master to his uncle. He saw Farrell distributing powder to the rebels. He believes that only eight of the protestants who were in the windmill escaped death.

Francis Bradley, saw Farrell conducting to Vinegar-hill Philip Annesley, a protestant, who desired him to take his watch and money, and give them to his friends, because he said Farrell was taking him to be killed ; but he was afraid to do so.

Henry Whitney, a protestant, who had been a prisoner in the windmill, saw Mr. Pentland piked to death, and he believes that twenty-five protestants more were put to death at the same time. He saw their bodies lying dead out-side the windmill. Mr. Pentland's, which was naked and bloody, lay separate from the rest.

When the prisoners were desired to go on their knees, and prepare for death, messieurs Pentland and Trocke expostulated and begged they might be saved, as they were both clergymen. The former said he was a northern man, and had been but a short time in the country. He then offered his watch, which was taken by a man of the name of Foley.

John Gill, a witness, was a prisoner in the windmill, on Whitsun Tuesday. The party who conducted him into it, said, captain Farrell (pointing to Gill) there is an orange-men. Gill asked Farrell to save his life, as he saw him much in the esteem of the rebels. He asked him his name. He answered Gill. Farrell replied, that is a bad name, prepare for death, you have not an hour to live. Gill was a protestant name in the county of Wexford.

John Gill, of Monglafs, was lying dead there. A party of rebels, with guns and pikes, formed a line in front of the windmill door, and behind them there were some men on horse-back. On being led out, he addressed the rebels, and asked them, if they would put a man to death without a trial ? Andrew Martin, the executioner, who stood inside the line with a drawn sword, cried out ; " Damn your soul, do you come here to preach ? " made a stab at him, and wounded him in the wrist. Some of the rebels desired

Martin to stop, and asked Gill how he would choofe to die ? He replied, as a christian. A man on horse-back said, are you a christian ? He answered, that he believed in the Saviour of the world, and that he hoped to be saved through him: Martin then said, "Oh ! Damnation to your soul, you are a christian in your own way," and directly stabbed him in the side. He then fell on his face, and was stabbed in the back; and beat on the head with some heavy instrument. He still continued in his senses. His brother was next brought out, and having been asked the same question, he boldly answered that he would die a protestant ; on which he was instantly put to death. He then fainted, and continued insensible till his wife came for him in the evening, and she found great difficulty in saving him, as there was an old man with a scythe, examining the bodies, and striking it on the head of such of them as had any signs of life. She took him to the bottom of the hill, where, finding that he had some appearance of life, she concealed his body. Next morning he was discovered by a party of rebels, who carried him to the hill, where he was saved by a man who was to have married his daughter. About half a mile from the hill, he was met by two men, one of whom fired at him, and the ball grazed his head and stunned him. His wife, at her return, found him again, and from that time, till Vinegar-hill was taken by the king's troops, he lay concealed in ditches in that deplorable state ; but at last recovered, and is still alive. John Austin, a protestant, was taken prisoner and conducted to Enniscorthy by one captain West, when Farrell was on parade with some rebels. West said, captain Farrell, here is an orangeman. Farrell ordered him to a rebel guard-house, where there were fifteen or sixteen loyalists, and swore that he would have them all put to death the next night. A Mr. Robinson who was there begged that Farrell would save them. Austin was saved by the intercession of a rebel. John Mooney swore, he saw Farrell head a party at the attack of Borris, the seat of Mr. Kavenagh. That after it, he saw him sworn in a captain, on which father Kearns, the priest, kissed him. He was called St. Ruth.

Morgan Byrne and he disputed who should be eldest captain. The former said he had subscribed a long time to the United Irishmen ; Farrell answered, that he had subscribed full as long.

David

David Ogden, a witness, swore, he was taken prisoner by him at Mr. Wheeler's house, whither he had taken refuge. He took him and Mr. Wheeler to conduct them, as he said, to Vinegar-hill; but they were released by one McLean, who threatened to go to the hill, and discover there, that Farrell, on the day of the battle of Enniscorthy, disguised in woman's clothes, was robbing, instead of fighting, the king's army.

16.

ON the trial of Nicholas Walsh, a rebel leader, held at Wexford, the fourteenth of April, 1800, it was proved that he was a captain of rebels at Enniscorthy during the first week of the rebellion, that he danced round the tree of liberty before his corps in the streets of that town, and offered 50l. for the head of Mr. Jacob, or any other heretick.

On the seventh of June, he went to the house of Thomas Hall with a number of pikemen, and desired his wife to deliver up that bloody orangeman her husband. On her saying he was not at home, he went up stairs to search for him, leaving two centinels at the front door and two at the back door. She and her children followed him up stairs; Walsh found her husband in a garret, concealed in the set-off of the chimney, and desired him, the orange rascal, to come down. She, on her knees, implored mercy for him; on which he swore he would cut her head off in two minutes, if she did not descend, and he threw down stairs two of her children. He then conveyed him to the rebel guard-house, and desired his men to give three cheers for having taken the orangeman, and said he should be killed next day. He was kept there till the eleventh of June, when Walsh repaired thither, and asked why the prisoners were not put to death? and said he would kill the guard if they were not put to death before the next day. The prisoners, in number twenty-four, were conveyed that evening to Bayle's barn, which lies at the foot of Vinegar-hill, and was used as a prison for protestants by the rebels. Next day messieurs Hunt, Reynolds, Robinson, and one Simpson a weaver, were murdered. Mary Hall saw their bodies lying naked in the fields. On the fourteenth, her husband and sixteen more were murdered. The rebels dragged the body of her husband round the hill.

It was proved that Walsh, with a party of rebels, murdered William Mooney, Richard Leech, John Hawkins and James Lett, near Castlebridge, a week after Wexford was taken by the rebels. When they were shot, Walsh dismounted, and run his sword into one of their bodies. Moses Allen proved that he saw this horrid transaction; and John Mooney, the brother of William, that he saw the four bodies lying dead.

William Furlong and John Mooney saw Nicholas Walsh sworn in as captain of the rebels at Enniscorthy, when father Kearns, the priest, kissed him and wished him good luck.

George Freeman, a protestant, and a prisoner, proved that Nicholas Walsh, who headed a party of rebels at Vinegar-hill, compelled him to shoot John White, esquire, an aged gentleman, and a magistrate; and the same day he ordered five or six more protestants to be put to death with pikes on Vinegar-hill, and to be buried in a hole; and as some of them had life in them at the time of interment, Nicholas Walsh stabbed them with pikes, and cut down one of the prisoners with his sword.

As soon as the prisoners were put to death, he ordered his rebel corps to shout aloud, and to go off in quest of more protestants.

John Harris swore that he was ordered to throw Mr. White's body into a hole, and that he was gasping while he was doing so.

This wretch was in good circumstances, and was well educated. He was hanged on Vinegar-hill.

17.

Vinegar-hill, 15th July, 1799.

Trial of James Bragban, at Wexford, charged with the murder of George Piper, Thomas Piper and William Kean, on the thirty-first May, 1798, on Vinegar-hill.

ALEXANDER MAGEE swore, that he was taken prisoner in Wexford on Wednesday the thirtieth May, 1798; that the day following he was led to the windmill on Vinegar-hill, where he found a great number of people; that soon after George and Thomas Piper and William Kean were put in there; that in a quarter of an hour Luke Pyne came to the door of the mill, and ordered those fellows

lows to be taken out to be shot. Immediately after James Beaghan stepped out and asked, which of them? witness did not hear Byrne's answer; but Beaghan rushed into the mill, and swore by Jesus Christ he would neither pick them nor choose them, but would take the first that would come to his hand. He then laid his hand on one of the Pipers, and turned him and his brother out. Witness heard the report of a gun, and immediately each man was carried out. Kean was led out in the same manner. Beaghan then led out a stranger, who resisted, and cried out, "Murder!" on which Beaghan pushed him against the wall, gave him two boxes, and said, "Damn you, you heretick dog!" and having dragged him out, he was killed within three yards of the door. Next morning, about eight o'clock, witness was taken out to be shot, when he saw the two Pipers lying dead, with eighteen or nineteen bodies more. Witness was saved by a rebel who took compassion on him.

Michael Foley was tried for the murder of Mr. Henry Hatton, deputy portrieve of Enniscorthy, April nineteenth, 1799. Henry Whitney declared, that the prisoner swore vehemently on Vinegar-hill, that he would have the life of Henry Hatton; that some person having tried to dissuade him from it, he swore vehemently that he would quit the hill with one hundred men,* if he was prevented from killing him; on that he pushed Mr. Hatton out of the wind-mill and shot him. Several persons were led out of the wind-mill and murdered the same day.

James Beaghan, who was tried and convicted of the horrid crime of murder, made the confession the day but one before his execution, which I have inserted in page 335 of the Appendix, No. XIX. 8.

18.

County of the city of Dublin,
to wit.

THE examination of Mr. John Semple, of Borris, in the county of Carlow, engineer, who being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, deposeth, and saith, That on the twelfth of June, 1798, and at the hour of one o'clock in the afternoon, the town of Borris in the county of Carlow, was attacked by a numerous mob, who called themselves United Irishmen; and who had three pieces of cannon, and were armed with guns, swords, pistols,

* He had these men under his command.

pistols, and pikes; that the said mob attacked and forcibly entered the house of examinant, at Borris aforesaid, and feloniously took thereout all the household furniture, and many books, papers, and bonds of very great value. Examinant saith, that as soon as the said mob had so plundered his house, they set fire to the same. Examinant saith, that, at that time he was at some distance from the town of Borris aforesaid; and that on seeing a smoke issuing out of said house, he, this examinant, ran towards said house, with a design of rescuing his books, papers, and bonds, from the flames. Examinant saith, he was made a prisoner by the said mob, who stripped him of all his clothes before he arrived at his house; and that they presented five pikes and a musket at examinant, with an intention, as he verily believes, of putting him to death. Examinant saith, he immediately threw himself on his knees to implore mercy, and asked the said mob what crimes he this examinant was guilty of? On which two of the leaders or captains of the said mob cried out aloud, "That he, this examinant, was a vagabond orangeman, and must instantly die;" by which examinant is convinced in his mind the said captains meant a protestant, as this examinant, who was born in Scotland, was not an orangeman, nor had any connection with orangemen. Examinant saith, that two others of the said captains then said, that examinant was too old, and not worth killing; on which another of the said captains cried out aloud, addressing himself to the said mob, "You vagabonds! remember your oath;" with a design to urge the said mob to put this examinant to death; as this examinant has seen the form of an oath, which he heard and verily believes the United Irishmen, or some of them, had sworn to destroy and murder all hereticks. Examinant saith, that while the said mob were scrambling for his property which they had taken out of his house, he, this examinant, made his escape into a sand-pit, and that soon after, one of the said mob came up in great haste, and exclaimed, "Have you dispatched the vagabond? for his son has killed one of our best captains, and is killing them as fast as they get up;" meaning to the house of Walter Kavenagh, esquire, of Borris aforesaid, to which the said mob were at that time laying siege, and at which they were firing cannon; and this examinant saith, that James Semple the son of this examinant, was at that time in the mansion-house of the said Walter Kavenagh, assisting in the defence of the same. Examinant saith, that the said mob
burned

burned thirteen houses in Borris aforesaid, for no other reason, as examinant verily believes, than because the proprietors thereof belonged to the yeoman corps, commanded by the said Walter Kavenagh. This examinant saith, he heard and verily believes that the said party of United Irishmen was commanded by father Roche, a priest who was afterwards killed at Scullaghgap on the bounds of the counties of Wexford and Carlow. Examinant saith, that one of the said mob told examinant that he had better turn to mass, and that by doing so he would get a lease for ever of any demesne he chose in the kingdom.

JOHN SEMPLE.

Sworn before me, the 14th day of August, 1798,

THOMAS FLEMING; *lord mayor of the city of Dublin,*

No. XX. I.

County of the city of Dublin,
to wit.

THE examination of corporal Sheppard of the Royal Irish artillery, who being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, maketh oath and saith, That he this examinant, when on his march with a detachment of militia of the Meath regiment from Duncannon Fort, to the town of Wexford, was taken prisoner on the thirtieth day of May last, at a place called the mountain of Forth within three miles of Wexford aforesaid, together with two howitzers, and nine privates belonging to the said Royal Irish artillery, by a numerous body of rebels, who were encamped on the said mountain. Examinant saith, that as soon as the said rebels had made him and his comrades prisoners, they were going to put them to death; but that previous to their doing so, one of the said rebels asked them what religion they were of; and that a private of the said Royal Irish artillery, whose name is Patrick Dunganon, replied, that they were all Roman catholicks, though examinant saith, that he and five more of his said comrades were protestants. Examinant saith, he is convinced in his mind, that the said rebels would have put the whole of said party instantly to death, but that they believed they were Roman catholicks. Examinant saith, that he and his said comrades were conducted as prisoners to Wexford, on the said thirtieth day of May, and put into prison; but that he this examinant and his comrades were committed

mitted to different apartments. Examinant saith, that while a prisoner at Wexford, he was taken out into a small square in the goal to be shot, and that on being placed against a wall in said square, they the said rebels burned priming four times at examinant with a musket; on which father John Murphy, a priest, who had entered the said goal, cried out aloud, that he this examinant had longer days to live; and at the same time, the said priest said, "Let the heathen go back to prison, and be damned." Examinant saith, that while he and his comrades were in prison, the rebel guards who were placed over them, frequently attempted to break open the doors of the place where they were confined, with an intent, as the said rebel guards declared, to murder examinant and his comrades, having often declared that they would not stand as guards over hereticks; and that the officers of the said rebels with the greatest difficulty prevented the said rebels from putting them to death. Examinant saith, that during ten days that he and his comrades were confined in Wexford, they received no other food but potatoes and water; and of which they got but one meal in twenty-four hours. Examinant saith, that during his confinement, the said rebels took out many prisoners to execute them; and examinant verily believes they were put to death, as the said prisoners never returned to the prison; and he this examinant was informed that they had been shot or put to death with pikes in the Ball-ring, or in some other part of the town. Examinant saith, that he and his comrades were asked to serve in the rebel army by one captain Dixon, and by one Roche the brother-in-law of said Dixon, who wore two epaulettes, and passed for a rebel general; and that said Dixon and Roche promised examinant and his comrades commissions in the rebel army, and estates in some time, if they would serve in said army. Examinant saith, that he and his comrades, well knowing that they had no other way of making their escape from Wexford, complied with the desire of said Dixon, and the said Roche. Examinant saith, that he, and three of his comrades were conducted by the said rebel general Roche to the rebel camp of Gorey, near the town of Gorey, in the county of Wexford, on or about the eleventh day of June last, where examinant found three of his said comrades before him in said camp, and some soldiers of the Meath and Antrim regiments who had been taken prisoners. Examinant saith, that on the morning of the day that the said rebels

rebels marched from said camp to attack the town of Arklow, one Murphy a priest, who was killed at the battle of Arklow that day, mounted on a car, and preached a sermon of exhortation to the said rebels, in which the said Murphy assured the said rebels that they were fighting in the cause of God; that the more of the heathens (meaning the king's army) they would kill, the sooner they would go to heaven; and that if any of them died in battle, they would be sure of immediate salvation; that said Murphy took some bullets out of his pockets, shewed them to the rebels, and assured them, that they had hit him at the battle of Gorey, in different parts of his body and limbs, and that they could not do him any injury. That said Murphy said further in said sermon, that he would take the gravel off the road and throw it at the hereticks, and that he could kill them with it. Examinant saith, that another priest of the name of Dixon declared to the rebel general Roche, that they would take the town of Arklow in half an hour; that then they would be joined by twenty thousand men; and that they would proceed to Wicklow, and from thence to Dublin. Examinant saith, that said rebels wherever they marched, put to death such protestants as fell into their hands; saying often on such occasions, that the kingdom was their own, and that there should be but one religion. Examinant saith, that said rebels on their arrival at Gorey aforesaid, after the battle of Arklow, put many protestants to death, though they had served with the said rebels in said battle; and that when they were on the point of executing one Walker a blacksmith, some of said rebels pleaded in his favour, having said, that he had made many pikes, and fought well with them; but that father John Murphy said, that if there was but one drop of protestant blood in a family, they ought to put that family to death; and that said Walker was accordingly put to death. Examinant saith, he repaired with the said rebels from Gorey, to a place, to the best of examinant's recollection, called Limbrick, from thence to Tioncholy, and from thence to Carnew, and from thence to Vinegar-hill; and that said rebels in their march from Gorey to Vinegar-hill aforesaid, killed all the protestants they could get into their custody. Informant saith, that he and his comrades made their escape at the battle of Vinegar-hill aforesaid.

ANDREW SHEPPARD.

Sworn before me, this 7th of September, 1798,

THOMAS FLEMING, lord mayor of the city of Dublin.

Wc,

We, the undersigned officers of the Royal Irish artillery, do certify, that Andrew Sheppard, a corporal in the said corps, is a man of an honest fair character, and that he is to be credited on his oath. September fourteenth, 1798.

J. STRATON, *colonel commandant, lieutenant-general,*
 RICHARD BETTESWORTH, *colonel commandant,*
major-general,

H. SNEYD, *major, Royal Irish artillery,*

JOHN PRATT, *lieutenant-colonel, colonel brevet,*

W. WRIGHT, *lieutenant-colonel,*

J. D. ARABIN, *lieutenant-colonel,*

2.

County of the city of Dublin,
ta wit.

THE information of George Taylor, of Ballywalter, and barony of Ballaghkeen in the county of Wexford, gentleman, who being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, maketh oath, and saith, That he this informant was very much alarmed on the morning of the twenty-seventh of May, 1798, having been informed that the rebels in great force were approaching his place of residence, and that they had burned the houses of many protestants; and had murdered their inhabitants; among whom were, as he was informed, lieutenant Bookey of the Camolin cavalry, the reverend Mr. Burroughs, and Mr. Howlan Darcy; on which informant saith, that he repaired for protection to the town of Gorey, about four miles distant. Informant saith, that he, his mother, and sister repaired with the army to Arklow, as the town of Gorey was exposed to the rebels when the army marched from it on the twenty-eighth of May. Informant saith, that he returned towards Ballywalter afore said, on the fifth of June; but that he, this informant; before he arrived there, was taken prisoner by the rebels on the sixth day of June, when he was within three miles of Ballywalter afore said. Informant saith, that he was led by the rebels the same day to the town of Gorey, and was confined with many other prisoners in a room over the market-house of said town during a week. Informant saith, that soon after he was committed a prisoner as afore said, the rebels robbed him of half a guinea, and deprived him of his hat, his neckcloth, his coat, waistcoat, breeches, and shoes, and gave him in their stead the old ragged apparel of a soldier. This informant saith, that while he and the other prisoners were in custody of the rebels at Gorey afore said,

aforesaid, they were led out to the rebel camp to be shot, for no other reason, as informant verily believes, than because they were protestants. Informant saith, that one of the said prisoners was marked out to be saved, because he was a papist, and gave a proof of his being such, by crossing himself, and by saying popish prayers, which the rebels required him to do. Informant saith, that before he and his fellow prisoners could be executed, an order was received from general Bagenal Harvey, that the rebels should not in future, under the pain of being shot, put any of their prisoners to death, which order, as informant verily believes, saved the lives of him and his fellow prisoners. This informant saith, that during his confinement at Gorey aforesaid, some of his Roman catholick neighbours visited him, and wished him a speedy liberation; and at the same time, informed him, that the only mode of procuring it was, to be baptized by the priest, to embrace the holy Roman catholick faith, and to take up arms, and to fight for the cause of liberty. And informant saith, that his said neighbours informed him that they feared he would not escape, unless he complied with their advice; and at the same time they expressed much concern at seeing him in the act of reading protestant prayer books. Informant saith, he answered them by saying, he professed the protestant faith from conviction, and therefore would not renounce it. Informant saith, that during his confinement at Gorey aforesaid, and previous to the arrival of general Bagenal Harvey's humane order for saving the lives of the prisoners, the rebels took out two yeomen who were their prisoners, and shot them, one of them of the name of Rogan, was of the Arklow corps, the other whose name was James Wheatley, was of the Castle-town corps; and that a rebel horseman fired a pistol at one of the prisoners, and that the ball lodged in the shoulder of the said prisoner; and that another prisoner, previous to the arrival of the said humane order, received some wounds of a pike in the side, by which three of his ribs were broken. Informant saith, that when they were leading the prisoners out of the camp, a rebel gave informant two or three strokes of a pike in the back. Informant saith, that the said rebel camp near the town of Gorey, was attended by one Michael Murphy a priest. Informant saith, that on the morning of the ninth of June last, the rebels at Gorey aforesaid, cut off the hair of all the prisoners, (this informant excepted) and put pitched caps on their heads; and that the reverend Mr. Owens,

Owens, a protestant clergyman, one of the said prisoners, was treated in that manner. Informant saith, that the said prisoners having as aforesaid pitched caps on their heads, were compelled to put out their heads and shoulders out of the market-house of Gorey aforesaid; and that while the said prisoners were so exposed, the rebel troops marched by, and insultingly expressed their joy by repeatedly shouting aloud. Informant saith, that on Wednesday the thirteenth day of June, they instituted a kind of trial of the prisoners confined in the market-house of Gorey aforesaid, on which they selected such as they thought were steady to the protestant cause, among whom this informant was one, and that they sent them to the gaol of Wexford, under a guard, after having pinioned them with cords, and tied them one to the other, two and two. Informant saith, that they compelled the remainder of the prisoners to join the rebel troops as soldiers. Informant saith, That on the arrival of the prisoners at Wexford, on the fourteenth day of June, they saw the houses hung with green emblems, and the mob in the streets expressed their joy by shouting aloud. Informant saith, that he and his fellow prisoners were committed to gaol at Wexford, about eleven o'clock on the morning of the fourteenth of June; and that informant was told, and verily believes, that there were about two hundred prisoners in said gaol, all of whom as informant heard and believes were of the protestant religion. Informant saith, that during his confinement in said gaol, they frequently committed other prisoners, among whom was colonel Le-hunte; and that this informant heard a rebel commander of the name of Dixon tell the said colonel Lehunte, who was confined to a condemned cell, that he should have but ten minutes to live. Informant saith, that during his confinement at Wexford, his food was very scanty and very bad; and that he had no other bed but damaged straw which was full of vermin. Informant saith, that on Wednesday the twentieth day of June, this informant with seventeen other prisoners was taken out of the gaol, and conducted to the bridge of Wexford, in order to be put to death with pikes, as many of this informant's fellow prisoners met with the same fate a few minutes before; and that informant as he passed along the bridge walked through the blood of the said victims. Informant saith, that while the rebel guards were conducting the said prisoners to the bridge, and while the said prisoners were praying on their knee on said bridge,

the

the rebel guards desired them to bless themselves. Informant saith, that six of the said prisoners so conducted to the said bridge were put to death with pikes, and that he verily believes the remainder would have shared the same fate, as there were but two persons between this informant and the last person put to death; and this informant was desired to rise and to take off his coat, in order to prepare for execution; but Mr. Corrin, parish priest of Wexford, arrived, and made the rebels desist from any further slaughter. Informant saith, that he was soon after conducted to prison, where he and his fellow prisoners remained until next day, when they were liberated by the king's troops, who arrived at Wexford on the twenty-first day of June. This informant saith, that the country for some miles round the residence of this informant had been for a long time so peaceable, and the machinations of the rebels were so secret, that neither he, nor any of the loyal subjects, his neighbours, had any suspicion whatsoever, that a general insurrection was so near, except that some pikes and some ammunition had been found in the possession of the lower class of people some time before. Informant further saith, that when the said James Wheatley was about to be shot at Gorey aforesaid, the rebel general Perry informed the said Wheatley that he should have but five minutes to prepare himself for death; on which the reverend Mr. Owen, a protestant clergyman, asked the said Perry, whether there was no appeal? to which the said Perry replied, that he would hear no plea in his favour. Informant saith, that the said Wheatley was shot in about ten minutes after; and this informant heard, and verily believes it to be true, that the said Wheatley received three balls in the body, on which he asked for some water, and told the persons who shot him that he had some ammunition in his pocket, and requested they would put him out of pain; on which his thigh was broken by another shot, and that he received the fifth ball in the head which killed him. Informant saith, he saw the body next day disfigured and covered with blood.

GEORGE TAYLOR.

Sworn before me, this 28th day of July, 1798,

THOMAS FLEMING, *lord mayor of the city of Dublin.*

City of Dublin,
to wit.

} BLEAKNEY ORMSBY, of Garrane,
in the parish of Mylan, and county of
Wexford, farmer, came this day before
me, and made oath on the Holy Evangelists, That about the
hour of eight o'clock on the morning of Whitsunday, 1798,
a party of united Irishmen, all of the popish religion, as de-
ponent verily believes, went to the house of this deponent,
and called on him to attend them; that deponent said in
answer that he would remain at home and not take any
part with either side. That thereon one of the said body of
united Irishmen gave deponent a severe wound of a pike in
the head; that soon after two of the party desired deponent
to go on his knees and beg his life, which he accordingly
did. That while deponent was on his knees, one of the
party gave him so violent a blow of a firelock on the head,
as to break it in pieces, by which deponent was left senseless
on the ground. That deponent lay in a languishing state
till Thursday the thirty-first day of May, when a numerous
body of united Irishmen armed with pikes and guns went to
deponent's house, and compelled deponent to go to the house
of David Cullen at Blackwater, a parish priest, to be bap-
tized; but the said Cullen declared he would have nothing
to do with deponent until he saw how he conducted him-
self in future. That next morning deponent, well knowing
that he could not make his escape, repaired to the rebel
camp at Oulart-hill where he was to be tried, though he
had little or no hope that his life would be saved. That on
deponent's arrival there a popish yeoman in military uni-
form who had become a rebel, cried out that deponent
should be tried. That deponent appealed to the said rebels,
whether he did not always bear a good character, to which
they all assented, except one man of the name of Kierwan,
who bore an enmity to deponent, because said Kierwan had
stolen turf from him; that however deponent was discharg-
ed and returned directly to his own house. That when de-
ponent returned to his house at Oulart aforesaid, he found
that his house had been burnt and plundered, and that a
woman who was sister to John Brennan, a labourer who
lived on deponent's land, had turned out his wife and fa-
mily, and informed them in a threatening manner, that they
would be put to death if they remained there; that about
a week after deponent was compelled (though in a lan-
guishing

guishing state) to go to the rebel camp at Gorey, where he found several protestant prisoners, among whom was the reverend Mr. Owen a protestant clergyman. That on deponent's arrival there, he was asked by a rebel of the name of Maurice Doyle, whether he this deponent was a Roman catholick, to which he answered that he was bred a protestant. That said Doyle asked him what he thought of the Virgin Mary; to which deponent answered, that he thought she was next in glory to Christ. That soon after deponent was committed to prison in the market-house of Gorey, where, including deponent, there were thirty-nine prisoners all protestants; that about the hour of four o'clock the same day, the said protestant prisoners were led out by a party of rebels to Gorey-hill, to be put to death, and which would have taken place as deponent verily believes, but that an order was received from general Bagenal Harvey, desiring that no person should kill his prisoner under pain of death. That notwithstanding said order, a rebel fired a pistol at one of the protestant prisoners, and wounded him in the shoulder. That the rebels, on hearing the said humane order, seemed much disappointed, and expressed an earnest desire of putting the prisoners to death. That deponent was discharged the same day by the orders of one Richard Monaghan a rebel captain, and was compelled to join the rebels as a soldier. That next day deponent was compelled to march with the rebel army to the battle of Arklow. That Michael Murphy a priest, who had the chief command, stopped very often in their way thither, and said prayers for the rebels, who always kneeled down and often kissed the ground. That said Monaghan desired the rebels not to kill the soldiers, as they were their friends, and would join them. That deponent received a ball in the thigh at the battle of Arklow, and lay in a languishing state one night within two miles of Arklow; and that deponent recovered from his wound, and is now perfectly well, though he received no medical assistance. Deponent saith, that great numbers of wounded rebel soldiers were carried the same night on cars or on horseback to Gorey aforesaid. Deponent saith, that while he lay sick of his wound, a man of the name of John Brennan his labourer, often pressed him to send for a priest and to change his religion, as no person could be saved but of the Roman catholick church; and it was not known that a protestant ever was saved. Deponent saith, that his father, Charles Ormsby, was murdered on Whitsun Saturday, his

his brother Eyre Ormsby, on Whitfunday, and his brother William Ormsby, on the twenty-second day of June, 1798, all in the county of Wexford; and that his brother John Ormsby, fled from the rebels to Dublin, and after his return to the county of Wexford, on the first day of March, 1799, died of grief. Deponent further saith not.

BLEAKNEY ORMSBY.

Sworn before me, this 10th day of May, 1799,

THOMAS ANDREWS, *lord mayor of the city of Dublin.*

4.

County of Wexford,
to wit.

} CATHERINE POER, of Tintern, widow, being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, declareth and saith, That on the morning of Sunday, the third of June, 1798, John Flaherty, of Tintern, taylor, Michael Ryan and Pat. Hogan, labourers, of Salt-mills in said county, went to her house and called for her husband Pat. Poer, a protestant; saith, they carried him, as she heard and believes, to Scullabogue, where he was burnt with the other protestants. Saith, that some time after the massacre at Scullabogue, she, this examinant, went to John Houghran of Tintern, mason, who acted as a commissary to the rebels for distributing provisions, and asked him for a pound of meat, as she was starving; and that said Houghran asked her if she was a christian? and that on saying she did not come under the rules of his church, he said she was not a christian, and that it would be giving meat to his enemies, and breaking his oath. Saith, said Houghran ordered her to go to the priest to be made a christian, and was surprized she did not do it before. Saith, that to save her life and get victuals, she went to the priest to be christened.

CATHERINE POER.

Sworn before me, this 28th day of December, 1798,

JOHN KENNEDY, *magistrate.*

County of Wexford,
to wit.

} FRANCES MILLER, of Tintern, in said county, widow, being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, declareth and saith, That on the third day of June, 1798, a gang of rebels came to examinant's house, headed by Patrick Fallon of Tintern aforesaid, and Martin Murphy of Curraghmore, in said county; saith, they insisted on her husband, Robert Miller,

Miller, to go with them : saith, they hurried him away so suddenly, they did not give him time to break his fast, though examinant requested that indulgence for her husband. Saith, that she heard and believes they took him to Scullabogue, where he was massacred, along with several other protestants, on Tuesday following. Saith, that through fear of being murdered, she went to the priest to be christened. Saith, that she always considered John Houghran of Tintern, as the leading man of the Tintern rebels.

FRANCES MILLER.

Sworn before me, this 28th day of

December, 1798,

JOHN KENNEDY, *magistrate.*

AT the trial of John Houghran, a mason, at Wexford, on the twenty-sixth September, 1799, it appeared on the evidence of Mr. Bridges, that he appeared at Tintern to be the leader of a gang of rebels, who carried off the protestants to Scullabogue, and that he took the witnesses to be christened by a priest.

Sarah Smyth, whose husband was taken by him, swore that twenty-four protestants, young and old, were taken to the barn of Scullabogue and murdered there ; and among them her husband, her brother, sister and niece.

That, when the widows and relations of those who had been murdered, assembled together in the streets of Tintern, and were lamenting the loss of their relations, the prisoner threatened them with the fate of their husbands if he heard any more of it.

That there were two corps of rebels at Tintern ; the one went from it to murder, the other staid at home to send the protestants to them, and to plunder.

Catherine Poer swore, that she applied to him for something to eat ; but he said he would not give her any, unless she became a christian (meaning a papist) for if he did he would break his oath.

Sarah Kelly, whose father was burned at Scullabogue, swore, that on general Lake's proclamation coming out, she heard the prisoner address a party of rebels, and say, "Boys ! we may as well lay down our spears for a few days to save our lives, as the protestants turned to mafs to save theirs."

Thomas Byrne swore, that Michael Devereux seemed to have the command, and gave the prisoners orders to collect

the protestants, and keep them 'till he should call for them. The prisoner was only transported !!!

5.

County of Wexford,
to wit.

ELIZABETH DOBBYN, of Old-court, in the parish of Adamstown, and said county, widow, came before me this fifth day of January, 1799, and made oath, on the Holy Evangelists, That on Friday, the first day of June last, her three sons, William, Richard and Samuel, were taken prisoners from her house by Thomas Cavenagh, of Old-court aforesaid; that on Saturday, the second of June, her husband, Patrick Dobbyn, was taken prisoner by said Thomas Cavenagh, aided by William Power of Brucharrow, in said parish, and another person unknown to deponent. That on Sunday, the third of June last, deponent went to Scullabogue, where she saw her husband and three sons confined in a dirty pig-yard; that at their desire she went to look for Michael Downes, a rebel captain, to endeavour to procure their release, and to Mr. Shallow, the parish priest, for the same purpose; that deponent could not meet Michael Downes, but found Mr. Shallow at his own house; that deponent begged said Shallow to procure the release of her husband and sons, to which said Shallow replied, "That he would not go near the rebel camp; that, if he did, he would be in as much danger as said Patrick Dobbyn and sons." * Said Shallow then asked deponent how many of her people were in? she replied, her husband and three sons were confined by the rebels; upon which said Shallow shuddered, and seemed to be shocked, by which deponent conjectured immediately that her husband and children would be put to death, and that said Shallow knew what would happen. That deponent went back, on said third of June, from Mr. Shallow's house to Scullabogue, where she found her husband and sons removed into the barn, which was full of prisoners, crowded as close as they could stand, and told them that said Shallow had refused to come to Scullabogue; whereupon said Patrick Dobbyn, his sons, and the other prisoners, lamented and said they had no hopes of their lives. That deponent continued at Scullabogue said day until sun-set, during which time one of her sons,

* It appears by an affidavit, Appendix XX. 10, that this priest was active in promoting the rebellion in Carrickbyrne camp.

sons, and a woman who was a prisoner, called for a draught of water, and one of the rebel guards asked them if they would drink salt water, and said, "Damnation to you, ye orange dogs, down with your prayers." And a rebel woman said, "Do they want water? give them poison!" That on Saturday, the ninth of June last, deponent went to Scullabogue to look for the bodies of her husband and sons, who she had been told were burnt in the barn on Tuesday the fifth of June. That she found the barn burnt and full of dead bodies, all in a standing posture, some with their limbs burnt off, and others with their bowels hanging out, and others with their faces and features disfigured with the fire. That deponent could not distinguish the bodies of her husband and sons from the other dead. That about two or three nights after the said ninth of June last, as deponent was in bed with two young children, her house at Old-court was entered by a great number of men armed with pikes, who said they came to search for orangemen, having heard that deponent harboured them; deponent replied there were no men there, that her husband and sons were taken from her. They took a light and searched the house and out-offices, and then went away. That on the 19th day of September last, deponent's house at Old-court aforesaid, was entered by four men armed with pistols, who murdered there Shepherd Parslow of Bruchurrow in said parish, who had gone out of Ross to save his harvest at ~~the~~ Bruchurrow, and beat deponent and broke her collar-bone, and struck and cut deponent's mother, an old woman almost eighty years old. That on deponent's asking them if it was not a sin to use a poor christian so cruelly? they replied, she was no christian, and who had made her a christian? they then robbed deponent of what they pleased to take from her and went away.

her

ELIZABETH + DOBBYN,

mark.

*Sworn before me at Ross, in
the county of Wexford,
this 5th day of January,
1799,*

EDWARD CARR, *deputy sovereign.*

6.

FEATHARD.

ON Saturday, the twenty-sixth of May, a band of assassins roaming the country in quest of protestants, and headed by Michael Devereux and Joshua Colfer, entered the town of Feathard, about eleven miles from Scullabogue, and seized William Jordan and James Tweedy, both protestants, and conveyed them to the barn where they were burned; the former was servant to the reverend Mr. Kennedy, rector of Feathard, who had fled and narrowly escaped to Duncannon fort. Colfer often regretted that he had not that orange rogue, Mr. Kennedy, to put him to death; he exclaimed very much against protestants, and said they deserved to be punished. Some of the protestant inhabitants of Feathard saved their lives by going to mass, and by assuming the semblance of sincere conversion. The reverend father Doyle, who acted with humanity towards them, advised them to do so, as the means of preserving their lives. William Murdis, a witness on Colfer's trial, swore, that Patrick Murphy, one of the gang of assassins, made him swear to be true to the catholick war. These facts were proved on the trial of Joshua Colfer, before a court-martial, held at Waterford, the third of December, 1798, by order of general Johnstone. Colfer had been master to Mr. Clarke, a brewer of Feathard, resided there constantly, and had lived on terms of intimacy with the protestants.

James Murphy, a witness on the trial of Colfer, and servant of the reverend Mr. Kennedy, swore, That the prisoner asked him whether he would kill his master, and declared that he would kill him if he would not. He said also, that all orangemen should be killed.

Philip Clarke, a protestant, and son of Mr. Clarke the brewer, who employed the prisoner, declared, that he (Colfer) desired him and his brother to be christened by a priest, and sent for a popish manual, to have him, his brother and sisters, taught their catechism; that he, his brother and sisters, and other protestants of Feathard, were saved merely because they were considered as converted.

Richard Stewart, a boy of nine years old, and brother-in-law of Tweedy, followed him crying, on which Colfer threatened him. This child was afterwards murdered.

On

On Saturday, the second of June, another band of assassins, headed by the same Michael Devereux, of Battleours, arrived there and swept away all the protestants they could find. It fortunately happened that they were but few in number, as most of them had escaped, or were doing duty in a yeoman corps at Duncannon Fort. The rebels were so zealous in this service, that they locked up such protestants as they seized, while they went in quest of others.

Samuel Orange, now living, is a memorable instance of this. He was taken by his own neighbours, Patrick Hennesy and James Savage, alias Bryan, and was locked up in the house of the former; but while they were hunting for others, he providentially made his escape through a back window, and concealed himself in ditches till Sunday, the fifth of June, when Colfer returned with another gang, and conveyed him to Wexford, Scullabogue having been consumed. Michael Devereux having visited Feathard again, on the third of June, with another gang, seized Mrs. Duffield, aged seventy-five, Mrs. Clarke, and Philip Clarke, a boy of about thirteen years. John Jones, a humane and respectable Roman catholic, solicited the release of the prisoners; and, even on his knees, he implored him to discharge the latter, as he was the child of his near neighbour; but to no purpose, as he said he could not release him, consistent with his own safety. This shewed that he acted by the orders of his superiors, who, I have been well informed, were supplied with lists of the protestant inhabitants of every parish.

The three were conveyed on a car to Scullabogue, but, fortunately for them, Bagenal Harvey, who happened to arrive there, discharged them, gave them a pass to return, and desired that no more women or children should be taken prisoners. On Saturday, the ninth of June, one Thomas McDaniel, a sanguinary ruffian, went to Feathard, at the head of another gang, in quest of Elizabeth Ennis, a protestant, who had escaped all their former searches; and, when discovered, she threw herself on the mercy of John Jones, already mentioned, who very humanely locked her up in a room in his own house. When McDaniel was on the point of breaking open the door, Mrs. Jones placed herself between him and it, and said they must first murder her. She also assured him, that she was no longer a protestant, having been christened by the priest, and was become a Roman catholic. The poor trembling wretch's life was saved by Mrs. Jones's firmness, and her assurances of her conversion.

After

After that period, such of the protestants as remained at Feathard, were saved by going to mass.

Father Doyle, the priest, assembled them in a house, under a pretence of baptizing them, though in fact he did not perform that ceremony; and he very humanely announced, in order to save their lives, that they were sincere converts to his religion.

These facts were proved on the trial of Devereux, Colfer, Haughran, and some other assassins concerned in this atrocious business.

7.

County of Wexford,
to wit.

RICHARD GRANDY, of Ballyshan, in said county, came this day before us his majesty's justices of the peace, and made oath on the Holy Evangelists, that he this examinant was attacked and seized at the cross-roads of Kilbride, on Sunday the third of June, between the hours of nine and ten o'clock in the morning, as he was returning from a farm he has on the lands of Kilbride, by several persons armed with guns, pikes and spears; that amongst the number were Michael Poor, Thomas Poor, Martin White, Richard Shee, Martin Collhoun, Nicholas Brown, Michael White, John Moran and Lawrence Moran, all of Kilbride aforesaid, with many others, whose names examinant did not know, though their faces were familiar to him; he was conducted from thence to the rebel camp at Carrickbyrne, in said county, and in the afternoon of the same day was brought to Mr. King's house at Scullabogue; that he was introduced into a room where he saw Bagenal Harvey, of Bargy Castle, esquire, William Devereux of Taghmon, Francis Breen, Nicholas Sweetman of New Bawn, with a few more whom he did not know, but believes that John Colclough of Ballyteigue, and a son of William Devereux aforesaid, were of the number; that he was closely examined by Bagenal Harvey as to the state of Ross and Duncannon Fort, and whether he was an orangeman or a united man; that said Bagenal Harvey pressed him to take the united man's oath and become one of their community; that at last he obtained a pass from said Bagenal Harvey, with which he came as far as Bryanstown, where he was stopped by the rebel guard stationed there; that he was conducted back again to Collopswell, where he met with said Bagenal Harvey and said Nicholas Sweetman; that Nicholas Sweetman signed the pass he got from Bagenal

Bagenal Harvey before ; that he had not gone far before the pass had been taken from him and torn, upon which he was taken prisoner to Scullabogue house, where he was confined till Tuesday morning, with several other protestants ; that about nine o'clock John Murphy of Loughnaguer, (who had the command of the Rosegarland rebel corps, and was the officer of the guard over the prisoners) had ordered them out by fours to be shot by his company, till thirty-five were massacred ; that the spear-men used to take pleasure in piercing the victims through, and with exultation licking their bloody spears ; that whilst this horrid scene was acting, the barn, in which were above one hundred protestants, as examinant heard and believes, was set on fire, and all consumed to ashes ; that examinant's life was spared because Murphy knew that Bagenal Harvey had given him a pass, and that through his intercession with Murphy, Loftus Frizzel was likewise spared ; that they were both tied and conveyed within a mile and a half of Ross, where they met Bagenal Harvey, Cornelius Grogan of Johnstown, in said county William Devereux, aforesaid, and many others retreating from the battle of Ross.

That Bagenal Harvey ordered the said Murphy to take the two prisoners to his lodging at Collopswell, where he had given a pass to Loftus Frizzel, but refused to give one to examinant, for fear he would come and report what he had seen and heard at Duncannon Fort ; that deponent heard and believes it to be a fact that said Cornelius Grogan* had the command of the Barony Forth rebel troops at the battle of Ross ; that deponent was taken to Foulkes's mills that night, where he continued for two days under a guard, dressing the wounded ; that he was afterwards conveyed to Ballymitty, where he obtained a pass from Edward Murphy of said place, to pass and repass through his district for the purpose of curing the wounded. That he was sent to Taghmon, where the sitting rebel magistrates, John Breen, James Harpur, Joseph Cullomore, and Matthew Commons, were of opinion, that he might with the priest's pass have gone back again and remain there ; † that he strolled along the sea-side, till at last he effected his escape across the ferry of Bannow to Feathard, on Friday the twenty-second instant, and from thence to Duncannon Fort this morning ; that he often heard it reported,

* It is most certain, that this unfortunate gentleman never acted, but from compulsion.

† This shows how great the influence of the priests was.

ed, whilst in custody, that John Colclough and Thomas Mac-cord, both of Tintern in said county, were very active in promoting the rebellion; that he saw John Devereux, junior, of Shilbeggan, in said county, at Scullabogue, on Monday the fourth instant, and that he seemed, and believes that he had a principal command in the rebel army. He likewise saw Charles Reilly, of Ramer's-grange in said county, at the camp at Carrickbyrne amongst the rebels, very busy and active to promote their cause. Deponent farther saith, that he attended mass celebrated by Edward Murphy aforesaid, parish priest of Bannow; and that after mass he heard him preach a sermon, in which he said "Brethren, you see you're victorious every where—that the balls of the hereticks fly about you without hurting you—that a few of you have fallen, whilst thousands of the hereticks are dead, and that the few of you that have fallen was from deviating from our cause, and want of faith—that this visibly is the work of God, who now is determined that the hereticks, who have reigned upwards of an hundred years, should be extirpated, and the true catholick religion be established."—And deponent saith, this sermon was preached after the battle of Ross, and that he heard several sermons preached by the priests to the same effect; that he likewise heard many rebels who had been at the battle of Enniscorthy and elsewhere, declare, that father Roche, a rebel general, did constantly catch the bullets that came from his majesty's arms, and gave them to his men to load their pieces with. Deponent further saith, that every protestant that was admitted into the rebel corps, was first baptized by a priest; and that every protestant that refused to be baptized was put to death: and that many, to save their lives, did suffer themselves to be baptized.

Sworn before us, 23d June, 1798,

GEORGE OGLE.

RICHARD GRANDY.

ISAAC CORNICK.

JOHN H. LYSTER.

JOHN KENNEDY.

The following horrid oath was taken by all the rebels, printed copies of which were found on numbers that were slain, particularly at the battle of New Ross, and Ballicanew, and is now called "the bloody oath;" but in most places "the black oath."

"I, A. B. do solemnly swear by our Lord Jesus Christ, who suffered for us on the cross, and by the blessed Virgin Mary, that I will burn, destroy, and murder all hereticks, up to my knees in blood. So help me God."

County

8.

*County of the city of Dublin,
to wit.*

THE information of William Fleming, of Taghmon, in the county of Wexford, yeoman, who being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, maketh oath, and faith, That he, this informant, was a yeoman in the Taghmon cavalry, was taken prisoner by the rebels at Kilburn, near Taghmon, aforesaid, on Thursday, the thirty-first day of May last, by a man of the name of Brien, who was a captain of said rebels; and that said Brien asked informant, whether he would be baptized? on which informant replied, that he was baptized before, and that he did not think a second baptism necessary. Informant saith, that said Brien asked him, whether he knew that this was a religious war? to which informant replied, he did not; on which said Brien told informant that no person would be suffered to live but he that was a true Roman catholick. Informant saith, that said Brien, thereon, cocked his gun, presented it at informant's breast, and declared he would shoot informant, as he did another orange rascal at the camp of Taghmon aforesaid; but that another of said rebels told said Brien, that he had no right or authority to shoot him, unless it was done at the camp. That informant was conducted to the said camp, in the midst of a great crowd of rebels, who cried out aloud, Which is the orange rascal that is to be shot? Informant saith, that his life was saved that evening, by the interference, as informant verily believes, of Mr. William Devereux, a Roman catholick gentleman, of Taghmon aforesaid, who was a captain of said rebels. That the guards, who were placed over him that night, having a knowledge of, and a regard for informant, gave him his liberty, on which he repaired to a furze brake, where informant lay concealed for two days and two nights. Informant saith, he was advised by a friend to return to the said town of Taghmon, as the rebel camp had marched to Carrickbyrne, and which informant did on the second day of June, to the best of his recollection. That some days after, on or about the third day of June, he was ordered to repair to the camp of Carrickbyrne, in said county, which informant did from motives of fear. Informant saith, he was compelled to march with said rebels, on the fourth of June, to a camp at Corbet-hill, within a mile of New Ross, in said county,

county, where the rebel officers fixed their head-quarters, at the house of one Murphy ; that when he was returning thence, after the battle of Ross, he, this informant, was taken prisoner by a body of rebels, at the bridge of Ballynabola, in said county. Informant saith, that one of the said rebels told him, that he had just put an end to an orange rascal, of the name of Byron ; and informant saith, he saw, lying in a ditch at Ballynabola aforesaid, John Byron, a protestant inhabitant of the parish of Taghmon aforesaid, with whom informant was well acquainted ; and that said Byron was grievously wounded, and covered with blood, and on the point of expiring. Informant saith, that said rebels called informant an orange rascal, and threatened to serve him as they did Byron ; and informant saith, he is convinced in his mind, that the said rebels would have put him to death, but that he produced a pass which he had obtained from Brien Murphy, a priest of Taghmon, and that said pass saved the life of informant. That said rebels had a custom of warning the inhabitants of each townland to attend their army, under pain of death, in case of disobedience ; and that informant was compelled by such warning, to attend a rebel camp at Slievekelta,* sometime in the beginning of June, where the said rebels were on the point of trying him for being an orangeman ; but that informant was relieved by the kind interference of Mr. John Deyereux, of Taghmon. Informant saith, that father Roche, a priest, who was commander in chief of said camp, preached a sermon, or exhortation, to the rebels therein, of the following tenor : " That they were fighting for their religion, their liberty, and the rights of their ancestors, and that they must persevere. That they should examine their ranks, and if they found any orangemen, or disaffected men among them, to extirpate them, as they could not prosper or thrive while they had such among them."† Informant saith, he was again taken prisoner by a body of the said rebels, at Kilburn mountain aforesaid, on the nineteenth of June, and compelled to repair to the Three-rock camp, near Wexford, where many thousands of the rebels were assembled and arrayed for the purpose of marching next day to fight the king's troops, at Foulkes's mill

* Plate VII. 7.

† Sermons of this tenor were daily preached by priests at the head of the rebel columns, in their camps.

mill in said county; and that the said camp was commanded by generals Bagenal Harvey and father Roche, a priest. That the said rebels, in said camp, marched on the twentieth of June, to Foulkes's mill aforesaid, where they fought, and were defeated by his majesty's forces. That the said rebels returned on the night of the twentieth of June, to the said camp, at Three-rock hill aforesaid, and that the next day, on the approach of the king's troops, the said rebels fled in different directions, some towards Wexford, and others towards the barony of Forth, in said county. Informant saith, that a barn at Scullabogue, in said county, having a great number of protestants in it, was consumed on the fifth day of June; and that informant went to said barn on the seventh day of said month, to look for the body of one Robert Cooke, a friend, who perished therein, for the purpose of interring it; but informant saith, he could not distinguish one body from another, from the injuries the said bodies sustained from the fire. That some of said bodies were entirely consumed, that the heads and limbs of others were also consumed, but the bodies remained entire, and very much discoloured. That the features of such persons as were not consumed, were so black and so discoloured, that he could not distinguish one from the other. That the bowels of some of the said bodies lay exposed on the floor. That some of the said bodies lay against the wall, as if in the act of praying. That a heap of the said bodies lay near the door of said barn, to which they flocked, as informant verily believes, for the sake of fresh air, to prevent suffocation. Informant saith, that he found a guard of rebels at said barn, and that one of the said rebels told informant, and some others who were with informant, and seemingly with much joy and pleasure, that he, the said rebel, had been assisting in burning said barn, and in shooting a number of protestant prisoners, who were buried in the gripe of a ditch, which said rebel shewed, with much seeming satisfaction, to informant, and those who accompanied him. Informant saith, that said rebel informed him, that one hundred and ninety-nine persons were consumed in said barn, or shot at Scullabogue aforesaid, and that said rebel turned to one of his comrades, and said, the number wanted one of two hundred; and that said rebel told informant, that a man with a pike had been at said barn, turning up and examining the bodies therein, for money and watches, which informant verily believes to be true,

true, as the said bodies showed evident marks of having been stirred, and as the bowels of some of the said bodies lay exposed on the ground.

WILLIAM FLEMING.

*Sworn before me, this 20th day
of September, 1798,*

WILLOUGHBY LIGHTBURN.

9.

*County of Wexford,
to wit.*

*_____ } MICHAEL ASKINS, having been
duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists,
deposeth and saith, That on the fifth
of June, he was forced to join a party of rebels, and proceed towards Ross; that when the party got within three miles of Ross, they met a man riding very fast, who seemed by his dress, to be a priest. That this man cried out, we are defeated, Bagenal Harvey has ruined us; I will go to Scullabogue and destroy every soul in it. That immediately this man threw down a firelock he had, and galloped off towards Scullabogue. Deponent saith, he never saw the man before, but that the party he was with said, he was the stoutest priest in Ireland, father Murphy of Taghmon. That soon after, deponent and the party retreated to Scullabogue, where they saw thirty-nine bodies dead before the door, and the barn burned, and the roof fallen in. Deponent heard that one hundred and fifty persons were destroyed in the barn, amongst whom were twenty-eight women and fifteen children; and deponent says, he heard the same from numbers who were there, and he verily believes the numbers were rather more.*

*Sworn before me, this 13th day
of January, 1799,*
JOHN H. LYSTER.

his
MICHAEL + ASKINS,
mark.

10.

COUNTY OF WEXFORD.

Affidavits sworn before the reverend John Kennedy, and the reverend Robert Hawkeshaw, by the desire, and in the presence of general Farwett.

DAVID NEVILLE swore an information, the second day of July, before the said John Kennedy, and in presence
of

of general Fawcett, that John Cody, Michael Devereux, of Battlestown, John Devereux, of Dungulph, and David Walsh, of Ballygo, in the county of Wexford, were busy in promoting the rebellion; and said, that the object of the rebellion was to murder such protestants as would not turn to mass.

James Murphy, a papist, deposed, on the second day of June, that the object of the rebellion was to murder all the protestants, and to have the kingdom to themselves.

John Fitzgerald, of Black-hill, deposed the same, the third of July, 1798.

Charles Reilly deposed, that he saw fathers Byrne and Shallow, at the camp at Carrickbyrne, active and busy in promoting the rebellion. Dated fifth of July, 1798.

Joseph Kelly, a protestant, deposed, the fifth of July, 1798, that he was baptized by Bernard Downes, a priest, along with many more; as he heard and believes, that every protestant was to be put to death. He also deposed, that brakes of furze were set on fire by the rebels, in expectation of finding protestants hid in them.

Andrew Sheppard, and Patrick Dungannon, of the Royal Irish artillery, who were taken prisoners at the mountain of Forth, on the thirtieth of May, deposed, that the rebel generals, Roche, Fitzgerald, and Murphy, informed them, that John Colclough, esquire, of Tintern, in the county of Wexford, was at the head of six hundred rebels, at Tintern aforesaid, ready to cut off the retreat of the thirteenth regiment of foot; and that fathers Dixon, Kavenagh, Murphy, and several other priests were very busy and active at the rebel camp at Gorey, promoting and forwarding the rebellion. The said Dixon endeavoured to persuade the rebels to march to Dublin, for the purpose of taking it, and that they would be joined by twenty thousand rebels in the county of Wicklow.

II.

SCULLABOGUE.

Redmond Mitchell's trial.

ON the trial of Redmond Mitchell, alias Miscelly, held at Wexford, the eighteenth of June, 1799, it appeared, that he was active among the rebels at Scullabogue, in murdering the loyalists, being armed with a fire-lock, with the but-

but-end of which, he was knocking and battering such of the prisoners as were expiring at the front of the dwelling-house. He had a pair of new boots on, which were much bespattered with blood, which, and a watch he obtained from Mr. Loftus Frizzel, a prisoner in the dwelling-house, who, and Richard Grandy, were the only prisoners that escaped. He was so much admired by the rebels, for his sanguinary and ferocious disposition, that they called him the true-born Roman.

He gave Mr. Frizzel his shoes, on getting his boots. Mr. Frizzel gave Mitchell his watch and boots, in hopes that he would save his life, which he did, and conveyed him to the rebel camp at Carrickbyrne.

That numbers were trying to set the barn on fire, which was difficult, as the walls were high; that a number of rebels, in front, were piking and firing on the prisoners, who drew in the door to protect themselves; that they put a bundle of lighted straw in at the door, which set fire to the barn, which fire they kept up till the prisoners were destroyed, but many were shot dead before.

12.

SCULLABOGUE.

ON the trial of Matthew Furlong, at Wexford, in September, 1799, Robert Mills swore, that he was at Scullabogue, and was ordered to stand guard on the loyalists who were in the barn. That all the orders to burn the barn were resisted, till three men arrived and said, that a certain priest had given orders that the prisoners should be put to death; on which the rebels all set about the murders, and it was impossible to say who was most active. Orders were given to put any man to death who should quit his post at the barn. A man ordered the witness to guard the door, and not let any of the loyalists out. The roof was on fire, and the loyalists were trying to force open the door to effect their escape, but were prevented by the rebels, of whom the prisoner was one; and he made several stabs of his pike at those who endeavoured to get out, particularly a woman, and on striking her he bent his pike. He afterwards went to the forge of Scullabogue, and straightened his pike there.—Patrick Kerrivan swore, that the prisoner, in assisting the rebels to burn the barn, lifted up the thatch with

with his pike, that others might put faggots under it, and that he called for more straw. That he saw him strike with a spear a man who was endeavouring to make his escape.

On the trial of Michael Murphy, at Wexford, on September fourteenth, 1799, it appeared, that he was raising the thatch of the barn for the admission of fire, and that he was followed by persons with lighted bushes, who were putting them into the apertures which he had made. That he and Matthew Furlong, who were guards at the door, speared a man who was endeavouring to make his escape. That the prisoner put his pike under the thatch to make it blaze. That he and Furlong went afterwards to the forge, which was near, to sharpen his pike; and on being asked, whether they were all dead? the prisoner replied, "I'll engage they are all settled."

September twenty-seventh, 1799, on the trial of Matthew Revel, it appeared, that one gang of assassins, coming from Tintern, with a drove of protestants, met another at some distance from Scullabogue, with Mr. Milward Giffard, and John Moran in their custody, and that the two parties joined, went to Scullabogue together, and committed the prisoners to the barn.

On the trial of Patrick Furlong, at Wexford, on the twelfth of September, 1799, for being concerned in the massacre at Scullabogue, it was proved, that the messenger who conveyed orders to captain Murphy, to put the prisoners to death, said they were sent by father Murphy, which corresponds with the affidavit of Michael Askins, Appendix XX. 9.

13.

GENERAL ORDERS.

At a meeting of the general and several officers of the united army of the county of Wexford, the following resolutions were agreed upon:

RESOLVED, That the commander in chief shall send guards to certain baronies for the purpose of bringing in all men they shall find loitering and delaying at home, or elsewhere; and if any resistance be given to those guards so to be sent by the commanding officer's orders, it is our desire and orders, that such persons so giving resistance, shall be liable to be put to death by the guards, who are to bear a commission for that purpose; and all such persons so to be found

found loitering and delaying at home, when brought in by the guards, shall be tried by a court-martial, appointed and chosen from amongst the commanders of all the different corps, and be punished with death.

Resolved, that all officers shall immediately repair to their respective quarters, and remain with their different corps, and not depart therefrom under pain of death, unless authorized to quit by written orders from the commander in chief for that purpose.

It is also ordered, that a guard shall be kept in the rear of the different armies, with orders to shoot all persons who shall fly or desert from any engagement, and that these orders shall be taken notice of by all officers commanding at such engagement.

All men refusing to obey their superior officers, to be tried by a court-martial, and punished according to their sentence.

It is also ordered, that all men who shall attempt to leave their respective quarters when they have been halted by the commander in chief, shall suffer death, unless they shall have leave from their officers for so doing.

It is ordered by the commander in chief, that all persons who have stolen or taken away any horse or horses, shall immediately bring in all such horses to the camp, at head quarters, otherwise any horse that shall be seen or found in the possession of any person to whom he does not belong, shall, on being convicted thereof, suffer death.

And any goods that shall have been plundered from any house, if not brought in to head quarters, or returned immediately to the houses, or owners, that all persons so plundering as aforesaid, shall, on being convicted thereof, suffer death.

It is also resolved, That any person or persons who shall take upon him or them to kill or murder any person or prisoner, burn any house, or commit any plunder, without special written orders from the commander in chief, shall suffer death.*

By order of

• B. B. HARVEY, *commander in chief.*
FRANCIS BREEN, *secretary and adjutant.*

Head-quarters, Carrick's encampment,
June 6, 1798.

TO

* This humane order checked the rebels at Gorey camp from massacring their prisoners, and occasioned B. Harvey's deposition.

14.

TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

Countrymen and Fellow Soldiers !

YOUR patriotick exertions in the cause of your country have hitherto exceeded your most sanguine expectations, and in a short time must ultimately be crowned with success—Liberty has raised her drooping head ; thousands daily flock to her standard ; the voice of her children every where prevails—let us then, in the moment of triumph, return thanks to the Almighty Ruler of the universe, that a total stop has been put to those sanguinary measures, which of late were but too often resorted to by the creatures of government to keep the people in slavery.

Nothing now, my countrymen, appears necessary to secure the conquests you have so bravely won, but an implicit obedience to the commands of your chiefs ; for, through a want of proper subordination and discipline, all may be endangered.

At this eventful period, all Europe must admire, and posterity will read with astonishment, the heroick acts achieved by people, strangers to military tactics, and having few professional commanders. But what power can resist men fighting for liberty !

In the moment of triumph, my countrymen, let not your victories be tarnished with any wanton act of cruelty ; many of those unfortunate men now in prison were not your enemies from principle, most of them, compelled by necessity, were obliged to oppose you : neither let a difference in religious sentiments cause a difference amongst the people. Recur to the debates in the Irish House of Lords of the nineteenth of February last, you will there see a patriotick and enlightened *protestant bishop* (Down, and many of the lay lords) with manly eloquence, pleading for catholick emancipation and parliamentary reform, in opposition to the haughty arguments of the lord chancellor, and the powerful opposition of his fellow courtiers.

To promote an union of brotherhood and affection amongst our countrymen of all religious persuasions, has been our principal object ; we have sworn in the most solemn

lemn manner, have associated for this laudable purpose, and no power on earth shall shake our resolution.

To my *protestant* soldiers I feel much indebted, for their gallant behaviour in the field, where they exhibited signal proofs of bravery in the cause.

EDWARD ROCHE.*

Wexford, June 7, 1798.

15.

Copy of a letter from B. B. Harvey, to Francis Glascock, Esquire, then in the camp of Slievekeelta.

DEAR SIR,

I RECEIVED your letter, but what to do for you, I know not. I from my heart wish to protect all property: I can scarce protect myself; and indeed my situation is much to be pitied, and distressing to myself. I took my present situation in hopes of doing good; and preventing mischief; my trust is in Providence; I acted always an honest disinterested part, and had my advice been taken by those in power, the present mischief would never have arisen. If I can retire to a private station again I will immediately. Mr. Tottenham's refusing to speak to the gentleman I sent into Ross, who was madly shot by the soldiers, was very unfortunate; it has set the people mad with rage, and there is no restraining them; the person I sent in, had private instructions to propose a reconciliation, but God knows where this business will end; but end how it will, the good men of both parties will be inevitably ruined.

I am, with respect,

Yours,

B. B. HARVEY.

* This was the lay-general.

16.

*By order of the council for directing the affairs of the people of
the county of Wexford.*

*Oaths to be taken by all the united army, in the most publick
and solemn manner.*

TEST OATH.

IN the awful presence of God, I, *A. B.* do voluntarily declare, that I will persevere in endeavouring to form a brotherhood of affection among Irishmen of every religious persuasion; and that I will also persevere in my endeavours to obtain an equal, full, and adequate representation of all the people of Ireland. I do further declare, that neither hopes, fears, rewards, or punishments, not even death, shall ever induce me, directly or indirectly, to inform, or give evidence against any member or members of this, or similar societies, for any act or expression of theirs, done or made collectively or individually in or out of this society, in pursuance of the spirit of this obligation.

So help me God.

Oath of a Private.

I, *A. B.* do solemnly and sincerely swear, and take God and his only son our Lord Jesus Christ to witness, that I will at all times be obedient to the commands of my officers; that I am ready to lay down my life, for the good of my country; that I have an aversion to plunder, and to the spilling of innocent blood; that I will fight courageously in the field, and shew mercy where it can be given; that I will avoid drunkenness, tending to disorder and ruin; that I will endeavour to make as many friends, and as few enemies as possible; that above all, I detest a coward, and that I will look upon him as an enemy who will stand back in the time of battle.

So help me God.

Oath of an Officer.

IN the awful presence of God, who knows the heart and thoughts of all men, and calling my country to witness,

G g 2

I, *A. B.*

I, A. B. officer in, &c. do solemnly swear, that I do not consider my life my own, when my country demands it; that I consider the present moment calls for a proof of the sincerity of that sentiment, and I am ready and desirous to stand the test; and do aver, that I am determined to die, or lead to victory; and that all my actions shall be directed to the prosperity of the common cause, uninfluenced by any inferior motive: and I further declare my utter aversion to all alarmists, union-breakers, and cowards, and my respect and obedience to the commands of superior officers.

So help me God.

*Done at the council chamber,
Wexford, June the 14th, 1798.*

By order of the council,

B. B. HARVEY, *president,*
NICHOLAS GRAY, *secretary.*

BY the virtuous voice of the people, we whose names are here under written, do appoint our trusty and well-beloved brother, William Fielding Costello, to command our artillery, and commissary of our stores; and we trust this will be noticed by all whom it may concern. Given under our hands at camp at Limerick-hill, this thirteenth day of June, 1798.

[A copy.]

EDWARD KYAN.
JOHN HAY.

17.

County of Wexford,
to wit.

ELIZABETH EDWARDS, of
John-street, in the town of Wexford,
having been duly sworn on the Holy
Evangelists, deposeth and saith, That she was told by her
neighbours, who were Roman catholicks, that all the pro-
testants would be put to death on Sunday the tenth of June
last; in consequence of which this deponent went to the
chapel on Thursday the seventh (as deponent believes,) and
was baptized by father Broc. Deponent further saith, that
some time in the last week the said father Broc came to de-
ponent and demanded payment for having christened her;
and

and in four days after, this deponent paid him one shilling on that account.

Sworn before me, this 2d day
of January, 1799,
JOHN H. LYSTER.

her
ELIZABETH + EDWARDS,
mark.

18.

ERIN GO BRAGH!

Proclamation of the people of the county of Wexford.

WHEREAS it stands manifestly notorious, that James Boyd, Hawtrey White, Hunter Gowan, and Archibald Hamilton Jacob, * late magistrates of this county, have committed the most horrid acts of cruelty, violence, and oppression, against our peaceable and well-affected countrymen:

Now we, the people, associated and united for the purpose of procuring our just rights, and being determined to protect the persons and properties of those of all religious persuasions who have not oppressed us, and are willing, with heart and hand, to join our glorious cause, as well as to shew our marked disapprobation and horror of the crimes of the above delinquents, do call on our countrymen at large, to use every exertion in their power to apprehend the bodies of the aforesaid James Boyd, Hawtrey White, Hunter Gowan, and Archibald Hamilton Jacob, and to secure and convey them to the gaol of Wexford, to be brought before the tribunal of the people. Done at Wexford, this ninth day of June, 1798.

GOD SAVE THE PEOPLE.

19.

ERIN GO BRAGH!

To all Irishmen and soldiers, who wish to join their brethren in arms, assembled for the defence of their country, their rights and liberties, these few lines are addressed.

WE, the honest patriots of our country, do most earnestly intreat and invite you to join your natural Irish standard.

This

* These gentlemen were conspicuous for their loyalty.

This is the time for Irishmen to shew their zeal for their country's good, * the good of their posterity, and the natural rights and liberties of Ireland. Repair then to the camps of liberty, where you will be generously received, and amply rewarded. We know your hearts are with us; and all you want is an opportunity to desert those tyrants who wish to keep you as the support of their oppressive and hellish schemes, to enslave our country. Done at Wexford by the unanimous voice of the people, fourteenth June, 1798.

GOD SAVE THE PEOPLE.

20.

County of the city of Dublin,
to wit.

THE information of James Rowson, of Managana, of the parish of Monomolin, &c. county of Wexford, farmer, who being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, maketh oath, and saith, That he made his escape from his own house to Gorey, in said county, on Whitsunday last, in order to save his life; and that after the battle of Tubberneering near Gorey aforesaid, in which colonel Walpole fell, he retreated from Gorey aforesaid to the town of Wicklow, where he, this informant, remained till a day or two after the battle of Vinegar-hill. Informant saith, that he, and about twenty protestants, men, who fled from the vengeance of the popish rebels, returned to Gorey, about two days after said battle, thinking that the success of the king's troops therein had restored peace and tranquillity in the said county about Gorey aforesaid; that on the day of his arrival at Gorey, a number of rebels flying from Vinegar-hill arrived at Gorey, and put to flight a great number of protestants, and killed every one that fell into their hands of said protestants, to the amount of, he heard and believes, thirty or forty. Informant saith, that in his flight from Gorey thither, informant was taken prisoner by the rebels on Kilmurry hill, within two miles of Gorey aforesaid, when their commander, who was well dressed and well mounted, told informant that he knew him to be an orangemen;

* It is very remarkable, that, during the course of the conspiracy and rebellion, the Irish traitors constantly spoke of their zeal for the good of their country both orally and in print, by which they meant its separation from England.

orangeman; that the said commander desired said rebel corps to advance, on which one of the said corps said, "I will shoot him;" but the said rebel commander said, "No, leave him to me." On which the said rebel having advanced and left informant in custody of said commander, informant saith, that the said commander desired informant to lie down that he might shoot him; and this informant thereon began to plead for his life, declaring, that he was no orangeman, but an industrious poor man, who gained his subsistence by his labour; on which the said rebel commander rode up against him violently, and threw him into a ditch; and having desired him to lie down a second time, he this informant complied, on which the said rebel commander shot him in the head and broke his jaw; the said rebel commander having thereon said, "I am sure he is dead," to two or three of the rebel soldiers who happened to remain with him. Informant saith, he is convinced in his mind, that the said rebel commander had no other reason for shooting him, than that he was a protestant. Informant saith, he was so much weakened by the loss of blood, that he lay on the spot where he was so wounded, for the space of five hours. Informant saith, when he gathered a little strength, and thought that the rebels had departed, he retired to an adjacent field, and concealed himself in some ferns, hoping to make his escape in the night; that a party of rebels having come to the place where he had been shot, and seeing that he had made his escape, they went in quest of him, this informant, and having found him, they, the said rebels, exclaimed, "Let us shoot him;" that one of the said rebels then fired at him with a musket, and drove a bullet through his left arm; but the said rebel perceiving he had not killed him, called out to another rebel to shoot him; but the said rebel said in answer, that he had but one charge, and that he would not throw it away on informant, but they said we will pike him, which however they could not do, as they had no pikes. Informant saith, that one of the said rebels took a large stone and struck informant so violently in the head with it, that they left him speechless and senseless, and apparently dead. Informant saith, that in the night he made his escape over colonel Ram's demesne, without coat, shoes, or stockings * to the house of Thomas Ennis, of Benogue, and remained there all night in a pig-stye; that in the morning the said Ennis gave him a blanket

to

* The rebels stripped him.

to cover him, and some milk and water to drink; that he remained there all day, and next night. Informant saith, that during all that time he received no other nourishment than milk and water administered to him with a spoon. Informant saith, that the said Ennis had him conveyed next day in a car to Gorey aforesaid; and that one of the military surgeons had him conveyed from thence in a car to Bray, in the county of Wicklow, where informant remained in a military hospital till the twenty-third day of August. Informant saith, his under jaw is completely shattered, that all his teeth are loose, and that he can receive no nourishment but with a spoon.* Informant saith, his dwelling-house, furniture, out-offices, and farming-utensils have been burned or destroyed; and that his cows and horses have been carried off by the rebels.

JAMES ROWSOM, 60 years old.

Sworn before me, this 25th of August, 1798,

THOMAS FLEMING,

Lord mayor of the city of Dublin.

21.

The deposition of James Pippard, sovereign of the town of Gorey, county of Wexford,

WHO being examined, deposeth and saith, that on Wednesday and Thursday, the twentieth and twenty-first days of June last, 1798, a great number of protestants, both men and women, returned from Arklow to Gorey, on their hearing that the rebels had left the town of Gorey, and, finding that his majesty's army was in pursuit of them, the rebels then made for Vinegar-hill; that on Friday, the twenty-second day of June, being the day after the engagement with his majesty's army and the rebels at Vinegar-hill, near Enniscorthy, the rebels, to the amount of three hundred or upwards, armed with firelocks and pikes, retreated from the army, and came back to Gorey. On the protestants retreating to Arklow, the rebels pursued them, and killed to the number of thirty-six of the loyalists, by shooting and piking them in the most barbarous and cruel manner. Depo-
nent was one of the number that retreated from Gorey,
and

* The author saw this man exactly in this state in the month of August, 1798.

and narrowly escaped with his life. Depoñent further saith, that the rebels kept a constant fire at the loyalists from Gorey, till they got almost to the village of Coolgreny, near six miles.

JAMES PIPPARD.

Sworn before me, this 31st of December, 1798,

HUNTER GOWAN.

22.

Thomas Cleary's confession relative to the murder of his master.

THOMAS CLEARY was executed the eighth of March, 1800, for the murder of his master, Edward Turner, esquire, on the bridge of Wexford. Just before his execution, he made the following confession, in presence of Joshua Nunn, esquire, high sheriff, the undersigned gentlemen, and many others: That he was guilty of the said murder. On his being asked, did he not think it a sin to kill his master? he replied, that he often heard the people say, it was not a sin to kill him; and that since the murder of his master, he received absolution from two priests, father Murphy of the parish of Kilrush,* in said county, and father Ryan, who had done duty for father Ned Redmond, of the parish of Ferns. He was also asked, did they order him to do any thing for committing so horrid a crime? He answered, they ordered him to fast three † days in each week, for three months, as a penance.

JOSHUA NUNN, *high sheriff.*

JAMES BOYD.

CHRISTOPHER WILSON.

WILLIAM TURNER.

23.

Doctor Caulfield's letter to Bryan Murphy.

Reverend Bryan Murphy!

BEING well and truly informed that you have impiously and sacrilegiously dared to attempt to administer sacraments without

* This was Edanus Murphy, who exhorted his flock to loyalty. See pages 397 and 398 of vol. i.

† This was from meat only.

without having any faculties so to do, nay, that you have had the diabolical audacity to attempt to hear sacramental confessions, and to give the unfortunate penitents absolution, which was absolutely not in your power to give, thereby heaping coals on your own head, leaving the unhappy sinners in their sins, and, as was your practice, leading them to utter perdition, &c. &c. Wherefore, in the necessary discharge of our pastoral and indispensable duty, and for the safety of the faithful committed to our charge, we now again repeat, and hereby declare you absolutely and to all intents and purposes deprived of all priestly faculties, and absolutely suspended from all priestly functions whatsoever, except the recital of the divine office in canonical hours, and saying one mass daily, and that privately in your own house only; and we hereby expressly and strictly forbid and interdict you to celebrate mass elsewhere; and we further order and peremptorily command you not suffer or allow any congregations or assembly of people to come even to your own house, or to hear your mass there. Given in Ballianee, March 19th, 1800.

JAMES CAULFIELD.*

To reverend Bryan Murphy.

Taghmon, March 27th, 1800.

My Lord,

Pleas your lordship, after what you said to me yesterday, nothing should or could prevail on me to be again troublesome to your lordship, but just this, father Murphy understanding that there was no immediate allowance to say mass outside his own house, exclaimed, that he was then pointed out a sacrifice, and that he might thank me for it; I told your lordship yesterday that I was the cause of his taking on the stole, and of his doing the other offices he did, which your lordship said you never knew or allowed, &c. to be given him; and that it was the pope only that could dispense with him now, and this to be all through my means, heated and interdicted by your lordship, condemned and suspected by him, of purposely bringing him into a snare, is exceedingly terrifying to the mind; and the consequences that may as yet be apprehended to follow, alarms me most of all, the distraction of the people,

* It appears that the doctor had withdrawn the faculty or power of attorney which he had given Bryan Murphy to forgive sins.

people, his life, &c. All he wants is merely to get leave to say mass outside his own house, and where called on, by way of preventing all other mischieves. The command of your lordship shall be kept by me, who am,

My Lord,
Your lordship's most humble servant,
DENIS KELLY.

My lord, with all the desires of life and soul, I most earnestly beg the favour,—My lord, your lordship was pleased to remark that your lordship was never moved by any interest whatsoever temporal, to do any thing but your duty, which I believe no person doubted or ought to doubt—so God knows, and your lordship must in your soul know, that your lordship is answerable between father Murphy and me, for any function to my knowledge he has done, for I thought your silence on the occasion gave me your tacet consent.

From Bryan Murphy to a protestant clergyman.

Reverend sir, and worthy friend !

AS there are various reports and reasons assigned among the people for my present situation, and my being so treated by my bishop ; some saying, for such a cause, and others for different causes, &c. all of which are false, as you'll see from his lordship's letter, which he sent me without ever acquainting me off, till I received it in my house ; nor did he call or acquaint reverend Mr. Kelly, any more than me, but passed sentence without hearing him or me. Reverend sir, I did not administer any sacrament, from the first day I was restricted, till about seventeen months back, and that after Mr. Kelly told his lordship that he could not answer all the calls, and that he should send me to serve necessary calls, &c. at which his lordship seemed all pleasant, and said nothing. Reverend Mr. Kelly after that, sent me to answer occasional calls, and thus continued for the course of seventeen months, or thereabouts, without my hearing a word to the contrary. On my receiving the bishop's letter, Mr. Kelly went to him, but could do nothing ; and the next day he wrote to him, the copy of which you have inclosed ; but his lordship did not answer his

his letter. I wrote also, and did not receive any answer. What mostly concerns me, that my friends and well-wishers should think my present treatment from the bishop, should proceed from any bad practices, especially your reverence, John Heatly, esquire, and William Goff, esquire, &c. I am,

Reverend sir,

Brickets-town,
April 28th, 1800.

Your sincere well-wisher,
and very humble servant,
BRYAN MURPHY.

To the reverend Mr. —.

County of Wexford, } ELIZABETH CRANE, of the
to wit. } county of Wexford, widow, being
_____ } duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists,
deposeth and saith, That on the twentieth day of June last, she was in her own house, in great anxiety, apprehending, from circumstances which had happened that morning, the life of her son-in-law, Middleton Robson, a loyalist, then a prisoner in the gaol of Wexford, to be in immediate and imminent danger; that in the afternoon of said twentieth day, between the hours of two and four of the clock, as said deponent believeth, she saw the reverend doctor Caulfield, accompanied by the reverend Mr. Roche, a priest of said town, pass by her house towards a lane which communicates from the back street of said town to Gibson's-lane, which gave her great pleasure, as she supposed they were going to intercede for the prisoners. That near the entrance of said lane they were met by a number of men, armed with pikes and other weapons, coming, as she believeth, from the gaol, who, as they came up to doctor Caulfield, kneeled down, for the purpose, as deponent believeth, of receiving doctor Caulfield's blessing, which he gave, spreading his hands over their heads, as she had seen him do to others whom he blessed, and that the men afterwards passed on, as she supposeth, to the bridge; and that very shortly afterwards, two men, armed with pikes, entered her house, who told her, "they were slaughtering on the bridge; that they would never draw bridle, till they would put them all on a level, and that by that time to-morrow, there would be neither buying or selling in Wexford." and that immediately before, or during the time, doctor
Caulfield

Caulfield was blessing, which was of a tedious length, nearly, as she thinks, an hour, said deponent heard a shot, by which she believes Matthewson was killed at the gaol.

ELIZABETH CRANE.

*Sworn before me at Wexford, this
16th day of March, 1799,*

WILLIAM TOOLE.

24.

*Copy of the calendar * of the protestant prisoners in Wexford, used in the bloody committee, which sat in the gaol, the twentieth of June, the original of which is lodged in Trinity College library, Dublin.*

<i>Mark.</i>	<i>No.</i>		<i>Parish.</i>
Killed.	1	Aikin, Thomas	
T—	2	Abbot, Christopher	
V—	3	Allen, John	Wexford.
	4	Atkins, Henry	
	5	Atkins, George	
B—	6	Atkin, Samuel	
V A—	7	Atkin, John	do.
	8	Atkin, George	do.
I H—	9	Atkin, Samuel	C. Ellis.
H—	10	Atkin, Samuel	do.
V H—	11	Atkin, Hercules	do.
do.	12	Atkin, Christopher	do.
do.	13	Atkin, James	Edermine.
do.	14	Atkin, William	do.
do.	15	Atkin, Robert	Wexford.
	16	Atkin, William	Ardcolme.
	17	Atkin, William	Edermine.
	18	Atkin, William	C. Ellis.
	19	Atkin, Francis	Wexford.
		B	
	20	Bayley, Henry	Wexford.
	21	Birdthistle, Thomas	

Mark.

* In this calendar, the word [discharged] is opposite the name of Bland, Crump, and Kellet, though the two last were not liberated till the twenty-first of June, the day after the massacre; and as this entry must have been made before Atkins got the book, it is probable that it was entered by the desire of father Corrin on his arrival from Clonard, in consequence of the compact which he had made with the ladies there to preserve their husbands. See pages 17 and 18 of this volume.

<i>Mark.</i>	<i>No.</i>		<i>Parish.</i>
B—	22	Burrell, Robert	Duncor.
B—	23	Burrell, Peter	do.
V—	24	Boyd, James, jun.	Wexford.
V—	25	Brett, James	Enniscorthy.
C—	26	Bolton, Henry	
B—	27	Byrne, John	
	28	Basset, Edward	
	29	Browne, William	
	30	Beaubear, William	Ardcolm.
	31	Burby, Joseph	
	32	Bland, capt. [discharged]	Wexford.
	33	Byrne, Moses	
	34	Bower, doctor	
	35	Baker, Philip	
	36	Batterton, Thomas	
	37	Barby, Henry	
	38	Burke, lieutenant	
	39	Barry, ensign	
	40	Barrister, Joseph	
	41	Batterton, William	
	42	Basset, John	
	43	Byrne, Edward	
	44	Byrne, William	
	45	Bannon, Martin	
		C	
VB—	46	Cox, capt. Allen	Coolcliff.
	47	Connor, John	
B—	48	Clarke, William	Wexford.
	49	Chapman, Thomas	
T—	50	Carthy, John	
T—	51	Codd, Loftus	do.
T—	52	Clifford, Robert	do.
C—	53	Costigan, George	do.
B—	54	Crane, Thomas	do.
C—	55	Clifford, John	do.
	56	Clarke, Thomas	do.
	57	Clarke, Thomas	do.
	58	Clarke, William	do.
	59	Cronin, Jared	
	60	Clarke, John	
	61	Callaghan, John	
	62	Callaghan, Owen	
	63	Cooke, Thomas	

Mark.

<i>Mark.</i>	<i>No.</i>		<i>Parish.</i>
	64	Conners, Peter	
	65	Crump, Nath. [discharged]	Wexford.
	66	Cooper, Henry	do.
	67	Copeland, William	
	68	Clifford, Nicholas	Wexford.
	69	Campbell, John	
	70	Costigon, William	Wexford.
	71	Cooper, John	
	72	Coombes, John	
	73	Codd, John	
	74	Costello, Edward	Ballyhack.
		D	
B—	75	Daniel, William	Wexford.
	76	Doyle, Edward	
	77	Dowse, William	
	78	Doran, John	
	79	Dixon, John	
	80	Dixon, William	
	81	Dowzer, James	
		E	
	82	Esmund, Richard	
	83	Ennis, Abraham	
B—	84	Edwards, John	
	85	Edwards, Thomas	Wexford.
		F	
	86	Freeman, Richard	
F—	87	Frankland, Edward	Wexford.
	88	Furlong, Michael	Enniscorthy.
	89	Francis, William	Wexford.
	90	Finn, Simon	
	91	Fennell, Matthew	
	92	Flood, Denis	
	93	Frizel, William	
	94	Foley, Patrick	
	95	Frayne, Parsons	
B—	96	Finn, Thomas	Killimuck.
		G	
	97	Gibson, John	
	98	Gainfort, Joseph	
	99	Gainfort, Richard	
B—	100	Gainfort, Thomas	Wexford.
	101	Gore, John	D. Cormuck.
	102	Gill, Allen	

Mark.

<i>Mark.</i>	<i>No.</i>		<i>Parish.</i>
	103	Gurley, William	Wexford.
	104	Gibson, Richard	
	105	Gurly, John	Wexford.
B—	106	Gurly, Jonas	do.
	107	Goodall, James	do.
	108	Green, Benjamin	Coolstuff.
	109	Gray, Moses	
	110	Gordon, Samuel	Wexford.
	111	Gafney, Michael	B. gale.
H			
B—	112	Hore, William	Taghmon.
	113	Hogan, John	Wexford.
	114	Haley, John	
	115	Hyland, William Henry	Wexford.
B—	116	Harrison, William	
	117	Hughes, James	Wexford.
	118	Hughes, Michael	Wexford.
B—	119	Hatchel, John	Wexford.
	120	Hawkins, Samuel	
	121	Hamilton, James	Wexford.
	122	Hogg, lieutenant	
	123	Howlin, Abraham James	Kilcorham
B—	124	Hennesy (G. or Abr.)	Wexford.
I			
	125	Jeffares, Richard	Wexford.
	126	Jeffares, Ivory	Wexford.
F—	127	Jones, Benjamin	
R—	128	Julian, Richard	Wexford.
	129	Jackson, Charles	Wexford.
	130	Jones, Ben.	
	131	Jeffares, Christopher	Wexford.
	132	Judd, Peter	
	133	Jones, Sheppard	
	134	Jones, James	
K			
	135	Keer, David	
B—	136	Kennedy, William	
V.hill.	137	Kavenagh, Thomas	Enniscorthy.
	138	Knox, Oliver	
	139	Kelly, John	
	140	King, Richard Newton	Enniscorthy.
	141	Kelly, Matthias	
	142	Keary, William	

Mark.

<i>Mark.</i>	<i>Nb.</i>		<i>Parish.</i>
	143	Kellet, William [discharged]	Wexford.
	144	Kelly, William	
	145	Kingsborough, lord	
	146	Kendrick, Joseph	
	147	Knight, John, L.	
		L	
B—	148	Lett, Charles	
T—	149	Lammas, Thomas	Wexford.
	150	Lachey, Thomas	do.
	151	Lewis, Nicholas	K. limick.
	152	Lammas, Henry	Wexford.
	153	Lehunte, colonel Geo.	Ardcolm.
		M	
	154	Meadows, Arthur	Wexford.
	155	Meadows, William	do.
	156	Moore, Joseph	do.
	157	Myden, John	
	158	Morgan, William	do.
	159	Matthews, James	do.
	160	Matthews, George	do.
	161	Matthews, Alexander	do.
Gaol	162	Matthewson, Kennet	do.
Balbrig	163	Murphy, Francis	K. seoran.
Strand	164	Murphy, Joseph	K. Muckridge.
	165	M'Henry, Maurice	
	166	Moore, Matthew	
	167	Moran, Bartholomew	
	168	Molony, Thomas	
	169	Maude, Samuel	
	170	Mason, George	
	171	M'Manus, captain	
Died	172	Morton, John	
	173	M'Cann, Edward	
	174	M'Kay, Robert	
	175	M'Kay, John	
	176	Milward, captain Henry	
	177	Martin, Thomas	B. Gale.
	178	M'Donald, John.	Wexford.
		N	
	179	Nunn, James.	Wexford.
		O	
	180	Orange, Samuel	
	181	Owen, reverend Roger	Camolin.
Vol. II.		H h	<i>Mark.</i>

Mark. No.

Parish.

P

182	Pigot, Robert	Wexford.
183	Peace, Samuel	
184	Parsley, Robert	
185	Plummer, Francis	
186	Power, Patrick	
187	Parsley, Eben.	

Q

188	Quirke, Philip.	
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R

189	Rudd, Anthony	Enniscorthy.
190	Rogers, Edward	
†—191	Reily, William	Wexford.
B—192	Radford, William	
B—193	Radford, John	
B—194	Radford, Nathaniel	
F—195	Reeves, Richard	
B—196	Radford, John, junior	
B—197	Robson, Middleton	Wexford.
198	Rudd, Anthony	
199	Richards, Richard	Wexford.
200	Redmond, Patrick	
201	Richards, Thomas	Wexford.
202	Rigley, Thomas	
203	Rhynhart, Henry.	

S

204	Smithson, Joseph	
205	Salisbury, James	Wexford.
206	Stephens, Isaac	Wexford.
207	Sullivan, Robert	
B—208	Sparrow, John	
A—209	Sudal, Loftus	
F—210	Sabourin, Christopher	Wexford.
211	Seally, Thomas	
212	Sweetman, Nicholas	
B—213	Sunderland, Benjamin	
214	Smith, Joseph	
215	Strowd, William	Wexford.
216	Smith, Patrick	
217	Smithson, Jacob	
218	Shaw, James	
219	Sheppard, William	
220	Styles, Robert.	

221 Stedman,

<i>Mark.</i>	<i>No.</i>		<i>Parish.</i>
	221	Stedman, John	
	222	Swannick, Francis	Wexford.
	223	Savage, major	Mulran.
	224	Swiney, Benjamin Burton	Enniscorthy.
	225	Swiney, Joshua	do.
	226	Steadman, William	
	227	Shaw, Thomas.	

T

B—	228	Turner, Edward	C. Ellis.
	229	Taylor, Christopher	Wexford.
	230	Taylot, William	do.
B—	231	Tally, George	do.
	232	Taylor, Thomas	
	233	Taylor, Andrew	
	234	Troy, Thomas	Wexford.
	235	Troy, William	do.
	236	Thackaberry, James	
	237	Taylor, George	
	238	Thackaberry, Robert	
	239	Tunks, John	
	240	Templeton, Alexander	
	241	Templeton, Thomas.	

V

242	Vicarry, Benjamin.	Wexford.
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W

T—	243	Wormington, William	Wexford.
	244	Wheelock, James	
	245	Wilson, William	
	246	Willis, Thomas	
	247	White, John	Wexford.
B—	248	Wiftnot, William	
B—	249	Whitney, Richard	Wexford.
	250	Willis, William	Enniscorthy.
	251	Walters, Edward	
	252	Winter, Richard	Wexford.
	253	White, Anthony	
	254	Wilson, reverend Henry	
	255	Ward, Abraham	
	256	Ward, Benjamin	Wexford.
	257	Woodmafon, Noble	
	258	Wilson, William	

Mark. No.	Parish.
259	Wade, J.
260	Stephens, Isaac
261	Burkett, Robert.

Prisoners in the Market-house	-	48
Gaol	-	148
Guard-ship	-	22
Barracks	-	36
Court-house	-	3
Connick's	-	3
Total		260

Prisoners piked on the bridge, }
 twentieth of June } 97

Marks in the calendar affixed to the names of prisoners.

- B. Killed on bridge.
- V. I cannot explain.
- T. To-morrow, supposed to mean the deferring execution to the twenty-first of June.
- F. Not explained.
- A. (supposed) Accused.
- R. Rogue, or revenue officer.
- C. Charged.

25.

Confession of faith found in the box of a priest at Gorey.

WHEN we assemble we all cross ourselves, saying, we acknowledge these our articles, in the presence of Christ's vicar, the Lord God the pope, and in the presence of the holy primates, bishops, monks, friars, and priests.

* We acknowledge they can make vice virtue, and virtue vice, according to their pleasure. They all falling flat on their faces, beginning the articles in this manner, and speaking to the Host, saying, Holy, glorious, and admirable Host,

* See cardinal Bellarmine's opinion on this, vol. i. p. 13.

Host, we acknowledge it according to our great father the pope's mind; we must all fall down before the great effigy of our Lord God Almighty.

- 3 We all acknowledge the supremacy of the holy father, the Lord God the pope, and that he is Peter's lawful successor in the chair.
- 4 We acknowledge that holy Peter has the keys of heaven, and will receive those that acknowledge his supremacy.
- 5 We are bound to believe no salvation out of our holy church.
- 6 We are bound to believe that the holy massacre was lawful, lawfully put into execution against protestants, and likewise to continue the same, provided with the safety of our lives.*
- 7 We are bound to curse, ring the bells, and put out the candles four times a year, on hereticks.
- 8 We are bound to believe a heretick can never be saved, unless he be a partaker of that holy sacrament, extreme unction.
- 9 We are bound to believe that those who elope from our holy religion, go into the power of the devil, whom hereticks have followed.
- 10 We are not to keep our oaths with hereticks, if they can be broken; for, says our holy father, they have followed damnation, and Luther and Calvin.
- 11 We are not to believe their oaths, for their principles are damnation.
- 12 We are bound to drive hereticks out of the land, with fire, sword, faggot, and confusion. As our holy father says, if their heresy prevails, we will become their slaves! Oh! dear father, keep us from that. (Here the holy water is shaken, and they say, Hail, Mary! three times.)
- 13 We are bound to absolve with money, or price, those that imbrue their hands in the blood of a heretick.
- 14 We are bound to believe that Christ's vicar, the Lord God the pope, can absolve all men, hereticks excepted, and those given to all clergymen under inspection to do the like.
- 15 We are bound to believe all the articles our holy church commands.
- 16 We are bound to believe the virgin Mary, has more power in heaven than any other angel.

We

* This, it is believed, was composed soon after that of 1641, and alludes to it.

17. We are bound to pray to the holy angels, that they may pray for us.
18. We are bound to believe in the holy cross, holy water, holy spittle, holy earth, holy bones, holy people, and beads, and that they are to be used on certain occasions.
19. We are bound to celebrate the holy mass in Latin, having ourselves clothed in a holy vestment and shirt, and bearing the holy cross on our shoulders, signifying we are Christ.
20. We are bound to believe, every time mass is celebrating, there is an expiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead.
21. We are bound to believe there are four places of purgation; viz. Limbus infantum, Limbus patrum, Meadows of ease, and Purgatory.
22. We are bound to believe that Christ was three days in Limbus patrum, where the souls of holy fathers go, till they get a pass with them to holy Peter.
23. We are bound to believe that the souls of children unbaptized go to Limbus infantum, until original sin is well paid away by the help of holy masses said for them.
24. We know the souls of christians go to purgatory, and remain there till we pray them out of it, that they may have power to walk the meadows of ease with safety, till it pleases holy Peter to open the gates of glory, for them, where no heretick shall ever enter.
25. We are bound to keep Lent according to our clergies pleasure, and to maintain the work of supererogation.
26. We acknowledge the lake in the North to be holy, called Lough Dergh.
27. We are bound to pray to no other saint on that day, only to him to whom it is dedicated.
28. We must baptize bells, consecrate chapels, and no man to enter into the holy office of a priest, only he who is known to be a man.
29. We maintain seven sacraments essential to salvation; viz. baptism, eucharist, penance, extreme unction, holy order, confirmation, and matrimony.
30. We maintain that we can transubstantiate the bread and wine into the real body and blood of Christ.
31. We believe the hereticks eat their kind of sacrament to their eternal damnation.
32. We believe that Christ is every where, but particularly in our church.

- 33 We maintain that we cannot marry any heretick woman without being in danger of judgment.
- 34 We maintain, that hereticks know neither the will of the prophet nor of Christ.
- 35 We acknowledge, that the rosary of saint Bridget is to be said once a week; and lastly, that our holy church can never err.

Secula seculorum,

S.

Roche and Murphy said mass four times on the march from Gorey to Arklow.

No. XXI. I,

Dublin Castle, 22d June, 1798,

Extract of a letter from lieutenant-general Lake to lord viscount Castlereagh, dated Enniscorthy, 21st June, 1798,

“ MY LORD,

“ I HAVE the honour to acquaint your lordship, for his excellency the lord lieutenant’s information, that the rebel camp, upon Vinegar-hill, was attacked this morning at seven o’clock, and carried in about an hour and a half.

“ The relative importance of this very strong position with our operations against Wexford, made it necessary to combine our attacks so as to insure success. A column, under major-generals Johnson and Eustace was drawn from Ross, and began the attack upon the town of Enniscorthy, situate upon the right bank of the Slaney, close under Vinegar-hill upon the right, and rather in the rear of it.

“ Lieutenant general Dundas commanded the centre column, supported by a column upon the right under major generals sir James Duff and Loftus; a fourth column upon the left was commanded by the honourable major-general Needham. To the determined spirit with which these columns were conducted, and the great gallantry of the troops, we are indebted for the short resistance of the rebels, who maintained their ground obstinately for the time above mentioned; but on perceiving the danger of being surrounded, they fled with great precipitation. Their loss is not yet ascertained, but it must be very considerable. The loss on our part is not great, the particulars of which I shall

shall report as soon as possible. In the mean time, I am sorry to say, that lieutenant Sandys of the Longford regiment is killed; and that colonel King, of the Sligo, was wounded in gallantly leading his regiment. Lord Blayney, and colonel Vesey of the county of Dublin regiment, are also wounded; but I am happy to add, that the wounds of these three officers are very slight.

"I cannot too highly express my obligations, particularly to lieutenant-general Dundas, and the general officers, on this occasion, for the abilities and ardour so strongly manifested by them; and to the officers of every rank, and the private men, for a prompt, brave and effectual execution of their orders.

"To colonel Campbell, with his light battalion, I am much indebted for their very spirited attack; and great praise is due to the earl of Ancram and lord Roden, for their gallant charge with their regiments, at the moment the cavalry was wanted to complete the success of the day.

"It is with great gratitude I also beg leave to mention the able assistance I received from major-generals Hewitt and Cradock, and from colonel Handfield, on this, as I do on all occasions; and should be extremely wanting to myself, as well as to lord Glentworth, lieutenant-colonel Blyth, and lieutenant-colonel Read, (who did me the honour to volunteer their service, and accompany me from Dublin,) were I to omit expressing the high sense I entertain of their active and useful aid to me this morning. I also beg leave to mention, in the same warm terms, my aid-de-camp, captain Nicholson.

"To the rapid and well-directed fire of the royal artillery, and the gallantry of their officers and men, for which they have ever been distinguished, I consider myself this day highly indebted; and I am happy in expressing my obligations to captain Bloomfield, commanding the British, and captain Crawford, commanding the Irish royal artillery, with the officers and men under their command.

I have, &c.

(Signed) G. LAKE."

"P. S. I have just learned that lieutenant-colonel Cole is slightly wounded. Inclosed is a return of the ordnance taken on Vinegar-hill, in which are included three taken from us on the fourth of June.

Return

*Return of ordnance taken from the rebels on Vinegar-hill,
21st June, 1798.*

3 Six-pounders, brass.

1 Three-pounder.

7 One-pounders.

1 5½ Inch howitzer.

1 4½ Inch howitzer.

—
13 Total.

Rounds of ammunition,

17 Six-pounders.

30 One pounders.

11 5½ Inch howitzers.

Note. A cart, with a vast variety of balls of different diameters, had been thrown down the hill after the action, and immense quantities of lead and leaden balls delivered over to the Dunbarton fencibles.

(Signed)

ROBERT CRAWFORD, captain R. I. A.

2.

Dublin Castle, 22d June, 1798.

This day the following letter was received from lieutenant-general Lake by lord Castlereagh.

Wexford, 22d June, 1798.

“ MY LORD,

“ YESTERDAY afternoon I had the honour to dispatch a letter to your lordship from Enniscorthy, with the transactions of the day, for his excellency the lord lieutenant’s information ; and the enclosed copy of a letter from brigadier-general Moore, to major-general Johnson, will account for my having entered this place without opposition. General Moore, with his usual enterprize and activity, pushed on to this town, and entered it so opportunely as to prevent it from being laid in ashes, and the massacre of the remaining prisoners, which the rebels declared their intention of carrying into execution the very next day ; and there can be little doubt it would have taken place, for the
day

day before they murdered above seventy prisoners, and threw their bodies over the bridge.

" Inclosed is a copy of my answer to the proposals of the inhabitants of this town, transmitted in my letter of yesterday to your lordship ; the evacuation of the town by the rebels renders it unnecessary. I have the pleasure to acquaint your lordship, that the subscriber of the insolent proposals, Mr. Keugh, and one of their principal leaders, Mr. Roche, with a few others, are in my hands, without negotiation. The rebels are reported to be in some force within five miles of this place, it is supposed, for the purpose of submission, to which the event of yesterday may strengthen their inclinations. I have reason to think there are a number so disposed, and that I shall be able to secure some more of their leaders ; but should I be disappointed in my expectations, and find they collect in any force, I shall lose no time in attacking them.

I have, &c.

G. LAKE."

Lord viscount Castlereagh.

" From enquiry, the numbers killed yesterday were very great indeed."

Camp above Wexford, 22d June, 1798.

" DEAR GENERAL,

" AGREEABLE to your order, I took post on the evening of the nineteenth, near Foulkes's-mill, in the park of Mr. Sutton. Next day I sent a strong detachment under lieutenant-colonel Wilkinson, to patrol towards Tintern and Clonmines, with a view to scour the country, and communicate with the troops you directed to join me from Duncannon. The lieutenant-colonel found the country deserted, and got no tidings of the troops, I waited for them until three o'clock in the afternoon, when, despairing of their arrival, I began my march to Taghmon. We had not marched above half a mile, when a considerable body of the rebels was perceived marching towards us. I sent my advanced guard, consisting of the two rifle companies of the 60th, to skirmish with them, whilst a howitzer, and a six-pounder, were advanced to a cross road above Goff's bridge, and some companies of light infantry formed on each side of them under lieutenant-colonel Wilkinson.

The

The rebels attempted to attack these, but were instantly repulsed, and driven beyond the bridge. A large body were perceived at the same time moving towards my left. Major Aylmer, and afterwards major Daniel, with five companies of light infantry, and a six-pounder, were detached against them. The 60th regiment, finding no further opposition in front, had, of themselves, inclined to their left to engage the body which was attempting to turn us. The action here was for a short time pretty sharp. The rebels were in great numbers, and armed with both muskets and pikes. They were, however, forced to give way, and driven, though they repeatedly attempted to form, behind the ditches. They at last dispersed, flying towards Enniscorthy and Wexford. Their killed could not be ascertained, as they lay scattered in the fields over a considerable extent; but they seemed to be numerous. I inclose a list of ours. The troops behaved with great spirit. The artillery, and Hompesch's cavalry, were active, and seemed only to regret that the country did not admit of their rendering more effectual service. Major Daniel is the only officer whose wound is bad; it is through the knee, but not dangerous.

“ The business, which began between three and four, was not over till near eight; it was then too late to proceed to Taghmon. I took post for the night on the ground where the action had commenced. As the rebels gave way, I was informed of the approach of the second and twenty-ninth regiments under lord Dalhousie. In the morning of the twenty-first we were proceeding to Taghmon, when I was met by an officer of the North Cork from Wexford, with the inclosed letters. I gave, of course, no answer to the proposal made by the inhabitants of Wexford, but I thought it my duty immediately to proceed here, and to take post above the town, by which means I have, perhaps, saved the town itself from fire, as well as the lives of many loyal subjects who were prisoners in the hands of the rebels. The rebels fled upon my reproach, over the bridge of Wexford, and towards the barony of Forth. I shall wait here your further orders. Lord Kingsborough has informed me of different engagements he had entered into with respect to the inhabitants. I have declined entering into the subject, but have referred his lordship to you or general Lake.

“ I received your penciled note during the action of the twentieth: It was impossible for me then to detach the troops you asked for, but I hear you have perfectly succeeded

ceeded at Enniscorthy with those you had. Mr. Roche, who commands the rebels, is encamped, I hear, about five miles off; he sent lord Kingsborough to surrender upon terms. Your presence speedily is upon every account extremely necessary.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

JOHN MOORE."

DURING the action at Foulkes's-mill, many of the rebel leaders, among whom father Roche, doctor Caulfield's chaplain, was very conspicuous, were extremely active in keeping the rebel soldiers to their quarters, and in preventing them from flying. They horfewhipped some of them, and even fired pistols at others; in the performance of this service, Roche attempted to horfewhip a protestant of the name of Barrington, who was compelled to join them. I have been assured by a person who served in the rebel army in that action, that the object of father Philip Roche the general, was to attack Ross when general Johnson left it; that he sent one party to Horetown to watch the motions, and engage the attention of general Moore, while the main body proceeded by Cullinstown-bridge, to the attack of that town. The former suddenly, and unexpectedly, came on general Moore, and had a skirmish with him; which the main body hearing, went to their assistance, which brought on a general action. Roche intended to have kept one division of his army in the woods of Horetown; the other in those of Rosgarland; and to have attacked general Moore next morning; but the arrival of the Queen's and the 29th regiments, to general Moore, deterred him from that attempt. It was much to be lamented, that a gallant officer, major Daniel of the 41st regiment then quartered at Lismore, lost his life by this action. He volunteered, and solicited to be employed against the Wexford rebels; and having received a bad wound in the knee, he died of it a few weeks after in Dublin. He had displayed very great valour both in the East and West Indies.

3.

A description of the rebel camp on the mountain of Feth, on the thirtieth of May.

PREVIOUS to the evacuation of Wexford, its protestant inhabitants, dreading that the sudden and furious assault
of

the rebel army stationed on the mountain of Forth, within three miles of it, would be attended with the complete destruction of their lives and property, prevailed upon Mr. Loftus Richards and his brother to go to them for the purpose of proposing certain pacifick terms; and I give the reader his description of their camp. "On entering, they were surrounded by many thousand vagabonds, of whom they enquired, to whom they should address themselves as their leaders; and they answered, 'To father John Murphy, of Boulavogue, or lord Edward Fitzgerald,' as they usually stiled him. They soon after met this reverend gentleman, on horseback, and on communicating to him the object of their mission, he said, 'He did not know what terms they could expect from the treatment which he had received; for that, by burning his house and property, and obliging him to take shelter in the ditches, he was under the necessity of raising the whole country.'* From his savage aspect, they had very great reason to be alarmed for their safety: they therefore advanced from a crowd, who were debating on putting them to death; and sent for Mr. Edward Fitzgerald of Newpark, another rebel chieftain, who came to them, and treated them with more civility and humanity; and who dispersed the rabble, telling them at the same time, that they should have nothing to do with them. They instantly obeyed. He then led them to a miserable hut at the top of the rocks, which seemed to have been appropriated to the double purpose of an hospital and a place of shelter for their leaders; but in the thatch of which there were many holes. Soon after their arrival they were obliged to deliver up their arms and accoutrements. Mr. Robert Carthy, who seemed, from the authority which he exercised, to be chief in command, approached, and asked them, 'What terms they could expect, when at the moment they were entering into a treaty for surrendering the town, there was an army marching against them from towards Taghmon? and see,' said he, pointing to a mob of assassins, 'where I have my men ready drawn out to attack them.' And they made a most extraordinary appearance, being armed with pikes, scythes, hay-knives, scrapers, currying-knives, and old rusty bayonets fixed on poles: but a good number of them had muskets. They expostulated with Carthy, and told him they had good authority for saying, that the thirteenth regiment, which had advanced as far as Taghmon, had retreated, on hearing

* See the affidavits of Rossiter and Crawley, vol. ii. p. 332.

ing of the defeat of a detachment of the Meath regiment; but, to satisfy them, they proposed that Fitzgerald, his brother and himself, should take horses, and proceed to meet the regiment, if coming, and to tell colonel Bradshaw, who commanded it, of the circumstances as they then stood. They advanced within a mile of Taghmon, where they met a large foraging party proceeding to the rebel camp, with from six to eight car loads of provisions, and who declared that the thirteenth had retreated. They then returned speedily to the rebel camp, and made their report; but Carthy came forward again, and said, 'Can these men be sincere? the whole country towards the barony of Forth is in flames!' alluding to the village of Maglase, which our retreating army had set fire to, as they had been treacherously fired on by a party of rebels, who lay in ambush there for them. Mr. L. Richards replied, if they had any doubts of their sincerity, that he would remain as a hostage with them, while his brother and Mr. Fitzgerald went to Wexford, to which they assented. He then remained in the hut, with a guard at the door, and, while there, he perceived, through a hole in the wall, about a foot square, a great number of men armed with the desperate weapons which he before described, incessantly marching, except that now and then, they knelt down to pray; and at the end of each prayer, bent their bodies towards the earth, and thrust the forefinger of their right hand into their mouth, as far as the extremity of the knuckle. When he had remained about three hours in that unpleasant situation, Mr. John Hay came to him, and said, 'That the people had agreed, that he had betrayed Fitzgerald, and therefore that he must be put to death.' Mr. Richards insisted on the contrary. Mr. Hay went off, returned in about half an hour, and declared, it was universally agreed, 'That Fitzgerald had either sold them, or that he had betrayed him.' And he swore vehemently, that the forces would be marched immediately towards Wexford, which Mr. Richards said, 'would be the best thing to prove his sincerity.' In about five minutes after, the whole body of the rebels proceeded towards Wexford; and as they marched, continued to fire muskets, and give the most dreadful yells. They left two sentinels to guard Mr. Richards; who, in the mean time, examined the wounds of six unfortunate wretches who lay upon straw in the hut, and
who,

who, though badly wounded, did not receive any nourishment or medical assistance.

The banditti who marched towards Wexford, could not be less than fifteen thousand men. Mr. Fitzgerald sent for Mr. Richards, and for a drummer of the Meath militia, that had been cut off that morning. They set off with their conductor, and when they had arrived within a quarter of a mile of Wexford, they perceived the rebels flying into the country, in every direction, and the road strewed with their coats, wigs, hats, pikes, muskets, and other weapons; and men, women, and children, in the greatest consternation. On enquiry, he found that their dismay, and their flight, were occasioned by the report of a gun, which had been fired at Mr. Sparrow, of Enniscorthy, a yeoman of distinguished loyalty, by a person in the van of their army; from which the rear, having been panick-struck, fled in the utmost confusion; conceiving that our army had returned and were firing on them.* Mr. Richards, on entering the town, saw the dead body of Mr. Sparrow lying in the street, and the rebels engaged in destroying the house of a watch-maker, whom they branded with the appellation of "orangeman." A gentleman who had procured the pardon of one of the unfortunate wretches who attended this camp, assured him, that at one time he was almost famished; that at another, he was overcome with repletion. That at times, the hunger of the rebel soldiers was so great, that they used to cut off large pieces of flesh from the body of a bullock, before it was killed, then throw it on a fire, with the hair and skin on, and consume it before it was half roasted.

4.

A list of persons executed in the town of Wexford, for the crimes of rebellion, murder, &c. from the retaking of the town by the royal army, June the twenty-first, 1798, to the eighteenth of December, 1800.

No.

- 1 John Hay
- 2 Philip Roche, priest
- 3 Matthew Keugh
- 4 John Herron
- 5 Nicholas Cousins

No.

- 6 Mark Nugent
- 7 Bartholomew Shea
- 8 Martin Fenlon
- 9 Edward Frayne
- 10 Michael Magee

11 B. Bagenal

* See an account of this in page 347 of the text.

No.	No.
11 B. Bagenal Harvey	39 Daniel Mooney
12 Patt. Prendergast	40 Phelim Fardy
13 Cornelius Grogan	41 James Beaghan
14 John Colclough	42 Arthur Murphy
15 John Rouffom	43 James Burkett
16 John Murphy	44 Francis Cuthbert
17 John Whitty	45 William Fenlon
18 James Kelly	46 Patrick Elliott
19 Patrick Harpur	47 Matthew Furlong
20 Hugh McGuire	48 Patrick Furlong
21 Robert Murphy	49 Michael Dudley
22 Esmond Kyan	50 Daniel Sullivan
23 Matthew Ryan	51 John Fitzhenry
24 Peter Byrne	52 Michael Patrick
25 Miles Whelan	53 Maurice Murphy
26 James D'Arcy	54 James Sculley
27 Matthew Green, junior	55 Michael Kelly†
28 Matthew Mahoney	56 Nicholas Walsh
29 Hugh Hughes	57 Nicholas Parle
30 Patrick Doran	58 Thomas Parle
31 Hugh Rooney	59 James Byrne
32 Stephen Furlong	60 Andrew Fattell
33 Denis Murphy	61 John Dunn
34 Redmond Mitchell	62 Gerald Lacy
35 Michael Dornelly	63 Mogue Foley
36 Bartholomew Murphy *	64 Hugh Boulger
37 William Conners	65 Patrick Kehoe
38 Denis Kehoe	66 Edward Stacey.‡

The

* Alias Cormuck.

† So sure were the rebels that the confiscation of all protestant property would take place, that Michael Kelly, commonly called general Kelly, made a will, by which he left captain Blacker's estate to a relation in case he should be killed in the rebellion. The will and father Roche's vestments were found together on Lacken-hill, when general Johnson drove the rebels from it.

‡ No. 66 was executed for a recent murder; he was not a rebel.

The reader may form some idea of the clemency of government, and of the general officers, from the following proclamation published a few days after the rebels had perpetrated such barbarities :

Proclamation by lieutenant-general Lake, commander in chief of his majesty's forces in Ireland.

TO prevent the farther effusion of blood, the fatal effects of depopulation, and the total destruction of property, in this once-happy county, the general wishes to hold out to the last moment in his power, the means of forgiveness, and of returning happiness, to the unfortunate multitude, who, from ignorance, and the persuasion of interested, wicked, and designing men, have been seduced from their allegiance, to rise in arms and rebellion against their sovereign, and the laws of their country, and to commit acts of murder, cruelty, and depredation, that would disgrace the most savage nation. From this horrid state, and from the impending ruin of the county and its inhabitants, the general is most anxiously desirous of rescuing them; and hereby promises to all deluded persons who have yielded to the threats or persuasion of the infamous promoters of rebellion, that if they will immediately abandon their wicked course, and return as peaceable and good subjects to their respective homes and occupations, their persons and property shall remain unmolested, and in perfect security from injury. But, as a proof of their sincere repentance, and desire to return to their allegiance, they must, in the first instance, and in the course of three days, from the date hereof, (making allowance for the most distant parts of the county) deliver up their arms and ammunition, as directed in the notice of the twenty-third instant, and hereunto subjoined,* and also the persons who have been most active in instigating or compelling them to engage in the rebellion; or if this is not in their power, they must give information where they are most likely to be found.

Should the terms here offered not be attended to, it will become the general's indispensable duty totally to destroy

VOL. II.

I i

every

* On their delivering their leaders into the hands of the commanding officers of his majesty's forces nearest to their respective situations.

every town, cottage, and farm-house, that shall be found unoccupied by the masters of them, and to put to the sword every person who shall be found in arms, or having arms or ammunition in their possession.

A serious consideration of this proclamation is recommended to all persons who have been compelled to join the rebels, and who sincerely repent their past conduct; and they are particularly required to use their utmost exertions in bringing the deluded people to a sense of the ruinous situation into which they have brought the country, and of the only means by which they can rescue themselves and their property from the just vengeance that must be the inevitable consequence of their not attending to the terms of reconciliation now offered, and the last that will be made to them.

Wexford, June 27th, 1798.

5.

A list of leaders among the rebels found by general Lake in governor Keugh's house.

COLONEL Edward Roche, of Garrylough,
Edmond Kyan, major of brigade,
Colonel Edward Fitzgerald, of Newpark,
Colonel John Perry, of Inch,
Captain Nicholas Dixon, of Castle-bridge,
Captain Martin Myrna, of Limerick,
Captain Nicholas Murphy, of Moneyseed,
Captain William Carton, of Ballyclough,
Captain Rossiter, of Saunders-court,
Father Nicholas Stafford, of River-chapel,
Captain Denis Doyle, } of Gorey,
Captain James Doyle, }
Lieutenant John Tiffin, of Coolatore,
Captain Martin Quin, of Clough,
Captain Edward Symot, of Kilrush,
Captain Philip Murphy, of Peppard's Castle-gate.

Co. Wexford.

Captain Patrick Redmond, of Coolgreny,
Captain William Byrne, of Ballymanus,
Captain Holt,
Captain Garret Byrne, of Ballymanus.
Captain Kelly,
Captain Reynolds.

Co. Wicklow.

Co. Kildare.

Affidavit

6.

*Affidavit of the burning of the bishop's palace, and of
Mr. Abel Ram's house, in 1641.*

ABEL RAM, of Ramsfort, in the parish of Kilmeckeloge, in the barony of Gorey, in the county of Wexford, esquire, a British protestant, being duly sworn, deposeth, That on or about the twenty-first of November last, about the hour of twelve of the clock in the day time, he, this deponent, was robbed, and lost,

Imprimis in corn and hay,	-	-	-	£.
Item in cattle,	-	-	-	200
Item household goods,	-	-	-	130
Item in bonds and mortgages,	-	-	-	250
				500

The whole being 1080

*Besides which, he was dispossessed of freehold lands, being of
the value of 1200l. per annum,*

By Ancias Kavenagh, of Mullanegraugh, gentleman,
Theobald Mackvadagh, gentleman, of Ballegarrett,
Morrison Garratt, of Ballyneccolaugh, gentleman,
Donoghoe Kavanagh, of Ballymenan, gentleman,
Owen Mac Turlaugh, of Balleloghan, gentleman,
Adam Wafer, of the Afke, gentleman,
Alexander Redmond, of the Ruhin, gentleman,
Donagh Mac Shaneballagh, the priest,
John Fitz-James, of Newburrow, gentleman,
Turlagh Darcy, of Glanderan, gentleman,
Shane Sarragh, of Carrybeg, gentleman,
Griffin Kavanagh, of Ballowin, gentleman,
Nicholas Kavanagh, of Coles-hill, gentleman,
Turlagh Mac Enogh, of Mullanegraugh, gentleman,
All of the county of Wexford.

ABEL RAM.

Jurat coram nobis, 12th January, 1641.

HENRY BRURTON.

WILLIAM HITCHCOCK.

The names of more men who were seen by the deponent among other rebels at Limerick :

William Doyle, of Fort-chester, gentleman,
Morrison Vadagh, of Ballantlea, gentleman,
Donnell Roe Mc. Owen, of Balleclogh, gentleman.

ABEL RAM

Dated the 12th of January, 1641.

Jurat coram nobis, 12th of January, 1641.

HENRY BRURTON.

WILLIAM HITCHCOCK.

JOHN CLIFFE, late of Courtown, in the county of Wexford, gentleman, sworn the twenty-seventh of June, 1642, before John Watson, and John Sterne, esquires, faith, he was told for certain truth at Arklow, while he was prisoner there, by divers persons of undoubted credit, that on the fifth day of March last, divers priests and friars met at Newburrow, alias Gorey, to burn the library of bishop Ram, late bishop of Ferns and Laughlin; and while the books were burning, a swarm of bees came in at the windows of the room where they were, and stung and frightened the priests and friars out of the room.

JOHN CLIFFE.

7.

County of Sligo,
to wit.

WILLIAM STINSON, of Ballekill-
cash, in the parish of Killmeckishalga in
said county, gentleman, came before me
this day, and made oath on the Holy Evangelists, That he
was taken prisoner at his own house, on Saturday the
eighth day of September last, about the hour of four
o'clock in the afternoon, by two men of the name of Ro-
gan and Gillaspy, as deponent was informed, both armed
with a gun and sword, and that they conveyed him to
Ballina, in said county, and confined him in the house of
the right honourable Henry King; that during his confine-
ment, a popish priest of the name of Cowley, came into
the room where this deponent was confined, and said,
“Orange, lie down,” and “Croppies, rise up;” saying also,
to

to the prisoners who were confined there, and who were of the protestant religion, "You are a parcel of hereticks; you have no more religion than pigs; you will be put to death with the greatest torture before ten o'clock to-morrow;" and that the said priest at the same time struck a Mr. Robert Atkinson, of Ballybeg, as a heretick; and said, at the same time, that if he had Robert Atkinson, of Easky, he would skin him alive.

WILLIAM STINSON,

Sworn before me, this 2d of June, 1799,
ROBERT HILLAS.

County of Sligo,
to wit.

THE information of John Armstrong, of Ballymooney, and parish of Easky, in said county. Deponent came before me this day, and made oath on the Holy Evangelists, that he was taken prisoner on Thursday or Friday, the seventh or eighth of September last, near Easky aforesaid, by a number of armed rebels who conveyed him to the house of the right honourable colonel King, at Ballina in said county; that during his confinement, father Cowley, a popish priest, came into the room where this deponent was, with many other protestants who were confined there, about the hour of twelve o'clock at night; and that he asked if the parcel of orange hereticks were there, and said, "Lie down, orange," and, "Rise up, 'croppy,'" or words to that effect; and that the said priest, stamping on the ground in a violent angry manner, said, "You parcel of hereticks, have no more religion than a parcel of pigs; I do not know whether you will be put to death before ten o'clock to-morrow, by being burned with barrels of tar, or by pikes, or by balls;" adding "that the latter would not get room on your bodies;" and that deponent saw the said priest strike Robert Atkinson of Ballybeg in said parish, as a heretick; and that the said priest said, if he had Robert Atkinson of Easky in his possession, he would skin him alive.

JOHN ARMSTRONG.

Sworn before me, this 1st of June, 1799,
ROBERT HILLAS.

County

*County of Sligo, } ROBERT ATKINSON, of Ballybeg,
to wit ... } in the parish of Esky, in said county,
_____ } gentleman, came before me this day, and
maketh oath on the Holy Evangelists, That after his house
was destroyed by the rebels, he lay in a neighbouring cabin,
in order to bring off his family next day, but was taken
prisoner about sun-rise on Saturday the eighth of September
last, as he best recollects, by a body of armed rebels,
to the number of ten or twelve, headed by two captains,
namely, Thady Murray and Francis Finigan, who brought
him directly to Ballina on foot, and would not let him
take a horse, and confined him in the house of colonel
King, in Ballina, where he remained that night; that
priest Cowley came before sun-rise next morning into the
room where he was confined; when he came into the
room he called for the guard, the guard answered, and he
desired the guard to take very good care of these prisoners;
that Mr. Atkinson, thinking he was a parish priest, and
that he might have some influence on him; but instead of
shaking hands with him, he struck him with a stick across
the head, and desired them all to be prepared, and that he
would have them all burned in four hours after.*

ROBERT ATKINSON.

Sworn before me, this 3d of June, 1799,

ROBERT HILLAS.

8.

*In the beginning of September, and soon after the French landed,
the following denunciation was posted up on the church
of Killyshee, in the county of Westmeath, by the rebels:*

TAKE Notice, heretick usurpers, that the brave slaves
of this island will no longer lie in bondage; the die is
cast, our deliverers are come, and the royal brute who held
the iron rod of despotick tyranny is expiring; nor shall one
govern. Our holy old religion shall be re-established in *this*
house, and the earth shall no longer be burthened with
bloody hereticks, who under the pretence of rebellion, (which
they themselves have raised) mean to massacre us.

The Fleur de'lis and harp we will display,
While tyrant hereticks shall mould to clay.

REVENGE! REVENGE! REVENGE!

Extra

9.

Extract of a letter from a Romish priest, written to an eminent attorney in Dublin, who has the original.

SIR,

YOU no doubt must be surprised to find yourself addressed by one who has not the honour of your acquaintance; however, if you will arm yourself with patience, to hear a long story, I will endeavour to introduce myself to you. Sir, I am a Romish priest. Imposed upon by the example of my bishop, I said mass at the rebel camp; my behaviour during the time was such, that I am neither sorry for, nor ashamed of it. I saved from twenty to thirty lives, who will make affidavit of it in any court; and this I look upon to be more meritorious, (at least in the sight of God,) than running away like many others; who now make such a boast of their loyalty. As a proof of the publick good will towards me, my chapel has never been insulted, though situated in the most publick place in the county. On the return of the king's government, my first concern was to obtain his majesty's pardon, for that degree of rebellion of which I was guilty, which (long may he live!) I obtained without any difficulty; but guess, sir, my astonishment at receiving a letter from my bishop, silencing me from my clerical function in this diocese, when his own conduct was what chiefly led me astray, (if I except the degree of terror the rebels put me into after the government was upset all round me,) for during the ferment, which preceded the explosion, he never instructed me how to act. Instead of excommunicating them for their horrid rebellion, he gave them his benediction in the chapel-yard, the day they took two days before they called on me to follow them. *Instead of excommunicating the barbarous murderers at he gave all his priests power to give absolution for murder; a power which he ever till then reserved to himself.* Even the last battle in this county was fought by his direction, and the priest who served as his aid-de-camp on the occasion, he kept in his house till last spring, when he was obliged to smuggle him out of the county, otherwise he would have fallen a victim to outraged justice; and indeed it is of but little avail to me, that the king should grant me both

both my life and liberty, if he suffers this gentleman to starve me. I have been at great expence to qualify myself to live by the gospel, and am now too old to embark in any other line, to procure myself bread. Hence I conceive, (and am advised thereto,) that the laws of my country will procure me redress; nor do I think it a weak argument in proof of my loyalty, that I am the first priest who has appealed to the laws of my own country, in preference to a foreign jurisdiction. My losses on his account, to the present day, I state at one hundred and six guineas. I therefore, sir, beseech you, to take my case in hands, and if you find me law, I will find you money.

August 30th, 1799.

SIR,

Your very humble and obedient servant.

THE CATECHISM OF THE UNITED IRISHMEN,

Published and circulated since the rebellion was put down, for the purpose of keeping the flame of it alive.

I BELIEVE in the IRISH UNION, in the supreme majesty of the people, in the equality of man, in the lawfulness of insurrection, and of resistance to oppression. I believe in a revolution founded on the rights of man, in the natural and imprescriptible right of *all* the Irish citizens to all the land. I believe the soil, or any part of it, cannot be transferred without the consent of the people, or their representatives, convened and authorised, by the votes of every man having arrived at the age of twenty-one years. I believe the land, or any of it, cannot become the property of any man, but by purchase, or as rewards for forwarding and preserving the publick liberty. I believe our present connexion with England must be speedily dissolved. I believe that old age, pregnant women, and labour should be honoured. I believe that TREASON is the crime of betraying the people. I believe religious distinctions are only protected by tyrants. I believe applying the lands of the church to relieve old age, to give education and protection to infancy, will be more acceptable to an united people, than maintaining lazy hypocrites and ravenous tythe-gatherers.

In this faith I mean to live, or bravely die.

2. What

Q. What are you ?

A. An Irishman.

Q. As an Irishman, what do you hope for ?

A. The emancipation of my country, and equality of rights, a fair division of the land, an abolition of religious establishments, and a representative government.

Q. What benefit do you propose to your country, by what you call emancipation ?

A. Deliverance from the odious influence of England, and that domestick tyranny it generated, which is calculated to corrupt our morals, impoverish our people, and retard our industry.

Q. How do you conceive this ?

A. By the innumerable injuries we experience from England—she shuts us out from any mercantile connexion with the world, while she tells us we are an independent people ; she fosters establishments in our island, contriving to make her agents in the land her friends and our oppressors.

Q. How are Irish morals injured by England ?

A. By monopolizing the trade of the world, and confining us to deal only with her.

Q. Does that affect your morals ?

A. Yes, her contrivance leaves us at her mercy : she sells to us at her own prices, she deprives us of the choice of other markets, either to buy or sell ; by such means she has the command of all our produce ; we buy dear and sell cheap ; consequently we are poor, and poverty begets crimes, as Job says, “ Lord, make me not poor, lest I should steal.”

Q. What other reasons have you against English connections, and what other proofs have you of its influence on your morals ?

A. England has organized a kind of legislators here, devoted to her interests, and holding their power and influence at her will.

Q. Explain yourself.

A. Those law-makers are land-holders, all of one trade, which in itself is criminal ; as men making laws, being of one profession, will always be unanimous in promoting the welfare of a particular object. A legislative assembly of tanners would make leather dear ; of weavers, would increase the price of cloth ; of school-masters, would monopolize instruction. Our law-makers contrive to make
spirituous

spirituous liquors in more general use than bread, they are constantly canting on the drunkenness of the people, and take no pains to discourage distillation, as it raises the value of their lands, under the pretext of promoting the revenue. They encourage grazing and the exportation of cattle; they sell the draught and accuse us of drunkenness; they export our raw materials; they say we are idlers, and mock our poverty; they import tobacco for our use, and export our beef and butter: Thus the necessaries of life are put out of our reach, to promote their own ends, and a poisonous plant given us for the same purposes.

Q. What advantage can our poverty be to our law-makers?

A. By being poor we must be on the alert, to procure the necessaries of life, which makes true the old maxim, they keep us poor and busy. Our time will be spent studying to avoid want, instead of enquiring the cause of it, for enquiry is dangerous to tyranny.

Q. What benefit, in a general sense, would emancipation be?

A. Ireland delivered from England, would give us immense resources, innumerable means of employing our people, would extend our trade and agriculture, we could have the sugars of the West-Indies, seventy per cent. cheaper, from the Danes, the Dutch, or the French, than we can get them from the retail market of England. The teas, and produce of the Indies, we could also have, in the same advantageous manner, from the same nations, or from the Americans, or by a direct importation. Other branches of trade and other sources of riches and employments would unfold themselves to independent Ireland, now impossible to enumerate?

Q. What is meant by equality?

A. Men being born equal, is evident to every understanding. If the Creator intended any superior rank among men, it is that of superior abilities or superior virtue; if he intended any other nobility than the noble of nature, we should see noblemen, not the same impotent, ignorant, vicious, and untaught creatures, so common among the artificial orders. We should have them born without wanting any of those acquirements that appear so necessary to every rank, which is the result of tedious instruction, and persevering industry, their childhood would be distinguished by a knowledge of every talent that is known or valued;

lued ; they would come into the world finished statesmen, orators, mathematicians, generals, dancing-masters, hair-dressers, taylors, &c. nay, they would come from the womb covered with embroidery, ribbons, stars, and coronets.

Q. Not appearing in infancy to have any visible or mental acquirements, more than other mortals, you think is an argument to defend the opinions of those who are advocates for equality ?

A. Undoubtedly. Many persons in Ireland may remember men who are ranked as nobility, to be raised by accidental circumstances from the loins of footmen, low tradesmen, and infamous gamblers ; the whole of them may be said, within the last century, to be the descendants of English ruffians, adventurers, whose crimes or obscurity denied them a livelihood in their own country, but were the cruel agents of foreign force or foreign seduction. The origin of nobles in every country is the same, but time and revolutions have concealed their hateful origin.

Q. What inconvenience do Irishmen find by the privileged orders ?

A. We have manifold complaints against the unnatural institution ; they are an association in alliance with the common enemy. They consider the people as an inferior and degraded mass, only made for their amusement or convenience, to dig, plow, or enlist whenever the tyrant's amusement or ambition is the mode. They influence the whole race of land-holders, who are their creatures or admirers, whose conduct, honour, and religion is regulated by an uniform compliance, that will promise a hope of arriving at the rank and emoluments that are at the disposal of the plunderers of the people.

Q. Do you mean an equality of property as a part of your system ?

A. By no means ; 'tis too absurd to imagine : I mean only an equality of rights, that is, that every man is eligible to publick employment, whose honesty and abilities are approved of by his countrymen ; that no man should be deprived of his liberty or property by any others, of supposed superiority of rank ; that every man, however rich, however connected, should be as amenable to the laws and as subject to punishment as the meanest ; that labour, honesty, and publick virtue should be protected, and should be the tests of superiority.

Q. What good could a fair division of the land be to Ireland ?

A. As

A. As the land and its produce was intended for the use of man, it is unfair for fifty or an hundred men, to possess what is for the subsistence of near five millions : it exposes the great body of the people to every want and every misery. It is a blasphemy to say the present landholders in Ireland, are to be the "lords of the soil." The Almighty intended all mankind to lord the soil. As man cannot in the present improved manners of life, do without shoes, clothes, or food, which are produced from the grass and corn, surely it is unfair that one or one hundred should hold in their hands those necessities which none ought to want ; it is not possible that God can be pleased to see a whole nation depending on the caprice and pride of a small faction, who can deny the common property in the land to his people, or at least tell them, how much they shall eat, and what kind ; and how much they shall wear, and what kind. As we every day experience from the hands of these cruel usurpers, who have formed themselves into a corporation of law-makers, and are constantly exporting our provisions, or curtailing its growth, on the horrid policy of preserving subordination, by degrading our characters, and forcing on us every servile occupation to earn a scanty livelihood in a country capable of the greatest plenty.

Q. How would you alter the property in land, and preserve the country from anarchy ?

A. By dividing the ancient estates among the descendants of those Irish families, who were pillaged by English invaders,* giving to every person without exception, a competent share to enable him or her to get a comfortable livelihood ; this provision not to extend to any person who impeded the deliverance of the country by cowardice or treachery. The remainder to be sold by publick sale, and the money applied to paying off the debts contracted by the former confederacy, and for rewarding the citizens who fought for their country, and providing for their wives and mothers, and giving education to their children and infant relations.

Q. What is your view by wishing to abolish religious establishments ?

A. To eradicate every reason of jealousy and distrust, to ease the nation of a useless and weighty body, formed of hypocrites and cheats.

Q. How would this provide against jealousy and distrust ?

A. As

* This idea makes popery worse and more dangerous to the state in Ireland than in any other country in Europe.

A. As every man has a right to make use of any form of worship he thinks most acceptable to his Creator, it is unfair to tax him for the maintenance of an order he does not acknowledge, and cannot approve of. It is unjust to take his property, his corn, his cattle, his hay and potatoes, to maintain a man he can do without, or perhaps abhors. The system of tythes forces a man's property from his family, to apply it to the use of a disorderly idler, or useless fool, protected by power, often uniting every vice that disfigures society, under the specious cloke of religion. By leaving every minister of religion on the bounty of his hearers, you generally find the people choose men of education and morals, as objects of their esteem. If there were no other advantages than that of adding the church lands to the national stock, and relieving the people from tythes, it would be of sufficient utility to abolish church establishments.

Q. Let me hear your reasons for a representative government?

A. By giving a power of voting to every man who has not forfeited his right by any crime, you create such an immense number of electors, that no candidate can ever purchase their suffrage.

Q. Would that be sufficient to promote your plan?

A. No: I mention it as the first towards true representation; besides the justice of universal suffrage, it has that beauty which must make every man its advocate.

Q. How would the poor see the advantage of it?

A. As every man, in a free state, votes to secure his liberty and property, the poor man has but his labour; yet it is to him a property; he should have representatives, who would be careful of the value of labour, and watch, with a vigilant eye, the different and combining circumstances occurring in legislative assemblies, lest the labour, or employments of the artizan or husbandman should be made uncertain or unfashionable.

Q. Should there be any qualification for a representative?

A. None but honesty, and abilities, as every man should be eligible.

Q. Might not a representative betray the trust reposed in him, and be an accomplice in the destruction of his country?

A. By limiting the existence of representative assemblies, to one or two years, the people have a frequent check on the

the conduct of their representatives, and should any displease by ignorant, or treacherous conduct, he could be replaced ; by that means corruption or tyranny could be prevented, as near as human wisdom can devise.

Q. Were we to regain our freedom, would not the power of England be dangerous to our existence as a free state ?

A. By no means. As power principally consists in population, her population cannot be so formidable as to hazard our safety.

Q. Why, she has a more numerous people ?

A. She has, in the island of Great Britain about seven millions, we have near five, she could not send her seven millions on an invasion ; though we could fight our whole population against the redundancy of hers, as we could be on the defensive.

Q. But she has a navy ?

A. Her navy could make little impression on Ireland ; a navy may cover a debarkation of troops, and support them while within the reach of the ships guns ; but after that, any number of troops, however well appointed, though all the navies of Europe were employed in conveying them, would be a very insufficient force to conquer the united people of Ireland, fighting for a valuable country, and a more valuable independence.

Q. Would not the navy of England destroy our trade ?

A. We have no trade, nor have we foreign possessions, so we have nothing to apprehend on that account.

Q. Would not blocking up our ports be some inconvenience ?

A. None, as our miserable and confined commerce is calculated rather to injure the poor, the suppressing of it would be beneficial in a state of hostility ; our exports are necessaries of life, taken from them who labour ; and our imports luxuries to pamper the idle. Were the corn, cattle and butter kept at home, and wines, teas, sugar and tobacco, kept away, we need not be much alarmed at the naval consequence of England.

Q. How shall we arrive at the blessings so certain from independence ?

A. By a union of *all* the people.

Q. Do you mean the privileged orders in this union ?

A. No ; were we to wait their concurrence, our delivery would be as distant as the general death of nature ?

Q. Who

2. Who do you mean should compose this favourite object?

A. Every man that is oppressed, every man that labours, every honest man of every religion, every man who loves, and whose love of his country raises the human mind above other trifling distinctions, and loses the petty notions of sects, in the name of Irishman.

ESTO PERPETUA.

10.

The descent made by James Napper Tandy, at Rutland in the county of Donegal.

*Rutland, six o'clock P. M. Sunday,
Sept. 16th, 1798.*

SIR,

ABOUT twelve o'clock a French brig came into this harbour, and immediately landed a number of men and officers, Napper Tandy at their head. They immediately enquired for the post-office, and came and posted a centinel at the door to prevent my sending off immediately: They demanded (though very politely) some victuals, with which they were furnished. I had a good deal of conversation with Tandy: When they found that their friends here had surrendered and were made prisoners of war, they seemed a good deal confounded; and, after taking a slight repast, re-embarked.

Tandy informed me that they came on a mere experiment, to try the pulse of the people, about which he particularly enquired. I reported this neighbourhood, as far as I knew, to be weaned from French principles, &c. at which he seemed surprised; he says, the French will never make peace with England, until Ireland is made free and independent.

They behaved very politely and paid for all they took.

The brig they came in is called the Anacreon, about twelve days from Brest; they saw several English cruisers, but out-sailed them all.

I have sent expresses to Ballyshannon and Letterkenny. — They intend returning to France directly; they came north

north about by Scotland. Enclosed is ^{the} paper, A, several of which I understand they have distributed; also a certificate, B, signed by the officers, exonerating me from censure for admitting them into my house.

We have not any kind of armed military force nearer us than Letterkenny, about twenty-five miles.

I am, sir,

Your very obedient servant,

FRANCIS FOSTER, *Dep. P. M. Rutland.*

John Lees, esquire.

*Rutland, September 17th, Monday,
eight o'clock in the morning.*

SIR,

I YESTERDAY (by post) informed you of a French brig coming into our harbour and landing three boats full of men; there were a number of officers, among whom was the redoubted J. N. Tandy, a brigadier, and commander of the expedition. Tandy, being an old acquaintance, was communicative; he says, positively, that France will not make peace with Great Britain upon any other terms than Irish independence; he appeared dejected on hearing of the fate of the late French descent, and of the discoveries made by Bond, Mc'Nevin, Emmet, &c. but said, they will certainly attempt to land twenty thousand men, and perish all or succeed; he was astonished when I told him that very few had joined the French; they took every pains to convince the people that they were their best friends, and such stuff; they took a cow and two swine, for which they paid, and this morning, after firing a gun, went to sea, towards the N. East. I have dispatched an express, (a second one) to the collector of Letterkenny and am in hopes that some of the Lough Swilly fleet will intercept them. They met several cruisers between England and France, but out-failed them all; they came north about. They were full of arms, the officers of the port were detained aboard them from morning (yesterday) until ten o'clock at night; they report them full of arms, a park of artillery, accoutrements for cavalry, clothing, &c. &c. They expected that the whole country was up, and that they had nothing to do but join their friends; the natives here all fled to the mountains,

mountains, and seem not at all inclined to join them; we have not a military man nearer than Ballyshannon forty miles, or Letterkenny twenty-five, although there is an excellent new barrack here ready to receive one hundred men; they had a great number of Irish on board, their force about two hundred and fifty men; and are perfectly acquainted with the coast. Their drift is evidently to encourage disaffection. I was a prisoner in my own house four or five hours until the post came in; they had sentinels on every point of the island, to prevent intelligence being immediately dispatched. I am just informed by one of the officers, that they were determined to land their arms here; but upon a consultation, after they found their countrymen had been defeated, they altered their plan.

I have the honour to be

Your very obedient servant,

FRANCIS FOSTER, *P. M. Rutland.*

On their leaving my house, the general (Rey) took a gold ring from his finger, and presented it to Mrs. Foster, as a token of fraternity;—thus they cajole and insidiously endeavour to gain the weak and the ignorant, to the total dissolution of subordination and obedience to authority, without which society cannot exist!

John Lees, esquire.

A.

Papers distributed among the inhabitants of Rutland by Napper Tandy on his landing there.

LIBERTY OR DEATH!

Northern army of Avengers. Head Quarters, the first year of Irish Liberty.

UNITED IRISHMEN!

The soldiers of the great nation have landed on your coast, well supplied with arms and ammunition of all kinds, with artillery worked by those who have spread terror among the

ranks of the best troops in Europe, headed by French officers ; they come to break your fetters, and restore you to the blessings of liberty.

James Napper Tandy is at their head ; he has sworn to lead them on to victory or die. Brave Irishmen, the friends of liberty have left their native soil to assist you in reconquering your rights ; they will brave all dangers, and glory at the sublime idea of cementing your happiness with their blood.

French blood shall not flow in vain—To arms ! freemen, to arms ! The trumpet calls, let not your friends be butchered unassisted ; if they are doomed to fall in this most glorious struggle, let their death be useful to your cause, and their bodies serve as footsteps to the temple of Irish liberty.

GENERAL REY,

*In the name of the French officers and
soldiers now on the coast of Ireland.*

LIBERTY OR DEATH !

*Northern army of Avengers. Head quarters the
first year of Irish Liberty.*

General J. N. Tandy to his countrymen.

UNITED IRISHMEN !

What do I hear ? the British government have dared to speak of concessions ! would you accept of them ?

Can you think of entering into a treaty with a British minister ? a minister too, who has left you at the mercy of an English soldiery, who laid your cities waste and massacred inhumanly your best citizens ; a minister, the bane of society, and the scourge of mankind ; behold, Irishmen, he holds in his hand the olive of peace ; beware, his other hand lies concealed armed with a poignard. No, Irishmen, no ! you shall not be the dupes of his base intrigues ; unable to subdue your courage, he attempts to seduce you, let his efforts be vain.

Horrid crimes have been perpetrated in your country ; your friends have fallen a sacrifice to their devotion for your cause ;

cause; their shadows are around you and call aloud for vengeance; it is your duty to avenge their death; it is your duty to strike on their blood-cemented thrones the murderers of your friends. Listen to no proposals, Irishmen! wage a war of extermination against your oppressors, the war of liberty against tyranny, and liberty shall triumph.

J. N. TANDY.

B.

Rutland island, 30th Frustrider.

Having landed from on board the Anacreon (a republican vessel from the coast of France) on Rutland island, and being in want (for the time) of accommodations, we were under the necessity of putting the citizen Foster, postmaster of that town or island, under requisition, and prevented him from sending off his packet; we at the same time discharged every obligation, and paid for whatever we took from said place.

AMELL, colonel,
aid-de-camp du gl. Desjardin.

TANDY, general of brigade,
and commander of the expedition.

C. LUXEMBURG,

REY.

capt. d'artillerie.

BLACKWELL,

LE DUC, capitaine.

adjutant-general.

JOSEPH, *capt. et aid-de-camp.*

J. N. Tandy was arrested at Hamburgh, with two more Irish rebels, and conveyed to Ireland, where he was indicted for high treason, at the Spring assizes of one thousand eight hundred and one, held for the county of Donegal, at Lifford; and, having pleaded guilty, he obtained the royal mercy, on condition of transporting himself.

II.

A pastoral letter to the Catholic clergy of the united dioceses of Waterford and Lismore, by the right reverend Thomas Hickey, D. D.

THIS inflammatory production, entitled a pastoral letter, was published at the spring assizes of Waterford in the

year 1797, when the baneful doctrines of the united Irishmen were spreading fast in that county. A few days after its publication, doctor Hufsey made a visitation through his diocese, and immediately after the popish multitude began to commit robbery and assassination, which appears in Appendix XI.

Dearly-beloved brethren in Christ!

IN these critical and awful times, when opinions seem spreading over this island of a novel and dangerous tendency—when the remnants of old oppression, and new principles, which tend to anarchy, are struggling for victory, and which in the collision may produce the ruin of religion; when a moral earthquake shakes all Europe, I felt no small affliction and alarm, upon receiving the superior command of the head of the church,* to preside over the catholicks of these united diocesses, upon the death of your most venerable and ever-to-be-regretted prelate, your late bishop.

In the midst of these fears and alarms, it was a great consolation to me, to be assured of the piety, zeal, and loyalty of the clergy under my spiritual care; and that their exertions were constantly employed to keep the laity within the bounds of religion, morality, and decorum.† That no part of Ireland was more exempt from turbulence, and insubordination to the laws, than this district; and that the memory of the legal injustices and cruelties formerly practised in this country, by men who made religious distinctions a stalking-horse for political purposes, is completely and happily effaced, I hope, for ever.

It is upon you, very reverend and dearly-beloved brethren, that, under God, my reliance is, that the Catholic faith will produce its happy effects, in mending and improving the morals of the flock which I commit to your care respectively. Let me beseech you, to attach yourselves to them, by frequently instructing and exhorting them, especially as often as you approach the sacred altar; and certainly you cannot fail to attach them to you by such a pious,

* Ireland is the only country in Europe in which the pope claims and exercises the exclusive investiture of bishopricks

† The doctor could not but have known at that time, that the popish clergy had engaged in the service of the United Irishmen, and that they were secretly promoting those outrages, which broke out soon after in every part of Munster.

pious, exemplary, and zealous conduct. Do not permit yourselves to be made the instruments of the rich of this world, who will try, by adulation, and possibly by other means, to make instruments of you, over the poor, for their own temporal purposes, and perhaps to render your sacred ministry odious to them. The poor were always your friends—they inflexibly adhered to you, and to their religion, even in the worst of times. They shared their scanty meal with you, and with your predecessors; and thereby preserved a succession of spiritual pastors throughout the kingdom. If they had acted otherwise, conformed to the errors of the nation,* and imitated the conduct of the rich, who not only shut their doors against you, but not unfrequently hunted you like wild beasts,† I should not be able to address the present respectable body of clergy, under my spiritual authority. Such a consideration cannot fail to enliven your zeal, and, with affectionate attachment towards them, to impel you to instruct them in their duties, to restrain their errors, and to correct their vices—*Argue obsecra increpa, in omni patientia, & doctrina.*—Upon all proper occasions, *Speak to them the words of eternal life*, without fear, or deference, towards the enemies of our holy faith. The pastor, who doth not act in this manner towards his flock, hath lost the grace of his vocation, or perhaps he never received it from God. He is the mercenary shepherd described in the scripture, who, upon seeing the wolf, runs away, and abandons his flock, an easy prey to him.

At the same time that I charge you to avoid all political interferences, as unworthy the ministers of him, *whose kingdom is not of this world*,‡ I call upon you to stand firm against all attempts, which may be made, under various pretexts, to withdraw any of your flock from the belief and practice of the Catholick religion. Remonstrate with any parent, who will be so criminal as to expose his offspring to those

* How insolent, to call the national religion the errors of the nation! which in any other country would be considered and punished as a crime.

† A most infamous falsehood, fabricated to excite the fanatical hatred of the priests and their flock against the protestant state, and the members of the established church, whom he afterwards stigmatizes as *the enemies of his holy faith*.

‡ By this he means our Saviour, to whom the pope is supposed to be successor; but the reader will perceive how widely different he is in his arrogant and ambitious claim of temporal power, in vol. i. p. 18, 19.

those places of education, where his religious faith or morals are likely to be perverted.* If he will not attend to your remonstrances, refuse him the participation of Christ's body: if he still should continue obstinate, denounce him to the church, in order that, according to Christ's commandment, *he be considered as a heathen and a publican.*

If, in any of your districts, the Catholick military frequent protestant places of worship, it is your duty to expostulate with them; and to teach them how contrary to the principles of the Catholick faith it is, exteriorly to profess one faith, and interiorly to believe another. That such hypocrisy, even in the eyes of the world, is mean and pusillanimous, as well as odious and abominable in the sight of God. That the military garb they wear implies a manly candour, that abhors such duplicity. That this manly candour is peculiarly the character of an Irish soldier, who ought not to be ashamed of openly professing the Catholick religion—*the religion of Irishmen.* Instruct them, that in all matters regarding the service of the king, their officers are competent to command them, and that they are bound to obey: but in matters regarding the service of the King of Kings, their officers have no authority over them. Their personal religion is their own natural, uncontrollable, imprescriptible right, subject to the spiritual authority of the Catholick church, and in which the laws of the land cannot enjoy a coercive authority. In all temporal matters, they are subject to their temporal rulers. In all spiritual matters, they are subject to their spiritual rulers. These two authorities, like parallel lines in mathematicks, can never touch each other. By the smallest delineation, they lose even their names. Guard them from being deluded by the hackneyed phrase of "Liberality of sentiment." Surely liberality of sentiment does not consist in holding all creeds, and all forms of worship, to be equal! He who thus expresses himself, is a latitudinarian, who despises all creeds—all forms of worship! The man of true liberality, is he, who conscientiously believes, and scrupulously follows, that creed and form of worship, which is conformable to his conscience, yet lives in

* Previous to the publication of this, many popish children attended the free-school at Waterford, but as soon as it appeared, they were withdrawn, and it occasioned a coolness and disunion between the protestants and papists of Waterford, between whom a friendly and social intercourse had unremittingly subsisted. Such is the liberality of father Hussey!

in charity—in concord—in amity with all others, of every religious persuasion. The man of true liberality, is he, who employs his conscience as the helm with which he steers in his religious voyage, leaving others to steer theirs by a similar guide. The man of true liberality, is he, with whom a difference in religious opinions, makes no difference in social life, — living in equal harmony with all, and frequently bestowing more kindness, and more bounty, upon those who differ from him in religious opinions when they want it more, than upon those of his own communion. The man of true liberality, is he, who, when raised above the rest, to govern a great people, scorns to attend to the paltry distinctions of sect or party—spurns from his presence those interested advisers of a dangerous faction, who would dishonour him, and abuse the sacred name of majesty, to enrich themselves; but, like a true patriot, raises to power and influence, those whom, in his conscience, he thinks of most ability and integrity, to serve king and country. To sum up the whole, the truly-liberal man, is he, who makes his religion the guide for his own personal and private conduct, and not a rule to guide—to govern—or to compel others to act against their conscience, and their religion.

The many compulsory means lately employed (and several instances of them within this very diocese, not many days since), to drive the Catholick military to protestant places of worship,* alarmed the *true* friends to the king and his service, and every well-wisher to the peace and quiet of the country. Such unwarrantable steps could not make profelytes of the Catholick military—it might, in time, make them indifferent to all forms of worship, and thereby jacobinize them upon the French scale, and perhaps, in the hour of danger, induce them to forget their duty, and their loyalty, in order to be revenged of their persecutors.†

Oh, how different are the principles of a Catholick soldier, educated in the belief, and living in the full exercise of his religion!

* This was a gross falsehood, calculated to inflame the popish military against their officers. The officer commanding at Waterford wrote a note to doctor Hufsey, to give one instance of the kind, but he never answered it; and the transaction was published in the publick prints.

† In developing the mysteries of the conspiracy, it appeared that such of the popish militia and yeomanry as had been seduced were to have murdered their officers in action.

religion !* He clearly convinces his countrymen, that military valour is not inconsistent with religious piety ; but that, on the contrary, they are natural allies. That, when called to protect and defend his country, he is fearless, and intrepid, in the midst of danger : His bosom glowing with this consideration, that his death upon his post promotes him to a superior post in eternity. The unbeliever, who sees nothing beyond the grave, more naturally shrinks from the danger of his dissolution ; or, if he seems to assume courage, it is either the brutal insensibility of his temper, or an artificial mask, which he puts on, to screen him from the contempt which is sure to follow cowardice. But the courage and intrepidity of a true catholick, in the discharge of his duty, is a calm, heroick intrepidity, which sees the danger in his road, but sees immortality beyond it. He marches courageously on, sure that if he falls, it is to rise again beyond the grave. But when the unbeliever sees the danger, he sees nothing beyond it ; and thinks, that if he falls, that moment puts a final, and fatal period, to all his schemes of ambition—of fortune—and pleasure, and that he *sinks into eternal night*—never—never to rise again. Surely such an impious idea is capable of transmuting even a naturally brave man into a cowardly slave. Let me say all, in one sentence. Those sentiments of intrepidity—of fidelity—of honour, which high birth, and polished education, impress upon those of an elevated sphere in life, cannot be superior to the sentiments of fidelity, of courage, and of honour, which the catholick religion, *if sincerely believed, and piously practised*, would inspire into the lowest in the ranks ; and who, if his duty calls him, would shew a courage and intrepidity equal to Alexander and Cæsar ; and as unswerving loyalty and integrity as those statesmen and generals who regulate kingdoms, or who defend them.

In all your proceedings, very reverend and dearly-beloved brethren, avoid intermixing the politicks of the world, with the sublime and heavenly maxims of the catholick religion—they have not the smallest connection with each other. The one is spiritual—the other is temporal : the one

* One would suppose that he had in contemplation those pious heroes of the crusade, which took place afterwards in the year 1798, and who shewed that they were educated in the true belief, and lived in the full exercise of their religion, by their achievements at Vinegar-hill, Scullabogue, Dorey, and Wexford-bridge.

one regards the transitory affairs of this world—the other the eternal affairs of the world to come. As the catholic faith is a religion preached to all nations, and to all people, so it is suitable to all climes, and all forms of government—monarchies or republics—aristocracies or democracies. Despotick or popular governments are not the concerns of the catholic faith.* It may well suit a small sect to regulate its creed and form of worship, according to the shape and form of government of the limited boundaries where that sect arose, exists, and dies away.† Not so the religion, which the prophet foretold should extend from the rising to the setting sun, which has been propagated and promulged from Peru to China, from the East to the West Indies, from Pole to Pole—teaching the same doctrine—administering the same sacraments, and offering up the adorable sacrifice of the redeemer, wherever man is found, and God adored. It is therefore called the *catholic*, or universal religion. It may well suit the laity of your respective districts, to pursue their temporal concerns, and their temporal politicks, by such ways as appear to them fair, peaceable, and loyal; and, their past conduct is a proof that they are incapable of pursuing them by any other means. If their conduct has always been loyal and peaceable, even in the worst of times—if, even when religious penalties made them total strangers in their native land—if, when the ruling party, with insolence in their looks, and oppression in their hands, ground them down—when some of the most powerful men in the nation declared in the senate, that they hoped to see the day when no catholic would dare speak to a protestant with his hat ‡ on—when, even the course of justice was perverted, and the channels of it dried up, according to the prejudices and party views of the judges who sat on the bench, and were paid for the impartial administration of it, by taxes levied upon the oppressed sufferers—yet, even in these provoking times, if the body of catholics remained inflexibly attached to their religion,

* He and doctor Troy endeavoured to evince in their pastoral letters, that the popish religion was well suited to a republic, the establishment of which was the main object of the United Irishmen.

† Here he throws a stigma on the established religion, and predicts its downfall, at the same time that he here presents the popish superstition as universal, and rising on its downfall.

‡ This is a most infamous falsehood, fabricated to inflame the popish multitude.

ligion, and to their king, what have you to dread from their proceedings, when not only the judges are equitable and humane, but also a great part of these impolitical religious penalties are removed, and the rest of them in such a state of progress to be totally removed? That however a JUNTO, for their own interested, or other sinister views, may raise mobs to try to throw obstacles against the total repeal of them, yet all their efforts must be useless—the vast rock is already detached, from the mountain's brow, and whoever opposes its descent and removal must be crushed by his own rash endeavours.* The popery laws are upon the eve of being extinguished for ever; and may no wicked hand ever again attempt to divide this land, by making religious distinctions a mask, to divide—to disturb—to oppress it. †

Make your flock sensible to the honour of being accounted a member of the Catholick communion—that they are not members of a small sect, limited to that country where the sect itself was formed. They are members of a great church, which has lasted more than 1700 years—which flourished in every part of the habitable world.—*In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum, & in fines orbis terra verba eorum*—and that Christ has promised that it will flourish until time shall be no more. *Usque ad consummationem sæculi—porta inferi non prevalebunt adversus eam.* That consequently, they should not be ashamed to belong to a religion, which so many kings and princes—so many of the most polished and learned nations of the world, glory in professing.

Remind them, that two centuries of persecution have tried, in vain, to pervert them: That the annals of the church—the history of mankind, does not afford another example like theirs of perseverance in their religious principles. That we find in the history of every other nation, or people, that a much shorter time was sufficient, by penal restrictions of religion, to gain over the people to the religion of the state; but that two centuries of persecuting laws

* According to this prediction, if the king, or any member of the lords or commons, or even the whole of them, should oppose the repeal of the few restrictive laws which remained, they would be murdered by the banditti, who were at that time committing robbery and assassination.

† Here he pretends to inculcate christian charity and liberality, though the whole of his letter breathes a fanatical spirit of intolerance.

laws—immense sums of money given by parliament to gain over profelytes, and levied upon those very people, whose creeds they thereby endeavoured to purchase, left still the great body of the nation faithful to that spark which St. Patrick lighted at the great altar of the Catholick church, and spread over this island; and that nine-tenths of the nation at large, and ninety-nine hundredths of this diocess, are still faithful and steady catholicks, * notwithstanding what they and their ancestors suffered for their fidelity; and for which they are as unrivalled in the history of the church—as insulated an exception to the prevaricating verfatility of man, as the geographical situation of the island itself is to the rest of the world.

That portion of the catholicks of Ireland, which God has committed to my spiritual care, I call upon you, very reverend and dearly-beloved brethren, as my coadjutors and assistants, to aid me, by word, and by example, to instruct, and to feed, with the *word of salvation*, and with the *bread of angels*. It is a laborious, but it is also a meritorious, and an honourable employment. It forms the strongest bulwark to the state, by being the best supplement to the laws; which, *without morals, are vain*. A faithful discharge of these duties will form our crown, and our glory, when, at the last day, the supreme pastor will come to judge us, and to judge the world.†

12.

Coppy of a paper found in the writing-box of lord Edward Fitzgerald, on the 12th of March, by the officer who went that day to arrest him under a charge of treason.

IF ever any unfortunate cause should put our city, with the other parts of the country, into the possession of a cruel and tyrannical enemy, whose government, by repeated oppressions, might drive us into the last stage of desperate resistance, our conduct then should be regulated in a manner best calculated for obtaining victory.

The

* This is notoriously false, as the Roman catholicks to the protestants are not three to one. In the town of Clonmell alone in that diocess there are above two thousand protestants.

† During the altizes, the doctor preached two sermons in Waterford of a most inflammatory tendency; and some time before, he said, in a sermon preached in a chapel in Dublin, "You may talk of liberality as much as you will; but you may be sure of this, that no person can be saved out of your church."

The following thoughts are humbly offered for the inspection of every real Irishman :

It is supposed that the enemy have a well-appointed and disciplined standing army.—

In such a case, every man ought to consider how that army could be attacked or repelled, and what advantage their discipline and numbers might give them in a populous city, acting in concert with the adjoining counties.

It is well known that an officer of any skill in his profession, would be very cautious of bringing the best-disciplined troops into a large city in a state of insurrection, for the following reasons :

His troops, by the breadth of the streets, are obliged to have a very narrow front ; and however numerous, only three men deep can be brought into action, which, in the widest of our streets, cannot be more than sixty men, as a space must be left on each side or flank for the men who discharge to retreat to the rear, that their places may be occupied by the next in succession, who are loaded ; so, though there are a thousand men in a street, not more than sixty can act at one time ; and should they be attacked by an irregular body armed with pikes, or such bold weapons, if the sixty men in front were defeated, the whole body, however numerous, are unable to assist, and immediately become a small mob in uniform, from the inferiority of number in comparison to the people, and easily disposed of.

Another inconvenience might destroy the order of this army. Perhaps at the same moment, they may be dreadfully galled from the house tops, by showers of bricks, coping-stones, &c. which may be at hand, without imitating the women of Paris, who carried the stones of the unpaved streets to the windows and tops of the houses in their aprons.

Another disadvantage on the part of the soldiers would be, as they are regulated by the word of command, or stroke of the drum, they must be left to their individual discretion, as such communications must be drowned in the noise and clamour of a popular tumult.

In the next place, that part of the populace, who could not get into the engagement, would be employed in unpaving the streets, so as to impede the movements of horse or artillery ;

artillery ; and in the avenues where the army were likely to pass, numbers would be engaged in forming barriers of hogsheds, carts, cars, counters, doors, &c. the forcing of which barriers by the army would be disputed, while like ones were forming at every twenty or thirty yards, or any convenient distances situation might require : Should such precautions be well observed, the progress of an army through one street, or over one bridge, would be very tedious, and attended with great loss, if it would not be destroyed ; at the same time the neighbouring counties might rise in a mass, and dispose of the troops scattered in their vicinity, and prevent a junction or a passage of any army intended for the city ; they would tear up the roads and barricade every convenient distance with trees, timber, implements of husbandry, &c. ; at the same time lining the hedges, walls, ditches and houses, with men armed with muskets, who would keep up a well-directed fire.

However well exercised standing armies are supposed to be, by frequent reviews, and sham battles, they are never prepared for broken roads, or enclosed fields, in a country like ours, covered with innumerable and continued interfections of ditches and hedges, every one of which are an advantage to an irregular body, and may with advantage be disputed against an army, as so many fortifications and entrenchments.

The people in the city would have an advantage, by being armed with pikes or such weapons ; the first attack, if possible, should be made by men whose pikes were nine or ten feet long, by that means they could act in ranks deeper than the soldiery, whose arms are much shorter ; then the deep files of the pikemen, by being weightier, must easily break the thin order of the army.

The charge of the pikemen should be made in a smart trot ; on the flank or extremity of every rank ; there should be intrepid men placed to keep the fronts even, that at closing every point should tell together ; they should have at the same time, two or three like bodies at convenient distances in the rear, who would be brought up, if wanting, to support the front, which would give confidence to their brothers in action, as it would tend to discourage the enemy ; at the same time, there should be in the rear of each division some men of spirit, to keep the ranks as close as possible.

The

The apparent strength of the army should not intimidate, as closing on it makes its powder and ball useless ; all its superiority is in fighting at a distance ; all its skill ceases, and all its action must be suspended, when it once is within reach of the pike.

The reason of writing and printing this is, to remind the people of discussing military subjects.

No. XXII.

Observations on whipping and free-quarter.

MANY severe animadversions have been made on a practice which took place in Ireland, a short time previous to, and during the rebellion, of whipping persons notoriously disaffected, for the purpose of extorting evidence from them. Whoever considers it abstractedly must of course condemn it, as obviously repugnant to the letter of the law, the benign principles of our constitution, and those of justice and humanity ; but I am convinced, that such persons as dispassionately consider the existing circumstances, and the pressure of the occasion under which it was adopted, will readily admit them to be, if not an excuse, at least an ample extenuation of that practice.

In many cases it happened, that the popish inhabitants of a barony, or a parish, besought the magistrates to administer oaths of allegiance to them, for no other purpose but to varnish over their treasonable designs ; and having complied, these traitors swore at the same time, that they were totally ignorant of any treasonable conspiracy, or of any concealed arms ; though, horrid to relate ! the magistrates were possessed of the fullest information, that they were supplied with arms, had formed treasonable combinations cemented by oaths, and were soon to rise in the night, to massacre all the loyal subjects, and to plunder their property ; and in short, that such scenes of desolation, as happened on the breaking-out of the rebellion, were to take place. The loyal subjects were exhausted by watching, and petrified with horror, expecting every night to be murdered in their beds ; and forty-nine out of fifty-eight of the popish servants were deeply concerned in the conspiracy, and were sworn to murder their protestant masters. Such was the woeful state of many parts of Ireland in the months of April and May, 1798 !

To disarm the disaffected was impossible, because their arms were concealed; and to discover all the traitors was equally so, because they were bound by oaths of secrecy, and the strongest sanctions of their religion, not to impeach their fellow traitors. But suppose the fullest information could have been obtained of the guilt of every individual, it would have been impracticable to arrest and commit the multitude. Some men of discernment and fortitude perceived, that some new expedient must be adopted to prevent the subversion of government and the destruction of society; and whipping was resorted to. I would beg leave to ask those gentlemen in England, who have inveighed so bitterly against this practice, what they would have done in such an alarming situation, when destruction must have been the certain result of deliberation? The massacre of many thousands of the most valuable members of society, and the loss of half a million of property, were prevented in the county of Tipperary by it. The case of the parish of Castle Otway* in that county, will shew the necessity and the efficacy of this measure.

Cooke Otway, esquire, of Castle Otway, a gentleman noted for his loyalty, was the most active person in the county of Tipperary, next to colonel Fitzgerald, in putting down rebellion, for which he was afterwards persecuted. He raised a yeoman corps, but was obliged to disband the popish members, as they had taken the United Irishman's oath. The preservation of the metropolis from carnage, plunder, and conflagration, may in a great measure be imputed to it, as traitors, on being whipped, revealed the most important secrets, and confessed where great quantities of arms were concealed.

The county of Wexford might have been saved, if it had been resorted to there.

Had captain Beeyor, instead of being deceived and imposed on by the traitors of Ballymore-eustace, whipped one or two, he would have saved many valuable lives, and prevented the destruction of much property.

Why adhere to the forms of the constitution against traitors who meditated its subversion, and universal carnage and plunder; and who added the crime of perjury to that of treason, in order to garrison over their nefarious designs; and violated every law human and divine for their accomplishment?

Cicero

Cicero did not wait for the sanction, or the ordinary process of law, to put the Catiline conspirators to death, because he knew that deliberation must have produced ruin.

He says, *pro Milone*, sec. 4. Can it be unjust to kill a traitor or a robber? *Inſidiatori vero et latroni quæ poteſt afferri injuſta nex?* But this never produced death; preservation was its only object; and, after a few ſcourges, the delinquent ſeldom or ever failed to make a full discovery.

That man who would balance between the ſlight infrac-tion of the conſtitution in inflicting a few ſtripes on the body of a perjured traitor, and the loſs of many valuable lives and much property, muſt renounce all pretenſions to wiſdom and patriotiſm. *Salus populi ſuprema lex.*

Cicero tells us, *de finibus bonorum & malorum*, lib. 3. 19. That as the laws were made for the advantage of all, the good of an individual ſhould be poſtponed for that of the community at large.

When a mutiny takes place in a ſhip, it would be regarded as criminal in the officers of it not to put to death, inſtantly, the leaders of the mutiny; and what difference is there between the rebellious inhabitants of a pariſh and the mutinous crew of a ſhip?

In the former, whipping only is the preventive; in the latter, homicide.

Infurrection, if begun, in one inſtance, like the letting in of water, could not have been prevented by human wiſdom and induſtry; and, from its contagious effects, it might have produced general deſtruction: In the other, it would have been confined only to the loſs of a ſhip, and of a few individuals.

As to the violation of the forms of the law by this practice, it ſhould be recollected that the law of nature, which ſuggeſted the neceſſity of it, ſuperſedes all poſitive inſtitutions, as it is imprinted on the heart of man for the preſervation of his creatures, as it ſpeaks ſtrongly and inſtinctively, and as its end will be baffled by the ſlowneſs of deliberation.*

When the ſword of civil war is drawn, the laws are ſilent. *Inter arma ſilent leges*, ſays Cicero, *pro Milone*; and the defenders,

* Cicero ſays of it: *Eſt enim hæc, non ſcripta, ſed nata lex; quam non didicimus, accepimus, legimus, verum ex natura ipſa arripimus, hauſimus, expreſſimus, ad quam non docti ſed facti, non inſtituti ſed imbuti ſumus.*

defenders, who were succeeded and joined by the United Irishmen, were exterminating the loyal subjects by fire and sword for six years before.

As to the violation of humanity, it should be recollected that nothing could exceed the cruelty of this banditti; that their object was the extirpation of the loyalists; that of the whippers, the preservation of the community at large.

This practice was never sanctioned by government, as they, on the contrary, used their utmost exertions to prevent it; and the evidence extorted from the person whipped never was used to convict any person, and was employed for no other purpose but to discover concealed arms, and to defeat the deleterious schemes of the traitors.

I shall now say a few words on free-quarter, which was confined merely to the province of Leinster.

When government were possessed of the fullest evidence, that the inhabitants of a village or a town who had taken the usual oaths, to lull and deceive the magistrates, were possessed of concealed arms, and meditated an insurrection and massacre, they sent amongst them a certain number of troops, whom they were obliged to maintain by contributions, levied on themselves. This took place a few days before the rebellion broke out.

It has been universally allowed, that the military severities practised in the county of Kildare occasioned a premature explosion of the plot, which the directory intended to have deferred, till the French effected a landing; and one of them, Mr. Emmett, declared, in his evidence upon oath, before the secret committee of the lords, that, but for the salutary effects of those military severities, there would have been a very general and formidable insurrection in every part of the country.*

No. XXIII.

Observations on the improvement of Ireland, by extending the benefits of the Reformation therein; and a concise history thereof from the reign of Edward VI. to the present period.

EVERY person, endued with moral sentiment and real patriotism, must lament at seeing the kingdom of Ireland

VOL. II.

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the

* Appendix, No. VI. of the secret committee of the lords.

the prey of anarchy and the sport of fanaticism, from the reign of queen Elizabeth, to the present period ; and on perusing these pages, he must perceive that its inhabitants cannot be susceptible of any material improvement in morals and in industry, until the blessings of the reformation are more extensively diffused among them than it is at present. I shall refer the reader to the page of history for the truth of what I assert ; and an impartial review of the events of the last twenty years will alone be sufficient to give him the fullest conviction of this.

During that space every expedient, which a humane and generous policy could dictate, has been tried to soothe and allay the discontents of the Roman catholics, but in vain ; for every attempt to conciliate has only operated as provocation ; concession has encouraged clamour, aggression and outrage ; and a dreadful conspiracy formed and matured in the very bosom of indulgence, for the destruction of the empire, at last exploded in a most destructive rebellion.

The rebellions in the 16th and 17th centuries arose from pure fanaticism, and before any material restrictions were imposed on the Roman catholics ;* the last in the year 1798, when the whole of them with very few exceptions had been repealed. The gross ignorance of the leading men in both houses of the Imperial parliament on this point, and their perseverance in error, should awaken the suspicion, rouse the vigilance, and alarm the fears of every member of the established church in the empire. It is not what is erroneously and ridiculously called emancipation that the mass of the Irish Roman catholics want : It is the extirpation or expulsion of the protestants, the exclusive occupation of the island for themselves, and its separation from England, which they have aimed at from the beginning of Elizabeth's reign to the late rebellion ; and which the rebels unequivocally announced, whenever they spoke their real sentiments without fear or restraint. In the year 1793, when the best of kings and his cabinet were grossly deceived and advised to recommend a measure, which produced the late rebellion, and shook the pillars of his throne : the earl of Clare, when it was discussed in the house of lords, declared, that if the Irish Roman catholics were indulged in their wild and extravagant notions of emancipation and reform of parliament, England would have to win Ireland again with the sword ; and the dreadful

* See in vol. i. p. 32, lord chief justice Lowther's enumeration of the privileges enjoyed by them in 1641.

ful event which occurred in the year 1798, proved that he spoke prophetic truth.

I now repeat, what I said before, that the state of Ireland should alarm every loyal member of the protestant empire.

The Irish Roman catholicks can at any time raise such a sum of money on their body, as would tempt the virtue and shake the integrity of three or four individuals; and it is well known how much even one man in a certain situation can influence the main events of a great empire.

*Quemvis media erue turba,
Aut ob avaritiam, aut misera ambitione laborat.*

It cannot be supposed that I allude to any of the great personages who now enjoy, or recently possessed, his majesty's confidence, for they are much above my praise; but it is possible that such base men as composed the cabal in the reign of Charles II. may one day be in that situation.

Ireland in her present state may be considered as an intestine thorn in the side of England, as a strong outpost easily accessible to her enemies, who may at all times annoy her through it: instead of affording her strength, it will be an incessant source of weakness.

In legal contemplation, the two kingdoms have been incorporated by the union; but the solid advantages never can be experienced, till the protestant religion has been more extensively diffused in Ireland.

In what a woeful state would the empire have been, if, during the late rebellion, popery and its concomitant spirit of disaffection had prevailed in Scotland, as much as in Ireland?

In such a case two-thirds of her troops must have been employed in defending her against domestick enemies.

The very great disloyalty of a considerable portion of the Irish militia and yeomanry, during the late rebellion, might have been fatal to the empire, if our fleets had not been successful in preventing the French from landing a large body of troops in Ireland.

The duplicity of some of the Irish nobility and gentry, the ignorance and credulity of others, in imposing on the government, by assurances of the loyalty of entire counties,

or of the fidelity of some of these armed corps, and the fatal effects experienced from such misrepresentations previous to the late rebellion, should afford a salutary lesson to the viceroys of Ireland, not readily to give credit, on this point, to the assertions of ignorant men, or of designing persons, who make every consideration subservient to electioneering purposes.

If we take a review of the state of England in the reigns of Henry VIII. Edward VI. and James I. we shall find that the disaffection arising from popery frequently produced conspiracies and insurrections similar to those in Ireland of late, which laid those monarchs under a necessity of issuing commissions of martial law, to punish in a summary manner the bands of traitors, who, actuated by fanaticism, destroyed social order, and often endangered the existence of the government.

In three years, from the 27th to the 30th of Henry VIII's reign, the virulent opposition of fanaticism to the reformation occasioned no less than six rebellions in the north of England alone. The horrors produced by them are set forth in a speech made by lord Clarendon, in the reign of Charles I. on the abolition of the court of York.

In the reign of Edward VI. and in the year 1554, the city of Exeter was besieged by 30,000 Cornish papists, for three weeks; and for no other reason than that the reformation had rapidly increased in it.

They intercepted its provisions, cut the conduit pipes that supplied it with water, destroyed the bridges leading to it, and battered it with cannon. It was bravely defended by the citizens, though reduced to famine, till lord John Russell relieved them; and defeated the rebels. A sermon has been ever since preached on the 6th of August, the anniversary of their deliverance.

Various plots and conspiracies were formed on the ground of fanaticism against the crown, and the life of queen Elizabeth, as a heretick.

The Spanish armada was formidable to her, because the majority of her subjects were more attached to the pope and the king of Spain, than to their own sovereign; but now, when the protestant religion is universally established in England, she bids defiance to one of the most ambitious and formidable nations that ever threatened the liberties of Europe.

The superstitious delusions of popery shook the throne of King John, who was driven to the necessity of compromising with the pope, of surrendering his crown to him, and of holding it as a feudatory : And so little has the advancement of science, and the improvement of the human mind operated in dispelling the clouds of superstition, and weakening the force of fanaticism, that an attempt has been recently made, to wrest the sceptre of Ireland from our present gracious sovereign; though the Roman catholicks had experienced singular kindness and indulgence from him. I mentioned before the repeal of the popery laws in his majesty's reign, and that a college for the education of their clergy has been built, and endowed by the protestant state, at a monstrous expense.

So sensible was the late pope of the singular goodness and beneficence of his majesty towards his Roman catholick subjects, that in the year 1797, he sent to England, as his legate, doctor Erskine (though he was not publicly recognised as such,) to assure his Britannick majesty, that he felt the deepest gratitude, for having protected and maintained him so long upon his throne, by his naval armaments in the Mediterranean, and by the confederacy which he formed among the allied powers; but more particularly for the humane protection which he gave to the French clergy, after they had been cruelly proscribed in, and banished from, every Roman catholick state of Europe.

It is the most egregious folly to expect, that any favours, how great soever, conferred on the Irish Roman catholicks, will make any alteration in the disposition of the mass of them towards a Protestant state; for their bigotry and virulence flow from a perennial and inexhaustible source, the Romish councils, the popes bulls and epistles,

Like the Pontick sea,
Whose icy current and compulsive course,
Ne'er feels retiring ebb.

I must repeat again, that in making this assertion, I allude only to the lowest order of the people, whose minds are perverted by bigotry; for great numbers of the Roman catholicks are as charitable, as generous, and humane, and feel as great abhorrence of the atrocities committed during the late rebellion, as any other portion of his majesty's subjects; but the mass of the people in a state, are like the life-blood of the human body, which, if impure, will produce convulsions

sions and various other disorders. I mentioned before, vol. i. page 144, what I believe no wise statesman will deny, that the moral and political principles of men are an emanation from, and are modified by, their religion. This is more particularly the case in Ireland, as a foreign prince, whom the Irish Romanists consider as the head of their church, has always maintained that his sectaries cannot bear any civil allegiance to a protestant * state. This doctrine has been insisted on in modern times, by some eminent Romish divines †; and it was carried into practice in a most alarming manner during the late rebellion.

To civilize the mass of the people, plans of educating them at the publick expense have been at different times propounded; but it is most certain, that the persons who proposed such, were totally ignorant of the real state of Ireland.

It should be recollected, that many Roman catholics, opulent in their circumstances, and of the best education, were not only implicated in the rebellion, but displayed that sanguinary spirit, by which the common herd of papists were actuated.

It should be remembered also, that numbers of their clergy were actively concerned in it, and few or none of them could have been ignorant of the conspiracy and the intended insurrection; and yet it is supposed that they are possessed of considerable learning.

It is a positive fact, that all the petty popish school-masters in the country were secretaries in the disaffected societies, and were the most useful and efficient instruments in the Irish union; particularly those who act as clerks in popish chapels, and keep schools in them. Is it to be supposed then, that the mass of the people, early and deeply imbued with disaffection to the state, on religious grounds, would become better subjects for being possessed of a talent, which enabled their instructors to injure it in an eminent degree?

If good wine be infused into a sour cask, it will of course partake of its impurity. ‡ Would it improve the morals of the lower class of people to enable them to read the works of Paine, Volney, Godwin, and Thelwal, and the Jacobin prints, which give wings to treason, and convey it to the garret;

* See this in vol. i. pages 11, 28, 29. † Ibid. pages 44, 45.
‡ Sincerram est nisi vas, quodcumq; infundis accrescit.

garret and the cellar. By far the greater part of the English militia, who came to Ireland during, or subsequent to, the rebellion, were illiterate, and yet they were religious, sober and industrious. Learning in the abstract will produce no good effect on the mass of the people, when their minds are pre-occupied by absurd and impious doctrines, deduced from Romish councils, papal bulls and epistles.

While their morals flow from so impure a source, it will be absurd to think of governing them by the mild and benign regimen of the British constitution.

Sine moribus quid leges,

Vanae proficiunt.

In such a state, to think of laying the foundation of national wealth, will be as absurd as to build a splendid and magnificent edifice on a sandy foundation, which will fall and mock the ingenuity of the architect; as the accumulations of industry, for two centuries, were overturned and destroyed in many parts of the provinces of Leinster and Connaught, in one week, by the workings of bigotry; and many of the most loyal and useful members of society were murdered or driven from their habitations.

The reader, alarmed at this woeful state of society in Ireland, will naturally ask, is there no remedy for it? I say there is a most effectual one, which may be carried into practice without pains or penalties, and with very little additional expense; and that is, by converting the bulk of the people to the protestant religion, which we may learn from history and experience to be the only certain and permanent source of loyalty. All the best writers on Irish affairs, in the 16th and 17th centuries, have enforced the necessity of this by irrefragable arguments, but particularly primate Usher, the glory of the Irish protestant church, in his elegant and energetick speech to an assembly of all the states of Ireland, in the year 1627.

The conversion of one person to the established church, will be giving an additional fibre to the root of the royal oak in the soil of Ireland, which will encrease its strength and stability to withstand the storms of domestick treason, and the attacks of foreign enemies.

Before I proceed to point out the means by which the natives of Ireland may be converted, I shall give a concise account of the origin and progress of the reformation in
Ireland,

Ireland, and of the expedients which have been adopted to promote it.

In the year 1551, and the 5th of Edward VI. the reformed religion began to be publickly professed in Ireland. The book of common prayer was printed the same year in Dublin, by order of the lord lieutenant and council, pursuant to instructions given by the king himself; and it was publickly read to the people, many of whom in and about the city, understood English at that time.

George Brown, archbishop of Dublin, was the first person of note who embraced the protestant religion, and he gave full proof of the sincerity of his conversion, for he displayed the most ardent zeal in converting others to it. He preached often against the errors of the church of Rome, especially against praying in an unknown tongue, and denying the free use of the scriptures. He caused all superstitious relicks and images to be removed out of the two cathedrals in Dublin, and made the creed, the Lord's prayer, and the ten commandments, to be set up in their stead. He cheerfully adopted the king's order for reading the liturgy in English, and recommended it in a speech to an assembly of the archbishops, bishops, and the rest of the clergy, which had so good an effect, that many of them submitted to it.

But George Dowdall, archbishop of Armagh, and many of the bishops and inferior clergy, opposed this good work with so much zeal, as to prevent its complete accomplishment; and that hopeful prince, Edward VI. having died two years after, and before the reformation could take root, queen Mary, his successor, soon overturned it. The protestant bishops and clergy were banished, the liturgy prohibited, the scriptures locked up in an unknown tongue, and the popish superstition and idolatry every where set up.

It was very fortunate, that the shortness of Mary's reign defeated her design of overturning the reformation.

No sooner was queen Elizabeth settled on the throne, than she endeavoured to plant religion and learning in Ireland; for she signified her royal pleasure, that the reformed religion should be immediately re-established in that kingdom, which had some immediate effect; for the mass was laid aside in many places, and another liturgy was substituted in its stead, sentences of scripture were affixed to the church

church walls in the place of popish trumpery, and bibles were distributed *gratis* among the common people.

This alteration in matters of religion occasioned a great ferment among the Roman catholics of Ireland; for the liturgy was no more understood by them than the mass, and they received no more edification from one than the other, as the mass of them were ignorant of the English language. Instigated by the pope, and the king of Spain, they rebelled in the year 1560, under Shane O'Neil.

Soon after the rebellion was suppressed, a tax was imposed on every house-keeper who omitted going to church on a Sunday; and as it was levied with exactness, most people attended, sooner than pay it; but their attendance could not operate towards their conversion, as our offices were read in English. They continued papists in their hearts, and embraced the first opportunity of rebelling, which they did again in the year 1566.

This shews how vain and impracticable it is to abolish a language and a religion at once, and to prevail on the multitude at the same time not to speak as they have been used to speak, and not to think and believe, as they have been taught to think and believe from their cradle. From this we may infer, that the most likely way of introducing the protestant religion into Ireland is, by the charter-schools, where children acquire both at the same time; and early impressions made on their tender minds are not easily effaced.

As the reformed religion gained little or no ground by such means, queen Elizabeth provided, at her own charge, a fount of Irish types, with the other instruments of the press. Sir James Ware tells us, in his *Annals of Ireland*, in the year 1571, that the Irish characters for printing were first brought into that kingdom by Nicholas Walsh, chancellor of St. Patrick's church in Dublin, and John Kearney, treasurer of the same; and it was ordered, "that the prayers of the church should be printed in that character and language, and a church set apart in the chief town of every diocese, where they were to be read, and a sermon preached to the common people, which was instrumental in converting many of the ignorant sort in those days." Many persons among the clergy and laity, eminent not only for their rank and station, but for their piety and learning in the 16th and 17th centuries, used their utmost endeavours
to

to promote this truly-apostolical work. Alas ! how unlike these are the present generation !

John Kearney, treasurer of St. Patrick's, published a catechism in Irish, the first book printed in that character. Nicholas Walsh, when promoted to the bishoprick of Ossory, began the translation of the New Testament, but did not live to finish it, having been barbarously murdered in his own house by one Dullard, against whom the bishop had issued a process for adultery. The aforesaid Mr. Kearney, and Nehemias Donnellan, afterwards archbishop of Tuam, undertook the same work ; but archbishop Daniel, in his dedication of it to king James, tells us, that their untimely death threw the entire burthen on him, and he faithfully discharged it, having published it in the year 1602. The same pious and learned prelate translated the book of common prayer into Irish, and printed it in the year 1608, by which means many of the natives were converted.

The unsettled state of the country very much retarded the reformation during the reign of the elder James. In the year 1621, the congregation *de propaganda fide* was instituted at Rome, which had at that time, and has continued ever since, to have very great influence, not only in Ireland, but in every country in Europe, where any attempts have been made to draw the natives off from their blind obedience to the pope. The government of England then should form a protestant society of the same nature, consisting of persons of interest and authority, zeal and piety, to counteract the malignant efforts of the Romish institution. It would redound much to the credit of the bishops, if they would promote this very useful and pious work, as the union will supersede the necessity of their attendance in parliament. However, king James did not altogether neglect the propagation of the protestant religion, and the conversion of the Irish. He gave a commission to the lord deputy, the lord primate, the lord chancellor, lord Wilmot, and others, to enquire into, and make a report of the state of Ireland, and on their report, the following orders were given : " To enlarge the maintenance of the clergy, to encourage residence by making it convenient, to build cathedral and parochial churches, and to prevent the alienation of ecclesiastical possessions and lands given to charitable uses : to make good choice of school-masters and ushers, and to admit none but such as would take the path of supremacy, and bring up their scholars in the reformed religion ;

gion; and that popish school-masters and ushers should be entirely suppressed."

These orders contained the following paragraph:

"We, being highly offended with the encrease and influence of Jesuits and priests, and titular archbishops and bishops, who presume to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction within our kingdom of Ireland, do expressly charge and command, that the statute the 2d of Elizabeth, which inflicts severe penalties on such as exercise any such power or jurisdiction, may be put in execution."

King James, mindful of the same good purpose, gave some instructions to sir Arthur Chichester, lord deputy of Ireland, in a letter dated 16th October, 1604, about propagating the protestant religion. The privy council gave similar instructions to the same lord deputy in April, 1606.

When bishop Bedell was made bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh, he forwarded the charitable work of converting the Irish, with uncommon zeal; and if the same diligence had been used in every part of the kingdom, it would have tended materially to civilize the savage inhabitants of the island. He learned the Irish tongue himself, and attained such a knowledge of it, as to be able to compose an Irish grammar, and to correct the translation of the Old Testament in that language, of which he procured a version himself, the New Testament and Common Prayer book having been already translated into Irish.

He made a short catechism to be published, having English on one page, and Irish on the other, together with some forms of prayer, and some of the most instructive and edifying passages of scripture, and some of St. Chrysostom's and Leo's homilies, which were so well received by the natives, as to give certain hopes that such endeavours would be attended with success.

Having provided the books which were most necessary, he next turned his attention to procure proper teachers, by filling the church with clergymen able to preach to the Irish in their native language, and he rejected many ministers for want of this qualification; but this necessary and commendable practice raised a great storm against him, though the indispensable obligation which the clergy lie under of performing the offices of religion in a known tongue, should have prevented any opposition from protestants.

The more effectually to promote this pious and charitable work, he set his clergy the example of reading the common prayer

prayer book in Irish; and he succeeded so well, as to make numerous profelytes, not only among the laity, but the popish clergy; and so sincere were the converts which he made, that but one of them relapsed in the rebellion of 1641.

This great man's humane and charitable disposition, and his beneficent virtues, so far overcame the fanaticism and the intolerant principles of the natives, and kindled such love and gratitude in them towards him, that they paid singular marks of honour and affection to his remains at his funeral, even in the heat of the rebellion, though they regarded him as a heretick. The chiefs of the rebels collected their forces, accompanied his body to the grave with great solemnity, and discharged a volley at his interment, crying out in Latin, *quiescat in pace ultimus Anglorum*. While bishop Bedell was labouring with so much zeal, the convocation which met in Dublin in 1634 took the conversion of the Irish into consideration, and made several canons, which contained rules similar to what that prelate had practised.

The great rebellion, which broke out in 1642, defeated those useful designs, and the excellent institutions which had been formed for the conversion of the natives.

The sufferings of the protestants were so great, and the animosity and resentment which were kindled between them and the papists by this rebellion were so bitter, that the advancement of the reformation was totally laid aside; and nothing was done towards promoting it for many years, except that, in the year 1652, a catechism called the Christian Doctrine was published, having one column in English, the other in Irish.

Mr. Boyle, the great christian philosopher, well knowing that social order depended on the purity of religious principle, again set on foot the laudable work of converting the Irish. At his own expense, he caused a fount of Irish types to be cast, and an able printer to be instructed in printing the necessary books in that language; and caused the church catechism, with the elements of that language, to be printed in Irish, in the year 1680; and soon after, he procured a second edition of the New Testament in the Irish tongue to be printed, at his own charge; and he set forward and encouraged the reprinting of the Old Testament, having liberally contributed fifty pounds towards it. This edition was revised and corrected by Mr. Kirk, a beneficed clergyman in England, but a native of Scotland, and well skilled in the
Irish

Irish tongue. The archbishop of Canterbury was concerned with Mr. Boyle in that work, and liberally contributed towards defraying the expense of the press. It was sent to the lord primate, then provost of Trinity-college in Dublin, that it might receive such amendments as were necessary, by the assistance of the most learned natives of Ireland.

One Higgins, a convert from popery, was useful in completing that work. He was employed by the primate to teach the Irish language in the university of Dublin.

Many copies of the New Testament published in 1681, and of the Old in 1685, were sent into Ireland and the highlands of Scotland, and it is remarkable that no other bible was used in the highlands till within these fifteen or twenty years.

After the famous siege of Londonderry was raised, many of the Irish natives having left their habitations in the barony of Innishowen, and county of Donegal, and followed the Irish army to the southern parts of Ireland, several families emigrated from the highlands of Scotland, and settled in their places. These highlanders being protestants, but not understanding English, petitioned the then lord bishop of Derry, to send them a minister to perform divine service in their own language, which was readily granted; and he sent them two ministers to preach in Irish, one of them a beneficed clergyman, the other having a competent allowance from the bishop, and they soon had four or five hundred persons in their congregation, who did not understand English.

Great numbers of the Irish rebels, conscious of the crimes they had committed, having deserted their habitations in the county of Antrim, on the landing of the English army in 1689 at Carrickfergus, many families from the Hebrides or western islands of Scotland, who understood no other language but the Irish, or Erse, which is the same, settled there, and took possession of them. At first they went to church, but not understanding English, they became converts to popery, for no other reason, than that they understood the exhortations delivered in Irish by the popish priests, from the altar. On being asked their reason for doing so, they said, "It was better to be of their religion than none at all." To prevent this evil, a petition was presented to the bishop of Down, to request he would send ministers amongst them who could preach to them in the Irish language; and he sent some preachers to them, who not only brought

brought back such highlanders as had lapsed to popery, but converted many of the natives to protestantism.

In the year 1702, the reverend Nicholas Browne, rector of the parishes of Donacary, Dromore, and Rosfarry, in the diocese of Clogher, applied himself with great zeal to the conversion of the Irish, and he was well qualified for that purpose, as he was perfect master of the language, and had a happy faculty of expressing terms of divinity in it. The provost, burgesses, and other protestant inhabitants of Enniskillen, gave a publick attestation of the success of his laudable exertions in the year 1711, after his decease.

On March 3d, 1703, the following resolution was sent from the lower to the upper house of convocation :

“ Resolved, that the endeavouring the speedy conversion of the papists of this kingdom, is a work of great piety and charity ; in order to which it is the opinion of this house, that preachers in all the dioceses of this kingdom, preaching in the Irish tongue, would be a great means of their conversion ; and therefore, that application be made to the most reverend and right reverend the lords archbishops and bishops, that they take into their consideration, what number of such preachers will be necessary in every diocese, and how they may be supported.”

Their graces and lordships gave the following answer :

“ We think, that endeavouring the conversion of the papists is very commendable ; and as to preaching in the Irish tongue, we think it useful where it is practicable.”

The lower house soon after sent to the upper house a number of resolutions, pointing out measures which they thought necessary for promoting the reformation, and which were approved of by their lordships.

The main objects of them were, “ to print the holy bible, and the liturgy, in the Irish language, but in the English character.

“ To prepare a short exposition of the church catechism, fitted for the instruction of popish recusants, and that the same should be printed in English and Irish. That clergymen well skilled in the Irish tongue should be employed in instructing the people.”

In the beginning of this century, several of the nobility sent a memorial to James, duke of Ormond, lord lieutenant of Ireland, requesting that he would adopt such measures as would tend to promote the reformation. It begins thus :

“ Whereas

“Whereas nothing tends more effectually to promote the common welfare of Ireland, than the conversion of the popish natives to the protestant religion; whereby the English interest would be better secured, trade and industry encreased, and both the spiritual and temporal good of the Irish themselves advanced in that kingdom; and whereas, in order to obtain those happy ends, several laws have been lately made in Ireland, and one statute in particular, to prevent the succession of popish clergy, by virtue whereof the number of popish priests is already sensibly decreased in it; and it is probable, that in some counties, the whole succession may be extinct.”

Soon after, many of the nobility and gentry petitioned queen Anne to promote such measures, as would be most likely to propagate the protestant religion among the natives of Ireland; and at the head of the petitioners we find the lords Abercorn, Barrymore, Bellamont, Charlemont, Mountjoy, Digby, and Blaney; but nothing was done in consequence of it.

About this time the archbishop of Armagh, and his clergy, joined in a subscription for maintaining two missionaries, to preach to the natives in Irish, in that diocese; and the bishop and his clergy did the like in the diocese of Derry.

In the year 1711, Charles O’Neil, esquire, member of the house of commons, moved, that the conversion of the Irish should be taken into consideration. On which a committee was immediately appointed, to consider of, and make a report on it, which they accordingly did; and the substance of their resolutions was:

“That a competent number of ministers should be appointed to preach to the natives in their own language, with a suitable maintenance.

“That a sufficient number of charity schools should be erected, for the instruction of the popish children *gratis*.”

In the year 1711, the lower house of convocation entered into resolutions, much of the same tenor; with this addition, that the children of popish parents should be obliged, under a certain penalty, to send their children to some protestant school, from the age of seven years, till they shall have attained the age of twelve years; and to prevent popish recusants from evading that law, they were to be obliged, under a certain penalty, to give the birth and name of

of every child, ten days after its baptism, to the curate of the parish, to be registered in the parish book.

Such were the opinions, and such were the exertions of Ussher, Bedell, Boyle, and some of the wisest and most pious men in the 16th and 17th centuries, in promoting the established religion, as the only fountain of pure morality in a protestant state; but modern politicians, having derived new light from the philosophy of the Gallick school, are desirous of confounding all religious distinctions, by which they will sow the seeds of Jacobinical principles, which in time will shake the pillars of the throne.

The present indifference about the established religion in England and Ireland, reminds me of the state of Greece about three centuries before the Christian æra, when the people there, on adopting the Epicurean system, which prostrated all religious sanctions, sunk into the lowest state of debasement; and Polybius, who was an eye-witness of it, tells us, "that in consequence of it, they disregarded every tie human and divine, and that it was a sure presage of their impending ruin."

It is much to be lamented, that the blessings of the reformation have not been more extensively diffused in Ireland, notwithstanding the efforts which have been adopted for that purpose; but it will be vain to attempt the conversion of such of the natives as have arrived to maturity, as they oppose it *in limine*; for their prejudices are inveterate and deep-rooted in fanaticism, as they imbibe, at an early age, so strong and uncharitable an aversion against every thing that concerns the established religion, and their protestant fellow-subjects, that they recoil at any attempt to convince them of their errors. I mentioned some instances of this in pages 204, 205 in this volume, and in many other parts of this work. It would be as absurd to think of making an impression on such persons by ratiocination, as to penetrate a thick suit of armour with a bodkin. It frequently happens, that when a Roman catholic succeeds a protestant in a house, he prevails on a priest to purify it by his benediction, and by some religious ceremonies, from the pollution which it had received by the residence of a heretick.

Human wisdom could not devise a better plan for converting the lower class of the Irish, than the charter-schools, as the impressions made on the children bred up in them are not easily effaced.

"Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it." Proverbs, chap. xxii. 6.

This

This very wise institution was first established in the year 1733, by charter, in consequence of a petition to his majesty George the second, of the bishops, the nobility, the judges, and some of the principal gentry of Ireland. Part of the preamble of the petition evinces at the same time, the policy of that establishment, the wisdom, the virtue, and loyalty of those who addressed his majesty to institute it; and the supine and criminal neglect of the leading men of the present day, in not forwarding it with that degree of zeal which its importance requires:

“ That the generality of the popish natives appear to have very little sense or knowledge of religion but what they implicitly take from their clergy, to whose guidance, in such matters, they wholly give themselves up, and thereby are kept not only in gross ignorance, but in great disaffection to your sacred majesty and government, scarcely any of them having appeared to be willing to abjure the pretender to your majesty's throne; so that if some effectual method be not made use of to instruct these great number of people in the principles of religion and loyalty, there seems to be very little prospect, but that superstition, idolatry and disaffection to your majesty, and to your royal posterity, will, from generation to generation, be propagated amongst them.” Such opinions would be severely censured and condemned in this season of liberality; or rather of folly and dissimulation; but the late rebellion fully evinces the truth of them.

The object of the institution is, to instruct the children of papists in the English tongue, the principles of the established religion, and to train them up in the practice of industry and labour.

By donations and benefactions from individuals, and by parliamentary grants, the society have been able to erect thirty-seven schools in different parts of the kingdom, which are capable of containing 1773 children, who are fed, clothed, and educated in them, till they are fit to be apprenticed out, and then they are bound to protestants, who receive a fee of five pounds with them; besides these thirty-seven schools, there is one at Santry, and another at Clontarf, both near Dublin. They apprentice annually out of the former thirty-five children, and one hundred out of the latter.

The children must be of popish parents, and none can be admitted into the schools under the age of ten years.

The institution is superintended and regulated by a committee of fifteen, resident in Dublin; and each school is under the immediate direction of a committee in the country, consisting of the principal gentlemen and clergy contiguous to it; who examine into the instruction and employment of the children, their food and state of health, the sufficiency and diligence of the masters and mistresses, and all other particulars relative to the oeconomy and management of the schools; and report the same to the committee of fifteen.

The children pass their time between the learning necessary for their future life, and such gentle work as is suited to their tender age, which strengthens their constitution, and gives them early habits of industry. Especial care is taken to guard them from having any intercourse with popish priests, or the children of Romanists; and they are always sent to schools remote from their popish relations, lest they might tempt them to relapse.

The society appoint school-masters and school-mistresses, who are supported by the society, and provided with all things necessary for the instruction of the poor children in the principles of the protestant religion, reading, writing, and arithmetick, and with proper books and materials for teaching them husbandry, housewifery, trades and manufactures, in order to bring them up to virtue, labour and industry.

Besides the schools, there are four nurseries; one for the province of Leinster, one for Munster, and one for Connaught, and the fourth is in Charlemont-street, in Dublin.

The children are received and maintained in these till the age of six years, when they are put into the schools.

A portion of five pounds is given to every person apprenticed out of the school, who shall afterwards marry a protestant, with the approbation of the committee of fifteen, provided he or she shall produce a proper certificate of having duly served out such apprenticeship, and provided such claim is made within the term of seven years after the expiration of it, and within six months after the marriage.

The committee of fifteen annually publish their accounts, to convince the publick that the funds of the charity are properly and faithfully appropriated.

From

From what I have mentioned in this work, the reader must be convinced, that the state of Ireland cannot admit of any material improvement in morals and industry, until the benefits of the Reformation are more generally experienced in it; and it will be impossible to effect this, but through the medium of the charter-schools. They are in fact orphan-houses, and serve the most exalted purposes of charity, in rescuing the children of the lower class of people from extreme poverty, from idleness, from vice, from superstition, from treason, and often from suffering an ignominious death, inflicted by the vengeance of the law.

The committee is enabled at present to apprentice out annually about 400 children; but if they could bind out twice that number, it would make a material change in the peace and moral order of society, in the space of ten or twelve years.

The necessity of this is encreased by the establishment of a seminary for the education of popish priests, whose spirit of proselytism will in a great degree counteract the effects of this wise institution. Nothing can more strongly evince the advantages which are likely to arise from it, than the hatred with which it is regarded by the Romanists. One school was entirely demolished at Castlecarberry, in the county of Kildare; and Wilson's hospital was plundered, because it was established to educate children in the protestant religion.

Thomas Burke, titular bishop of Ossory, laments, in his *Hibernia Dominicana*, that whole troops of the lower class of people are converted by the charter-schools.

Quo factum est, ut cum priores leges corruperint singulatim divites, ista vel ipsos pauperes turmatim illaqueat.

The secret enemies of this institution, in order to make it odious, have asserted in many parts of England, where it is believed, that the children who are put into the schools are taken from their parents by force, an assertion as false as it is iniquitous; for no children are ever admitted into them, but such as are offered voluntarily by their parents; and from the numbers who solicit admission into them, there is not a doubt, but that the schools would be constantly full, even if they were twice as large as they are at present: An unquestionable proof, that the blessings of the Reformation might be extensively and speedily diffused through the kingdom of Ireland by this wise institution!

Those who are hostile to it also assert, that it is futile and inefficient, on the ground that most of the children educated in the schools relapse into popery, and the honest and well-meaning, who never examine into, or bestow any thought upon the institution, imbibe their prejudices, and become hostile to it; but on a serious investigation of this fact it will appear, that but very few of the children bred in them become converts to popery; and the probability of its ever happening might in a great measure be prevented by introducing a few improvements into that salutary system.

I intended to have submitted to the consideration of parliament, some improvements in the regulation of this very excellent institution, but I shall leave them to their superior wisdom, observing at the same time, that, while the frailty of human nature continues, it must be materially neglected, while it depends merely on the voluntary and gratuitous exertions of fifteen individuals, some of whom do not reside constantly in Dublin.

I cannot omit this opportunity of saying, that the publick are very much indebted to the great zeal and unabated exertions of doctor Agar, archbishop of Cashel, doctor Broderick, bishop of Kilmore, and sir Francis Hutchinson, in superintending it.

I humbly conceive, that it should be conducted by a permanent board, with salaries and responsibility attached to the members who compose it.

I am convinced that the candid reader will agree with me, that every other measure of Imperial policy for the improvement of Ireland should be subordinate to the advancement of this very wise and charitable institution.

It is astonishing to me that the bishops have not given more attention to it, and have not been more solicitous to extend the benefits of it; for it seems to me to be peculiarly the province of the pastoral charge.

Though I take the liberty of recommending, with due deference, the establishment of a permanent board, I am of opinion, that the power and the right to interfere in regulating it should still continue in the committee of fifteen, as their vigilance would check and control the members of the board.

It would be adviseable to apprentice out the children bred in the charter-schools in protestant towns, the establishment of which I shall recommend in the sequel.

The

The foundling-hospital in Dublin should seriously engage the consideration of government, as it is an institution which will conduce materially to promote the established religion. Much to the honour of the present governors, it is very well regulated; and I cannot omit observing, that the publick are much indebted to them for their unremitting attention to this excellent establishment.

It often occurred to me, that it would conduce much to the advancement of the established church, to build towns and villages in those parts of Ireland where popery predominates, and to establish protestant manufacturers in them, which would not only encourage the reformed religion within their walls, but afford confidence and protection to all the protestants in the adjacent country. The policy and utility of this measure will appear from the following circumstance: That in some parishes where protestants were thinly scattered, anonymous letters were sent to them during the rebellion, desiring them at their peril to go to mass, and in some instances they were frightened into obedience.

This wise measure has been strongly recommended by the best writers on Irish affairs, in the 16th and 17th centuries, but particularly by Richard Laurence, esquire, in a valuable treatise which he wrote in the year 1682, on the improvement of Ireland. He says, "that such towns would be ready receptacles to the English families dispersed in the adjacent country, which would fortify the English interest; and this may be easily effected, without much charge to the king or country, by propagating manufactures." Some of these protestant colonies are mentioned by Laurence; and in what a state would Ireland be at this day but for their establishment!

If English manufacturers had been planted in the town built for the Genevese emigrants in the county of Waterford, it would have been attended with the most important advantages.

The town of Rutland was built in the administration of lord Westmorland, on the coast of the county of Donegal, for the purpose of carrying on the herring fishery; but as the herrings have not visited that coast since its foundation, it has been neglected. Why not establish a colony of Protestant manufacturers in it, to whom the children bred in the charter-schools and foundling-hospital could be apprenticed?

It

It would be adviseable to incorporate by charter the inhabitants of such settlements, and to give certain municipal privileges to such persons of the established church as should reside in them a certain time.

The Romans never could have secured their conquests over Italy, or have attached to them the people whom they subdued, if they had not adopted this wise policy, which they did from the earliest period of the Republick. Thus, early in the fourth century, after the foundation of Rome, a colony was settled at Ardea;* and soon after, when the Romans conquered the Ausonians, they established a colony of 2500 persons at Cales, their principal town.† The same thing was done at Pontia and Sueffia; and 4000 colonists were settled at Casinum.‡ Two colonies were planted in the country of Falernum.¶ In short, the Romans adopted this wise procedure in every country which they subdued, and without it their conquests would not have been so rapid and secure as they afterwards proved to be. Italy would have readily yielded to the victorious army of Hannibal, but that the Roman colonists and their descendants, who were numerous, steadily adhered to the republick of Rome, for which Livy tells us, lib. 27. 10. "they received the thanks of the senate."§

They treated their colonies with tender and parental care, having always incorporated them and given them important municipal privileges; and they always punished such persons as attempted to injure or molest them. Thus, when the natives rose and massacred a great portion of a Roman colony at Sora, a town of the Volscians, Livy, lib. ix. cap. 24, tells us, that they severely punished the insurgents. "Omnes qui Romam deducti erant, virgis in foro cæsi, ac securi percussi summo gaudio plebis; cujus maxime intererat, tutam ubique, quæ passim in colonias mitteretur, multitudinem esse."

For familiar-cruelty and treachery the Lucernians and Samnites were punished, and a new colony of 2500 persons was settled amongst them. Ibid. cap. 26. By intermarriages with the Romans, and by a gradual assimilation to their

* Livy, lib. 4. 11.

† Ibid. 8. 16.

‡ Ibid. 9. 27.

¶ Ibid. 10. 27.

§ Harum coloniarum subsidio tum imperium populi Romani retit: usque gratiæ, et in senatu, et ad populum actæ. What is due then to the protestants of Ireland from the people of England!

their language and manners, the different nations of Italy became one and the same people.

In the year 1774, when murder excited stronger emotions of horror than it does at present, from its frequent perpetration, Mr. Ambrose Power of Barret's-town, in the county of Tipperary, a most worthy gentleman, was murdered in his own house by a band of assassins, which occasioned so general an alarm in Dublin, that many members of both houses of parliament assembled in a committee-room of the house of commons, for the purpose of concerting measures for checking such atrocities, and for civilizing the lower class of people; when a gentleman, noted in the Irish senate for eloquence and political wisdom, strongly recommended the establishments of villages and towns in different parts of Ireland:

There are large tracts of land in different parts of it, thinly inhabited, or without any population whatsoever, which would answer well for this purpose. No part of the British dominions affords so many eligible places for such establishments as Ireland, as few parts of it are far from the sea, as it abounds with fine harbours, with navigable rivers, and rivulets, which are highly necessary for such machinery as is used in the mechanick arts; and it is also probable, that Ireland, from the advantages of her geographical situation, will rise very high in commerce and manufactures.

The town of Bandon, in the county of Cork, affords a striking proof of the advantages of such an institution.

That seedling of protestantism and loyalty was planted by the first earl of Cork, the founder of the illustrious house of Boyle in Ireland, so distinguished for their loyalty, their virtues, and their talents, as to be highly panegyriized by lord Orford, in his lives of royal and noble authors.

In the year 1688, the agents of James the Second disarmed all the protestants of Ireland, except in some northern counties, where their numbers and their high spirit would have rendered that measure difficult and dangerous.

This procedure was to pave the way for the subversion of the reformed religion, and the foundation of that system of tyranny which that insatuated bigot meditated.

The protestant inhabitants of Bandon, who were numerous, smarting from the oppression and the exactions of a popish garrison quartered on them, and dreading the fate of their fellow religionists, disarmed and expelled their oppressors.

pressors; but they were soon after attacked by 12,000 Irish, commanded by the earl of Clancarty, and his brother, major-general McCarthy, and were reduced to the necessity of paying a pecuniary contribution, which was secured by the bonds of some of the principal inhabitants, to save the town from pillage and conflagration. Having been sued for the principal and interest due on their bonds in the year 1695, they petitioned parliament to be exonerated from the payment thereof; and the house of commons having addressed the viceroy for that purpose, his excellency ordered the amount of the said bonds to be paid out of the treasury. The house of commons, in their address to the viceroy, pray, "to have the town restored to its former state, that it might be a refuge and protection to the English against the cruelty of the Irish." How like the state of Ireland has been for some years past to that period!

Ever since, Bandon, which is a populous and manufacturing town, has continued to be inhabited exclusively by protestants; for the present inhabitants have been so sensible of the sufferings of their ancestors, from the persecution which they experienced, that they would not permit Roman catholics to reside in the town.

The following incident proves, that that spirit of partiality blended with fanaticism, which appeared on the breaking-out of the rebellion, is constantly afloat in the minds of the lower class of the Roman catholics. In the month of December, 1792, a mob having assembled in the town of Bandon, and complaining of the scarcity of provisions, proceeded to destroy the mills and corn-stores of some millers and corn-factors in the neighbourhood, whom they regarded as monopolists and forestallers. In their progress, having been joined by great numbers of Roman catholics, they materially injured the mills, and dispersed or carried off the corn and flour of the following persons: Mr. Stawell, of Kilbritton, and Mr. Biggs, of Bandon. On the second day, viz. the 20th of December, they plundered Mr. Pratt's house at Shannon-vale, near Clonakilty. On the 21st of December, they plundered the house and stores of Mr. Tresilian at Ballinadec. They then resolved to plunder the town of Bandon, and to take the wives and children of its principal inhabitants as hostages; but the following incident very fortunately prevented the execution of their rash design: A proposal having been made to
plunder

plunder the stores of Mr. O'Brien, a corn-factor of considerable opulence, and of the popish persuasion, the Roman catholicks, who were the most numerous part of the mob, strongly objected to it, on the ground that he was of their religion, though they warmly co-operated in plundering the houses and stores of the former persons, who were exclusively protestants. This opened the eyes of the protestant part of the mob, and shewed them the selfish and sinister designs of their popish confederates; on which they separated from them, repaired to the town, ordered the volunteer drum to beat to arms, alarmed the inhabitants, and shewed them the necessity of uniting and arming for their defence, which was quickly done; for all those who possessed arms, and were capable of using them, came forward, embodied themselves, called upon such gentlemen as had been formerly officers in the volunteer corps, to head them, which they accordingly did, and having been joined by a party of dragoons, commanded by cornet Kelly, they remained under arms all night in defence of the town, which the popish mob would most certainly have attacked, but that they were informed of the spirited resistance which would have been made to them.

This loyal corps memorialled the earl of Westmorland for permission to embody themselves, which they obtained; and they were the only corps of volunteers in the kingdom who continued to exist till the yeomanry were raised, except in the county of Longford, where a corps of protestants was raised with permission of the earl of Westmorland, to check the outrages of the defenders.

The Irish directory hoped and intended to have made Bandon another Belfast, by engaging its inhabitants in their cause; but the loyalty of the protestants of the established church rendered them impregnable against the arts of seduction.

A few towns like Bandon would materially tend to strengthen the English interest in Ireland, by encouraging the growth of protestantism.

Some of the Roman catholick nobility and gentry have made a practice of going to the viceroy, as the representatives of their order, and of making promises and assurances, on their part, of their future loyalty and fidelity, in consideration of certain favours to be conferred on them; but we may learn from experience that they have not the least influence over the Romish priests and their flock, who are
 actuated

actuated by secret springs of action unknown to them, and whose interest and designs are quite separate from theirs. The contemptuous insolence with which the Romish nobility and gentry were treated in the year 1792,* in consequence of which they were obliged to secede from their own body, should teach them, that by making such assurances, they will always run a risk of deceiving the government; though I am convinced they are incapable of doing so intencionally. When they make such promises and assurances, in behalf of persons of their order, it is on a presumption that they have such an influence over them as would enable them to restrain their licentious turbulence. If this be the case, I would beg leave to ask them, why did they not exert it for eight years past, in checking the progress of treason, and the perpetration of robbery and assassination? But if they have no influence over the priests and the popish multitude, their promises will only tend to delude and deceive the government. I would ask these noble lords and gentlemen, whether they can safely pledge their faith for persons who have in the most flagrant manner violated their oaths, for the purpose of varnishing over their treasonable designs? Let them beware, lest unwarily they might be led

To dress the ugly form
Of base and bloody insurrection,
With their fair honours.

They cannot but know, that if the ambitious and extravagant designs of the Romish clergy were to prevail, they must creep and cringe to the meanest popish priest in Ireland; for their influence over the popish multitude is such, that they would probably establish a government somewhat similar to the theocracy of the Jews. The conduct and the influence of that furious and intolerant bigot, Rinuccini in the 17th century, should put them on their guard.†

I think it right to give the following admonition to the descendants of the proprietors, who hope to recover the estates which their ancestors forfeited by the subversion of the constitution, and the separation of the two kingdoms, that, during the progress of the late conspiracy, the popish multitude had divided them among themselves; and that they had often fierce contentions and disputes about the division.

* See vol. i. p. 92.

† Ibid. p. 29.

vision and appropriation of them, in their respective vicinities ; and that on such occasions, they were often on the point of massacring each other. Their respective leaders meant also to have enjoyed them ; but their pretensions would have been as hopeless as those of the proprietors ; for both would have been swallowed up in the emulous and turbulent claims of the rabble, who in the conflict would have butchered each other, and have drenched the kingdom with blood.

I will seriously ask the Roman catholic nobility and gentry, whether it would in the smallest degree tend to meliorate the morals of the popish multitude, to give them a full participation of the English constitution ? I am persuaded that those whose minds are not clouded with prejudice, or perverted by bigotry, will answer in the negative ; and that every rational person of their order will admit, that any attempt to improve the mass of the people in their morals and industry will be fruitless, till they have experienced the advantages of the Reformation. As to such protestant gentlemen who take upon them to give assurances of the loyal and peaceable demeanour of the people for electioneering purposes, they should be scouted with indignation by the government ; for the rebellion could not have been as destructive and terrifick as it was, but for the delusive promises of such men. In short, it is not possible that they can have any influence over the main body of that order, or can know their secret designs.

I have not insinuated, and I have not the most remote wish, that the Roman catholicks should be deprived, in the smallest degree, of the rights and privileges which they have obtained. Some of them are loyal, charitable, and humane ; and it would be unjust to punish them for the fatal errors of others ; and as to the deluded multitude, my only desire is, to convert the rising generation of them by mild and evangelical means.

In the course of my investigation I have discovered, that there was not an encampment or a garrison in any part of the kingdom, for any length of time, that considerable disaffection did not take place among the popish military ; and if the French had landed a large body of troops, and had gained any decisive advantage over ours, I am convinced that four-fifths of them would have joined the enemy.

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This is a matter which should be maturely considered by the Imperial cabinet.

The Irish soldiers, out of Ireland, and removed from the influence of their priests, make the best soldiers in the universe. Such of the popish militia as were of four or five years standing, by constantly moving from one place to another, forgot the impressions made on them by their respective parish priests, and became loyal; but the yeomen, who were stationary, betrayed shocking instances of perfidy.

Every person who reflects that the British constitution, as it now stands, emanated from and is founded in the established religion, must be seriously alarmed at the supine neglect of government for its advancement, particularly in Ireland, the growth of infidelity amongst its members occasioned by the want of proper attention to their early education, the great encouragement given to popery, and the monstrous increase of sectarism in every part of the empire.

Three protestant churches in the city of Dublin have been in such a ruinous condition for some years past, that divine service has not been celebrated in them; in consequence of which, it is said, that many of the lower class of protestants resident in the parishes belonging to them have gone to mass. The parish church of St. Nicholas without has been in ruins above twenty years, St. Michael's nineteen, and that of St. Andrew's, which was the chapel of the house of commons, and is in one of the most populous parishes in Dublin, has not had divine service in it these eight years.

The protestant ministers would have starved in the years 1797, 1798, and 1799, from the subtraction of their dues, partly by ruffian force, and partly by fraud and the arts of chicanery, but that doctor Duigenan * brought in a bill to enable them to recover them in a summary manner.

Thinly scattered over the country, they have to combat the fanaticism of numerous hosts of papists, the opposition of sectarists; and at the same time they have to deplore the lukewarmness and alienation of their own flock, and particularly the nobility and gentry, who frequently con-

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* The good sense and the spirited conduct of this gentleman, on all occasions, in defending the constitution in church and state, deserve the warmest gratitude of every loyal subject.

nive at, or secretly encourage the farmers and peasants to plunder them, till their turbulence and disregard of all legal restraint, alarms them for the safety of their persons and property ; which to my certain knowledge has often occurred in different parts of Ireland.

Their zealous endeavours to maintain and support the established government in all emergencies have been very conspicuous ; and particularly during the late disastrous season of insurrection and rebellion ; yet how very badly they have been requited will appear in the acts and votes of the Irish parliament from the year 1735 to 1800, respecting the tithe of agistment.

Through the defalcation of the dues of the parochial clergy of Ireland, by a gradual and systematick course of encroachment, on the part of the laity, from the time of the Reformation, until the present day, 2436 parishes, formerly with cure of souls, employing about 3000 clergy, are now dwindled to 1120 benefices, and 1001 churches ; employing about 1300 clergy of all descriptions, rectors, vicars, and curates. How enviably different is the state of the church of England ! There, within the same period, the number of parishes has risen from 3,181 to 10,567 ; containing at present 11,755 churches, employing about 18,000 clergy of all descriptions. Thus have the clergy of Ireland been reduced considerably more than one-half, from the inadequacy of their provision, which at the present day is estimated at not more than 195,000*l.* a year, or less than a twenty-fifth part of the computed rental of Ireland, five millions sterling per annum ; whereas in England, the officiating clergy have been augmented nearly four-fold, and the revenues of the church, according to the most accurate estimates, encreased from 43,537*l.* to 1,313,000*l.* affording a taxable income of 1,125,000*l.* or about a sixteenth part of the computed rental of England, twenty millions per annum.

The whole provision for the ministers of the kirk of Scotland, in the year 1755, was about 68,000*l.* per annum, which being divided between 944 ministers, afforded to each on an average 72*l.* per annum, a pittance too small to uphold the respectability of the Scottish church. In England the average income of parish priests is about 141*l.* each per annum ; in Ireland the average is about 150*l.* per annum : but to make Ireland a protestant country, the

number.

number of her established clergy ought to be trebled ; an event not to be looked for in the present age, and under the late interdict.

The provision of the Scottish clergy is so small, that the persons who, for their rank in life, their learning, and their probity, should fill the priestly office, are now betaking themselves to secular and more lucrative employments ; and it is to be feared, that their places will be supplied by an inferior class of persons, who are unworthy of the pastoral charge.

This would be very much to be lamented, as in no country in Europe the beneficent effects of religion are so strongly experienced as in Scotland, in producing a purity of morals among the mass of the people, which is to be imputed to the piety of the clergy, and their unremitted attention to their flocks.

No. XXIV.

A justification of having published this work, so soon after the late rebellion.

AS the Jacobins of England and Ireland have censured the Author of this Work; for having published it so soon after the late rebellion; under a pretence, that it would revive those feuds and animosities from which it originated, I have written the following defence of myself for having done so. That venerable biographer Plutarch, in his life of Pericles observes, " That it is difficult to attain truth in history, since, if the writers live any length of time after the events which they relate, they can be but imperfectly informed of them, and if they describe the persons and transactions of their own times, they are tempted by envy and hatred, or interest and friendship, to disguise or pervert the truth." Conscious that I have not been biassed by any such sinister motives, and desirous of establishing the authenticity of the occurrences which I have related, I resolved to publish a narration of them, while the eye-witnesses of them were still living.

History, which is a mirror of past times, is the best guide to the statesman ; and Livy, in his preface tells us, that he wrote his, that the republick might learn lessons of wisdom and prudence from it, by avoiding such measures as had proved fatal, and by embracing such as had been found salutary for its interest.

It is much to be lamented that Ireland has been disgraced, and that her improvement in morals and industry has been retarded, for near three centuries, by civil dissensions; and as they have arisen from the same cause, and have been uniformly directed to one end, a separation from England, we may fairly conclude, that the predisposing causes to them must be inveterate, and that the seeds of combustion must be deeply and extensively laid.

As Ireland is completely annexed to the empire by the union, it is to be hoped that the Imperial government will apply more effectual remedies than have been hitherto adopted, to remove the causes of her rebellions, her crimes and disgraces; but it would be as imprudent to undertake that task, without having a perfect knowledge of them, as for a physician to administer medicine to a patient, without having investigated the symptoms and diagnosticks of his disease.

It is a positive fact, that the mass of the people of England are as ignorant of the real state of Ireland, and of the causes of her disturbances and insurrections, as they are of the most remote regions in the torrid and frigid zones; and it is no less singular than true, that many of the English nobility and gentry, in their speeches on the union, which have been published, displayed a radical ignorance of it.

As it was to be supposed that the Imperial parliament would pass some new laws, and that government would adopt some new measures for the internal regulation of Ireland, I considered it as an important, nay as a sacred duty, to lay before them the real state of Ireland, in a historical deduction of the most important transactions which have occurred in it for some years past, with some preliminary observations on the state of it, from the arrival of the English till the breaking-out of the rebellion in 1798.

I shall now endeavour to point out the principal causes of the ignorance and misconception of the people of England of the true and actual state of Ireland.

An angry opposition, in the parliaments of both kingdoms, has constantly imputed the disturbances to a wrong source, falsely ascribing them to the tyranny and cruelty of government, and not to the rebellious machinations and seditious conduct of traitors; and asserting, that if conciliation, instead of coercion and punishment, had been adopted towards the latter, it would have produced loyalty in them, and restored tranquillity in the kingdom.

To

To such conduct, by inclining the disaffected to violate the law, by attempting to varnish over their crimes, and by calumniating and disparaging the executive government, the late rebellion is to be in some measure imputed.

Members of the Irish parliament have made a constant practice of giving a gross misrepresentation of the towns or counties which they represented to the viceroys of Ireland, for the purpose of pleasing and flattering them ; but principally for electioneering purposes, as it tended to ingratiate them with their constituents, by concealing their traitorous machinations ; and from the speeches recently made by some Irish members in the Imperial parliament, I have not a doubt but that the same insidious and adulatory conduct will be pursued.

In consequence of this, some of the viceroys of Ireland, by lending too ready an ear to artful and designing men, and by being deaf to the assertions of men dignified by wisdom and virtue, have unfortunately continued in a state of ignorance as to its real and actual state, and have misrepresented it in England.

Why the viceroys have been too credulous to such men is easily accounted for : They consider that the supposed prosperity and peacefulness of Ireland, so subject to be convulsed by treason and sedition, will be imputed to their wisdom and good sense ; and that it will ingratiate them with their sovereign, and exalt them in the eyes of the people of England.

This practice took place so much in the 16th and 17th centuries, that the ablest writers of those periods have complained, that the viceroys materially retarded the improvement of Ireland, by misrepresenting its real state, and by adopting paltry and temporary expedients, instead of radical and efficient remedies, to eradicate the barbarism, and the inveterate proneness of her inhabitants to treason and insurrection ; and by this they have concealed with ashes the embers of rebellion, which have been constantly liable to be blown into a blaze by the breath of accident :

Et incedis per ignes
Suppositos cineri doloso.

The conduct of the English cabinet towards Ireland, for some years past, evinces, in some degree, what I have advanced

ced ; for nothing but their ignorance of it could account for the extraordinary and impolitick measures adopted towards her. Many honest and loyal subjects have assigned the following reason for it : That they wished to reduce her to such an embarrassed state, that her people, to extricate themselves, would gladly embrace a legislative union ; but I am far from imputing such sinister designs to persons so noted for wisdom and integrity.

Some English gentlemen, who visited Ireland for a few days or weeks, have taken upon them to write essays on its religious, moral and political state, though they were totally ignorant of it ; and a host of Jacobin scribblers have, with intemperate zeal, and unceasing sedulity, endeavoured to give a gross misrepresentation of Ireland since the rebellion, the cause and origin of which they have mistated in a most flagrant manner. This has been done for the following purposes : That of feeding the flame of rebellion, of deceiving the Imperial government, and of misguiding them in the adoption of any new laws or regulations for the government of Ireland.

Mr. Plowden, a Roman catholick gentleman and a conveyancer of the Middle Temple, in a book entitled, *The Case Stated*, says, page 19, "The lower class of the Irish, I understand, to be a race robust and hardy, and of a very irritable disposition and nature ; they are now indolent,* in extreme poverty, from being debarred the common resources of industry ; and are averse from all laws, from having felt the constant pressure of such only as are galling and severe ;" and he concludes, for this reason, "That the zealots for sedition and anarchy have found them ready materials to work on." "Can there be a stronger incitement to disloyalty and insurrection, than to tell the mass of the people that they are under the constant pressure of laws which are galling and severe, and by which they are debarred from the common resources of industry ? an assertion as groundless as it is dangerous ! But I impute it to no sinister design in this gentleman, and I ascribe it to nothing but his ignorance of Ireland. He makes the following position, the purport of which he, in other parts of his work, endeavours to prove : "That the Roman catholick religion teaches no one point of doctrine, that does not greatly tend to render its followers loyal, dutiful, and peaceable subjects."

VOL: II.

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Any

* If this gentleman had lived among the Irish he would have known, that they were *active citizens*, both by night and by day.

Any person who has examined the page of history must be sensible of the contrary; but to convince the reader of it, I shall refer him to "Prynne's history of the Pope's intolerable usurpations on the liberties of the kings and subjects of England and Ireland," a work of great learning and ingenuity.

Mr. George Cooper, an English barrister, having visited Ireland in the autumn of 1799, wrote a book on it, which was published in the year 1800, for J. White, at Horace's head, Fleet-street. He tells us, that he can only take to himself the merit of having ascended to the fountain-head of information; and having made his remarks on the spot, and from a personal observation of facts, he may be considered as more peculiarly speaking *ex tripode Phœbi*, than other writers on the subject.

And yet this gentleman has betrayed palpable ignorance, and has given a gross misrepresentation of Ireland.

The general division which he makes of the people of Ireland is, that of protestant-colonists and catholic natives; and asserts, that they have ever continued to be divided into these distinct bodies; and he adds, "For my own part, since I have been in Ireland, I have invariably ascertained that almost every pitiable object in rags and misery was a catholic; and that almost every man, who enjoyed the advantage of food and clothing, obtained it by his protestantism. They carry those palpable badges of their religious differences about them."

Now this gentleman might have learnt, that the wealthy merchants, manufacturers and mechanicks of Dublin, Cork, Waterford, Limerick, Derry, Newry, Belfast, Lisburne and Galway, of the Roman catholic religion, are very numerous; and that popish farmers, in different parts of the kingdom, have made nabob fortunes; and have purchased large estates, within a few years.

He might have known, that so many of the popish nobility and gentry have embraced the established religion, that there are but few of them remaining;* and that such numbers of the middling and lower classes have done so, that the protestants of Ireland are at this time more than one to three to the Roman catholics; the paupers of both religions who are admitted into the house of industry bear that proportion to each other. The Roman catholic labourer is as much protected by the law as the protestant; and the

former

* Most of those who remain were originally English settlers.

former experiences as much humanity and kindness from his employer as the latter. Nay it is very well known, that the lower class of Roman catholics would prefer protestant landlords and masters, from their well-known mildness and beneficence. This gentleman makes the dissenters infinitely more numerous than the members of the established church, though it is well known that the former are much inferior in number to the latter.

As to the Roman catholics, he says, page 89, "There can be no political ordeal, as the test of loyalty, to which they are unwilling to submit. Every security for their loyalty and attachment to the government, which the safety of the state shall require, or think necessary, they freely offer to give."

This is strictly true; for they swore oaths of allegiance in the most solemn manner, in many places at the foot of their altars, previous to the rebellion; but it was recently proved, by fatal experience, that they paid no regard to them.

Again, he says, page 92, "Neither is it equitable to infer, that they are enemies to the established religion, when that presumption is not only rebutted by their own express declarations, *but evinced by long and tried loyalty*, with a readiness to undergo the ordeal of any political test, which it shall be thought necessary to impose on them."

After the shocking instances of treason, accompanied with perjury, which Ireland exhibited in the years 1797 and 1798, it is astonishing how any writer could have the audacity to make such assertions. It would require almost as many pages as this gentleman has written to expose his ignorance of the state of Ireland.

He says, page 108, "Nothing but pasture lands are to be seen. Grazing of cattle is their grand passion. The farmer feels it his interest to devote his lands to it, and to neglect tillage." And in page 118, he says, "That the greater part of the provisions consumed in the country are brought from England, and the poor not having the means to purchase them, are in want of common sustenance, without either house or clothes to cover them from the inclemencies of the weather."

Now it is well known that Ireland, instead of importing provisions, sends to England, both for her internal

consumption, and for the use of the navy, immense quantities of corn, beef, butter, pork and bacon; and her agriculture is so much encreased in consequence of her immense export of corn, and her pasture grounds are so much diminished, that the greatest complaint in many parts of Ireland is the scarcity of milk. He imputes the idleness and the poverty of the Irish to their being badly governed; and then he asserts, that "they would not be so if they were well governed." A groundless assertion, tending to inflame the people against the government!

He says, page 127, "I found, that even in Ireland the name of an Englishman carries with it that weight and respect which has long flattered our pride in foreign countries. In Ireland, too, every man is sensible how much the prosperity and dearest interests of the two countries are linked together."

He should have confined this remark to the protestants, who are sincerely attached to England; but it is a positive fact, that the mass of the Roman catholics equally execrate both Englishmen and protestants, whom they brand with the common, and what they consider, odious, appellation of *Sassona*.* In short, I take upon me to assert, that the protestant religion is the only bond of union between the two kingdoms.

He tells us, page 129, that "it was no war of religion, because none of the catholics of Cork, Waterford, Limerick, Clare, Galway, or any part of the kingdom, except those few counties in which the rebellion broke out, were at all implicated in it; that those of Wicklow and Wexford were necessarily so, because the peasantry were of that religion."

He says, page 131, "The orange party was formed to perpetuate the abuses and oppressions of the government, by discountenancing every innovation. They openly avowed themselves determined to shed the last drop of their blood before any concessions should be made to the catholic body."

From what I have already said in vol. i. pages 82 to 89, it is obvious that the orangemen did not associate with
some

* Doctor M'Nevin, a Roman catholic, and one of the Irish directory, says, in his evidence upon oath before the house of lords, "the lower class of catholics consider protestant and Englishman, that is, English settler, as synonymous, and as their natural enemy; the same Irish word (*Sassona*) signifies both."

some years after almost the whole of the penal laws were repealed; that they assembled without arms, and for no other purpose but to protect themselves from being extirpated, and to prevent their country from being separated from England. The number of persons dignified by wisdom and virtue, high birth and shining abilities, at the head of the Orange societies, would alone have been sufficient to banish any suspicion that they had harboured any of the base designs which were imputed to them.

He says, page 135, "The catholicks felt themselves attached to a constitution of King, Lords and Commons. They therefore renounced all coalition with the conspirators, and preferred their humble claims to parliament."

The reader must be convinced, after having perused this work, that these assertions are totally groundless.

He says, page 141, "That it had been industriously circulated by the United Irishmen, that the Orange party was instituted in order to exterminate them. It was represented that the protestants had entered into a solemn league and covenant to destroy them, and that they had sworn to wade up to their knees in catholick blood. The day when the massacre was to commence was even mentioned. I am sorry to be obliged to confess, that there was too much appearance of reason to justify the catholicks in giving ear to this suggestion of a massacre. Orange lodges were spread over the counties in which the rebellion broke out, more numerously than through the other parts of the kingdom.* Oaths were administered to those who enrolled themselves of that party; the nature and purport of which the peasantry were unacquainted with, but which they were led to believe were for the desire of exterminating them. Neither is there a doubt, but that such a wish has been professed by many of the Orange party. I am sure I have heard it declared, and so must every man who has at all mixed in society in the country, that Ireland never would be at rest till the catholicks were completely exterminated. Such a design has even been avowed in their publick deliberations. I have not indeed heard it myself, but I have not the least doubt of the fact. The charge has been made by others, and has never yet been denied."

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* The contrary is well known to be the case, for they were mostly confined to the north, and were scarcely known in those counties in the province of Leinster, where such dreadful barbarities were perpetrated during the rebellion.

When such infamous and groundless charges have been publickly made against the protestants of Ireland, the only subjects in it who have been upon all occasions sincerely and steadily loyal, for the obvious purpose of deceiving the administration of England, in whose eyes they wish to degrade and stigmatize them, and when the sanguinary and treasonable designs which a set of traitors manifested in the late rebellion, for the subversion of the constitution and dissolving the connection between the two kingdoms, have been falsely imputed to them, it is incumbent on every faithful subject, who is interested in their preservation, to stand forward and undeceive the government of England.

This gentleman, not contented with his own observations, quotes another writer who appears to be actuated by the same sinister designs as himself, in support of his calumnies.

He tells us, that "the author of a highly-respectable publication, *Considerations on the State of Affairs in Ireland* in the year 1799, has this remarkable passage:

"And though there may be men of ferocious minds, who would exterminate the natives; although I have heard a ferocious policy avowed in the publick councils, by which they were to be armed and let loose upon each other; though I have heard the offer of union condemned, as a remedy inadequate to the evil, and the salvation of the few asserted to depend upon the extermination of the majority; that the catholics must be extinguished and put out; that not a single Rohilla of them all can be left with impunity; though I have heard these sanguinary doctrines pollute the walls of a house of parliament, yet I am satisfied that they are confined to a few breasts, not wickeder than they are weak." *

Mr. Cooper then adds, "What answer does the Orange party make to this charge, which stands upon record? They refuse to plead to the indictment; they stand obstinately mute; their guilt must therefore be taken *pro confesso*."

Mr. Cooper thus concludes, that in consequence of such reports relative to the designs of orangemen, "we must acquit the peasantry of every crime."

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* I am convinced, that no member of the Irish parliament ever entertained so base and sanguinary a design; and I am sure, that if any member of that assembly should have had the folly and wickedness to utter such an opinion, he would have been severely condemned and scouted out of it.

The reader after perusing these pages must perceive, that Mr. Cooper must have been totally ignorant of the causes of the late rebellion in Ireland, or that he uttered these groundless assertions, in so barefaced a manner, with a design of deceiving his countrymen for the worst of purposes.

I am persuaded that there is not a sincere protestant in Ireland, that does not profess, and would not maintain, at the risk of his life, the principles of orangemen, the only object and import of which is, to defend the constitution in church and state, and to protect the life and property of every honest and loyal subject against the machinations of traitors, robbers, and assassins, who have so many years disturbed and disgraced their native country.

This gentleman acquits the murderers of Scullabogue, Vinegar-hill, Gorey and Wexford-bridge, because, as he says, the perpetrators of them believed that orangemen had taken oaths to murder them; but the Orange institution did not exist in the county of Wexford; and it is well known, that the base fiction of the infamous oaths taken by orangemen, and their atrocious designs against Roman catholics, was used merely as a veil to conceal their sanguinary views against protestants of every rank and denomination, and to stimulate the lower class of the former against the latter.

The author of *Considerations upon the State of Public Affairs*, quoted by Mr. Cooper, and decidedly a jacobin, says, "I confess, I fear, that there are among our settlers * in Ireland some unrelenting minds, who expect and prefer another conclusion of the contest, and very different; the horrible principle which has been disclosed even in England, induces me strongly to apprehend, that there is no obstacle in a part of the colony more hostile and formidable to the projected union, than the hope of being enabled, by the arms and treasure of the mother country, to obtain such decided and definitive success in the civil war, as to enable their "Independent Parliament" to attain and confiscate the remaining part of the property of Ireland, not actually in the occupation of that colony." Such is the vile slander and calumny which he utters of the protestant nobility and gentry of Ireland; and lest the hatred of the Roman catholics towards them, manifested in so many rebellions, was not sufficiently enveloped, he endeavours to sublimate it by the following observation on them:

"Revenge,

* Meaning the Protestants.

“ Revenge, and the hope of prey, are his undisguised motives ;* and he is only far less absurd or less guilty than the colonist I have described, as he believes himself to have a right, according to the doctrines of imprescriptibility, to possess the lands which no time, no length of possession, can alienate, no acquiescence can transfer ;† and as he relies for his hope of success upon a government which, as it were from the very centre and focus of robbery, adopts and assists every attack upon every possession, every innovation of right and principle, and law and property.”

Such is the stigma which he casts on the protestants of the established church, the most loyal, liberal and humane body of people in Ireland ! And such are the arguments which he adopts to varnish over the disaffection of the Roman catholics, and to incite them to continue in their disloyal and rebellious principles !

In answer to this, I shall only say, that the rebellions since the reformation arose from, or were fed by, religious bigotry ; that they were put down by English armies ; that the trials of traitors, under which they were convicted, were held under the superintendence of English judges and commissioners, and the forfeited lands were granted by the crown to such English subjects as had displayed their courage and their loyalty in conquering the rebels ; among whom were to be found not only the native Irish, but great numbers of the English colonists, because the disaffection which kindled those rebellions arose principally from religious rancour. The Irish parliament was but a mere cypher, and served only the purpose of registering the edicts of the British cabinet till the year 1782. The supreme power of the English parliament over Ireland was asserted in the year 1608, when Mr. Molyneux's book was condemned ; and again by a law passed in the British parliament, the 6th of Geo. I. cap. 5. While the Irish parliament were in that state of constraint and subordination, the house of lords twice addressed the crown in 1703, and again in 1707, to grant to Ireland the benefits of an incorporated union ; but they were absolutely refused. The odium of the penal laws then enacted against the Irish Roman catholics is much more to be imputed to the British than the Irish parliament, as the latter had, during that period, no power to originate

* Meaning the Roman catholics.

† This is a direct invocation to the descendants of the traitors who forfeited estates to rise in rebellion.

originate any law, even for the internal regulation of Ireland, unless it had been previously deliberated on, and sanctioned by, the British cabinet.

But as soon as the Irish parliament were emancipated, and obtained a full exercise of their functions, they repealed without a murmur, nay with the greatest alacrity, the most odious and severe parts of the penal laws, and this in one session. In short, the Irish protestants, with a degree of liberality and generosity which must ever reflect honour on them, and should conciliate the esteem and the warm regard of their Roman catholic fellow subjects, shewed an earnest desire of sharing with them a portion of that liberty which they acquired the instant they had obtained it.

The author of a pamphlet, entitled the Case of Ireland reconsidered, says, "What difference is there between an Irishman and a Scotchman, that the religion of the one should be treated with respect, and the other with contempt? But is the reason to be sought in the religion itself? That of Ireland is not less antient, less noble, less extensive; the greatest men and the greatest nations of Europe have never been ashamed of professing it; it is not less safe; it has long existed in monarchies and in republics; the first duty it inculcates is obedience to the power of the state."

In answer to this I shall observe, that England, one of the greatest nations in Europe, was afraid and ashamed to profess it, because it had so often shaken the thrones and impoverished the subjects of sovereign princes, and therefore very strong and wise laws were enacted against the supremacy of the pope, from the reign of Edward the Confessor till the reformation took place; and during that period, the people of England frequently shewed an earnest desire to renounce the superstition itself, and would have effected it in the reigns of Henry III. Richard II. and Henry IV. but that they were prevented and intimidated by the tyranny and persecution of the ecclesiasticks, who in the reign of the last introduced the practice of burning hereticks. It certainly enjoins obedience to those governments whose members are Roman catholicks, but it inculcates treason and resistance to a protestant state, as a sacred duty; and it frequently shook the thrones of popish sovereigns, who did not submit implicitly to the imperious dictates of his Holiness.*

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* See vol. i p. 11.

He also concludes, " That protestants and Roman catholics may co-exist in Ireland with an equal share of political power, without any danger to the protestant state, because both these religionists live in some states in Germany, with perfect safety to the government, and in harmony among themselves, and even use the same place of devotion alternately.

I have shown, in the Introductory Discourse, that popery doctrinally teaches and sanctions treason and resistance to a protestant state ; and the late rebellion proves, that the mass of the Irish people implicitly believe in, and think themselves religiously bound to obey, those abominable tenets, so long fatal to the peace and safety of Ireland ; in consequence of which, the lower class of the Irish are traitorous towards the state, and fraudulent, ferocious and sanguinary towards such of their fellow-subjects as differ from them in religion ; and for this reason, the Scotch peasant, or mechanic, differs as much from the Irish, as a house-dog does from a wolf or a fox.

As to these two religionists living together in the same state in Germany, it is easily accounted for.

They are all originally of the same stock or lineage, and the religious liberty of each is guarantied by the treaty of Munster ; so that the intolerant or ambitious designs of either against the other is completely repressed ; but in Ireland, the hope of recovering the forfeited estates, and of separating her from England, constantly fomented by bigotry, keeps alive their hereditary hatred to the latter, and of course to the members of the established church, from their noted loyalty and attachment to the sister kingdom, and gives full play to the deleterious doctrines of popery, which the Irish priests never cease to foment.

I before observed, that they consider Englishmen and protestants as their natural enemy, whom they wish to expel ; and, from the insular state of their native country, they are induced to hope that they shall one day, with the assistance of some foreign power, separate it from England.

In short, for these reasons, no parallel can be drawn between the popery of Ireland and that of any other country in Europe.

From the intolerant spirit of popery, its sectaries never would suffer any other members of the christian church to be on a footing with them, in point of political power.

Sigismunda

Sigismunda Augustus, king of Poland, passed a law at the diet of Vilna, on the 16th of June, 1563, that all persons of the equestrian or noble orders should enjoy equal rights, and privileges, of whatsoever christian communion or confession they should be ; but on the death of Sigismunda, the Roman catholicks, though inferior in number to the protestants and dissidents, gained a superiority over them, excluded them from the government, and persecuted them with fanatical zeal. Catharine the second of Russia attempted to put them again on an equal footing ; but the obstinate resistance of the Roman catholicks occasioned those dissensions which finally terminated in the ruin and dismemberment of the kingdom of Poland.

It is true, as this writer asserts, that in Germany some ecclesiastical establishments were possessed alternately by protestants and catholicks, and the same church serves frequently for their worship ; but what constitutes the difference between these two religionists in those countries and Ireland, is the illiberality and fanaticism of the Irish priests, who tell their besotted sectaries that they will be damned if they even enter a protestant church, which they universally do. A lady in the city of Dublin, of distinguished benevolence, recently solicited a certain Roman catholick lady of rank to assist in collecting money at a charity sermon in a protestant church ; and her answer was, that she would gladly do so, but that the rules of her church would not permit her to comply, or words to that purpose ; at the same time, the protestant nobility and gentry frequently collect charity in popish chapels. Some time since lord Granard ordered the band of his regiment to play during divine service in the church of Athy, where they were quartered ; but the popish musicians refused to obey, having said, that a priest assured them they would be damned if they entered a protestant church. On enquiry it was discovered, that a priest, who was a member of the popish seminary at Carlow, gave them this charitable assurance ; and on being questioned on it, the priest avowed, that it was consonant to the established doctrines of his church. In the same manner doctor Coppinger, titular bishop of Cloyne, would not suffer such of the band of the King's county regiment, as were papists, to play in the protestant church at Youghall ; though, with the permission of the colonel, both the protestant and popish musicians had constantly played in the popish chapel.

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The popish servants used constantly to attend the prayers read by their protestant masters in their respective families till the year 1793; but when, at that period, the protestant state, with singular benevolence and philanthropy, granted them a large portion of political power, in addition to an equality of civil liberty which they had previously obtained, their priests, sed with the hope of attaining an ascendancy for their sectaries, endeavoured to render the two orders inimicable, and to draw for ever an interminable line between them; and from that time we find, that the popish clergy laid their deluded sectaries under an absolute interdict against entering a protestant church, or hearing the prayers of a protestant master. The marquis de Bonnet, who was many months on a visit with the bishop of Ossory, (now bishop of Meath) constantly assisted at the prayers read every evening by his lordship to his family; but the marquis, though he was reputed a French philosopher, and had been president of the national assembly of France, consulted the pious doctor Hussey on the propriety of assisting at the bishop's devotions, and he declared with great vehemence, that it was inadmissible; and the marquis yielded implicit obedience to the liberal inhibition of the reverend father. Such is the conduct of the popish clergy, in return for the liberal and benevolent concessions of the protestant state towards their order!

Some weak men and shallow politicians have said, that the publication of this work would tend to revive animosities, which every person should wish to compose. The folly and futility of this observation will be easily exposed, by shewing that the malignant spirit which occasioned the rebellion has never ceased, though the royal mercy has been extended to a most dangerous excess, with the hope and for the purpose of laying it, and conciliating the disaffected. For two years after the rebellion was said to be put down, the county of Limerick continued to be disturbed and disgraced by nocturnal robbery and assassination; and such was the state of the county of Wicklow, where the most material and destructive outrages against the persons and property of the loyalists were perpetrated after it was said to be suppressed.

The reader will see in Appendix XV. of this work, some specimens of the licentious and desolating spirit which prevailed in the county of Kildare in the years 1799 and 1800; and

and some alarming instances of barbarous cruelty and ferocity have appeared there within these few months.

The people of the county of Clare, supposed in the year 1798 to be perfectly free from disaffection, broke out into open rebellion in the year 1799; and that barbarous practice, peculiar to the natives of Ireland, of houghing cattle, was carried to a dreadful and alarming excess in it, and in the county of Galway. In the years 1799 and 1800, traitorous combinations and conspiracies, very alarming from their extent and malignity, were discovered in the counties of Cork, Waterford and Tipperary, and in the barony of Muskerry; in the former, a plot formed by a committee of assassination, has been recently detected, for murdering all the protestant gentlemen in the neighbourhood.

In short, a spirit of disaffection, as strong as ever, in the provinces of Leinster and Munster, has manifested itself in various desperate outrages, and the loyal subjects in them, who were active against the rebels, have as much reason as ever to dread its fatal effects, and to fear for their personal safety. Traitorous combinations have been recently discovered in the metropolis; and persons who owed their lives to nothing but the royal mercy, have been detected in the act of sitting in committees, forming new plans of insurrection; treasonable ballads are frequently sung in the publick streets, and the mass of the people in it, with indecent boldness, give unequivocal proofs of their disloyalty, openly exulting in the success of our enemies, lamenting the good fortune of our fleets and armies, and expressing their hopes, that the enemies of mankind will land in their unfortunate country, and assist them in their plans of robbery and assassination; but the loyal subjects have this one consolation, that treason is at present confined to but one class of the people.

For some months before the peace, the popish multitude, in the provinces of Leinster and Munster, meditated an universal massacre of their protestant fellow subjects, had the French invaded Ireland; an event which they ardently wished for, and constantly expected. Some popish farmers, who were much attached to me, and were sick of the late rebellion, seeing that it must occasion the destruction of those who were engaged a second time in it, assured me of this. They informed me that the mass of the people were better organized than at any former period, notwithstanding the delusive appearance of tranquillity; and they recommended,

commended, that I and my friends should join the army, or repair to some garrison-town for safety, the instant a descent was announced. They also assured me, that the popish multitude never ceased to hope, and wish for, another rebellion, since the last was put down.

The following circumstances verified their assertions : As soon as the peace was announced, the mass of the people manifested the most striking symptoms of discontent : They even declared, in some instances without reserve, that they were sure the French would not disappoint them, after their repeated promises to come to their assistance ; and particularly, as the Irish had been friendly and serviceable to them on all former occasions. For two months after the peace was concluded, they would not believe that it had taken place : and they were heard to say, if it be true, Bonaparte must have become an orangeman.

It was mentioned in the report of the secret committee of the English house of commons, published the 5th of March, 1799, that the United Irishmen who went to England to propagate their baneful doctrines, were by far the most dangerous conspirators discovered there.

In the reports of the secret committees of both houses of the British parliament, published in the month of April, 1801, it is stated, that there is a constant correspondence and co-operation between the traitors of both kingdoms, in their schemes for overturning the constitution, and for that purpose, of holding out hopes of invasion ; and “ that many of the society of United Irishmen, who, either by the leniency of the government of that country or their own apprehensions of its just severity, had repaired to England, had, by all the means they had been used to practice, stimulated and inflamed the members to an higher pitch of extravagance.”

And it is most certain, that many wretches of this description have stationed themselves in different parts of England, with no other design but to misrepresent the origin and cause of the late rebellion ; falsely asserting, that it arose from the unjust and impolitical severity of the government, and the cruelty and tyranny of the protestants of the established church.

In the propagation of such calumnies they have been assisted by the English jacobins ; and, to my certain knowledge, they have been but too successful in their wicked endeavours ; for how otherwise can we account for the palpable
ignorance

ignorance which some members of the British parliament recently displayed in their speeches, of the real state of Ireland?

From what I have now said in defence of publishing this history, I flatter myself that the candid reader will acknowledge, that it was wise and politick to do so as soon as possible after the rebellion.

It is a positive fact, that a notorious leader of rebellion, who contributed materially to desolate two counties in Ireland, and who escaped the vengeance of the law by the mistaken lenity of government, has been well received in the house of a nobleman of considerable rank in England. Such men have been extremely active in misrepresenting the cause, the origin, and the consequences of the rebellion, in that kingdom.

It is evident, that it cannot make the state of Ireland worse than it is at present, by reviving animosities, as the causes of combustion exist in it as strong as ever. On the contrary, it will tend to unite protestants of every description in defence of the constitution, by shewing them that their own ruin will of course be involved in its destruction.

Both houses of the Imperial parliament have thought proper, in their great wisdom, to institute secret committees, to investigate the real state of Ireland, and they have published their reports, which prove that the mass of the people in many parts of that kingdom are in a state of depravity unheard-of in the annals of history.

What opinion are we to entertain then of persons who have made animadversions on the Author of this Work, on the pretended ground that it would revive the animosities which have distracted the country, when it is unquestionably proved by these reports, that the seeds of rebellion still exist, and that outrages have never ceased to be committed, ever since the rebellion was said to be put down; and yet some persons have made such animadversions from weakness and timidity, some from a spirit of disaffection, in hopes that their confederates may, by the acquiescence of government, bring another rebellion to maturity; and others, from self-interested motives which I shall not explain, were desirous of varnishing over, and concealing from the administration of England, the machinations and the crimes of the Irish traitors.

What can be more dangerous or more culpable? To conceal the treasonable designs of an individual, is, by the laws of every nation in Europe, misprision of treason. How great then must the guilt of those be, who would conceal the treasonable combinations of the multitude, formed for the destruction of the empire?

I lament that I have not authentick copies of those reports, to insert extracts of them in this work; but it is stated in them, that a system of terror is still maintained in various parts of the country, by the means of committees of assassination, who sit constantly, and deliberately condemn, and procure to be murdered, such persons as are distinguished for their loyalty. It appears also, that this dreadful system is under the guidance of a directory sitting in Dublin.

No. XXV. 1.

Observations on the reply of the right reverend doctor Caulfield, Roman catholic bishop, and of the Roman catholic clergy, of Wexford, to the misrepresentations of Sir Richard Musgrave, baronet.

AFTER the many instances of gross perjury and dissimulation, committed by the popish priests, and their flocks, in most parts of the country of Wexford, they must have an extraordinary opinion of the credulity of the Public, to suppose that they would give any credit to their assertions; and yet, a number of them, with doctor Caulfield their bishop, have published a pamphlet, in which they not only make protestations of their innocence, and their unremitted attachment and loyalty to the State, but boldly and impudently assert the most notorious falsehoods. I shall reply to them, what Silius does in Tacitus, to that notorious prostitute Messalina, "hardened audacity is the refuge of detected guilt," "flagitiis manifestis, ab audacia subsidium petendum." *Annals*, lib. xi. cap. 26. The popish multitude were as prone to commit perjury in former periods, as in the present; for Benedict XIV. on the 20th of August, 1748, issued a brief, to erect fraternities in Ireland against blasphemies, perjuries, and unlawful oaths, "contra blasphemias, perjurias, et illicita juramenta."* The last meant oaths of allegiance to a protestant

* *Hibernia Dominicana*, p. 177.

protestant state, which are condemned as unlawful by the church of Rome.

As resistance to protestant states, and the persecution and extirpation of hereticks, have been uniformly prescribed as a religious duty, by the general councils of the Romish church, the bulls and epistles of the popes,* it cannot be a matter of astonishment, that the Irish priests should have taken an active part in the late conspiracy and rebellion.

A few observations will be sufficient to shew the reader, on what slight grounds their pretensions to veracity and loyalty are founded. In page three, the doctor says, "I heroby, in the awful presence of God, solemnly declare, that the first idea I had of that rebellion was, from the proceedings, the publications, and proclamations of government, and of parliament, not four years before, but that very year (1798), and that even then, I did not imagine, it would extend to the county of Wexford." He also tells us, in the same page, "that he was on his return from Dublin to Wexford, the day before the rebellion broke out; that he set about writing to the *Catholic pastors of his diocese*, to exhort the people to peace, good order, and allegiance to his Majesty and government; but the sudden burst of the rebellion put a stop to the circulation of his letters." Any person acquainted with the origin, the progress, and the effects of the rebellion in that county, cannot but smile at such assertions; particularly when he considers, that the popish multitude are obliged, under the terrors of eternal damnation, to disclose the secrets of their hearts to their priests, in their confession-boxes. The magistrates were so much alarmed at the dangerous symptoms of rebellion in the autumn of 1797, that a considerable part of it was proclaimed on the 20th of November; and Mr. Hawtrey White, an active, intelligent magistrate, foretold, about that time, to government, among other particulars, which I have stated in vol. i. page 396, "that an attack on the metropolis was meditated; that the popish priests were deeply concerned in the intended rebellion; and that whenever it would break-out, religion would have the chief influence in it."

In page 10, the doctor tells us, that he did not see or hear of a black flag that day (meaning the day of the massacre) for that he kept mostly in his own house, *and particularly that day*, except when he was sent for by some protestant neighbour.

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* See these doctrines, from page 11 to 35 of vol. i.

neighbour. The affidavit* annexed, in some degree, contradicts his having gone out that day; and the following incident fully proves how little inclined he was to go to the relief of any of the protestants:

Doctor Caulfield having resided many years at New Ross, as parish priest, there subsisted a very warm friendship between him and Mr. Allen, a protestant inhabitant of that town. The latter having been, with other protestants, committed to the prison-ship at Wexford, Mrs. Allen, dreading that he would be massacred, or starved, implored the doctor to liberate her husband, well-knowing the unbounded influence of the priests over the popish multitude; but he indignantly spurned at her request, and said, her husband would not have been there, if he had not deserved it. This happened at an early period, when the Wexford leaders imagined that the insurrection had been simultaneous and general.

In page 18, the doctor tells us, that he was absolutely ignorant of that massacre being intended or perpetrated, until some hours after it had ceased. Here the doctor is convicted of an untruth by the strongest moral evidence. The town of Wexford is so narrow, that if a boxing-match, or a riot, happened in any part of the main street, every one of its inhabitants could not but hear the noise occasioned by it. The populace began to shout at eleven o'clock, soon after the black flag was erected on the quay. The slaughter at the goal began at two o'clock, and continued on the bridge till late in the evening. At the immolation of every victim, the popish multitude rent the air with acclamations. Could doctor Caulfield and father Corrin alone remain deaf to their clamours? Why did they not enquire the cause of so much noise and uproar?

Doctor

* The following affidavit was published in the *Dublin Evening Post*, the 20th of April, 1799:

County of Wexford, }
to wit. } MATTHEW COMMINS came before me this day, and made a voluntary, and solemn oath on the Holy Evangelists, that the reverend doctor Caulfield dined in his own house, in Wexford, on the 20th of June last, in company with the reverend Mr. Corrin, parish priest of said town; and that he, the said Commins (servant to the said doctor Caulfield) served them while at dinner. Deponent further saith, that, to the best of his knowledge, his said master, doctor Caulfield, did not leave his house on that day.

MATTHEW COMMINS.

Sworn before me, this 10th day of April, 1799,

JOHN H. LYSTER.

Doctor Caulfield published the following letter as a testimony of his loyalty :

Dublin Castle, May 11th, 1800.

SIR,

IN answer to the honour of your letter of the 9th instant, which I have laid before my Lord Lieutenant, I am to assure you, that government will give doctor Caulfield that protection which, from his conduct and character as a loyal subject, he appears justly to merit.

I have the honour to be,

SIR,

Your most obedient servant,

E. B. LITTLEHALES.

*To the most reverend doctor Troy,
North King-street.*

The doctor published another letter from Lieutenant-colonel Littlehales, to the same purpose, dated June 30th, in which he says, that *his Excellency has no cause to alter the opinion he has imbibed of the loyalty and proper deportment of doctor Caulfield.*

Without meaning in the smallest degree to disparage or reflect on the marquis Cornwallis or colonel Littlehales, I must say, that I consider these letters to be no more a criterion of the doctor's loyalty and proper deportment, than the pope's bull of absolution. It has been said, that protections were too easily attainable during lord Cornwallis's administration. It should be considered, that his Excellency had undertaken a most arduous task, that of carrying the union, while Ireland was distracted by civil and religious feuds, and while her wounds, inflicted by a dreadful rebellion, were still rankling. The mass of the Roman catholics, instigated by their priests, were deeply concerned in it ; and as their main object evidently was, after the subversion of the constitution, the separation of the two kingdoms ; and as his Excellency was sent to Ireland for the express purpose of uniting them for ever, he very wisely paid great court to the heads of the popish clergy ; for which reason doctor Troy, titular archbishop of Dublin, at whose instance doctor Caulfield's protection was procured, enjoyed, in a very high degree,

degree, the friendship and confidence of the noble marquis; and I am persuaded that he, and no other person but he, testified the loyalty and proper deportment of his suffragan bishop; and what higher authority could his Excellency look for? but I am persuaded that doctor Caulfield could not prevail upon any two loyal inhabitants of Wexford to sign a testimonium to the same purpose. I would ask, Why the doctor, if he felt conscious rectitude, should have recourse to those means of safety which every common rebel did, that of soliciting a protection, when no charge was made against him? for this work was not published till the month of March, 1801, and the first letter of colonel Littlehales bears date the 11th of May, 1800. As to his Excellency's condemnation of my history, not for being deficient in point of veracity, but *as tending strongly to revive those dreadful animosities which have so long distracted this country*, that is easily accounted for. His Excellency had, with uncommon sedulity, and I must say with some success, endeavoured to conciliate the mass of the Roman catholicks, for the purpose of carrying the union. It would then appear ungracious and inconsistent in him, to sanction a work which exposed the malignant spirit of popery; but another and a much stronger reason may be assigned for it: it has been since discovered that he, and the party to which he was attached in England, meant to put protestants and Roman catholicks exactly on the same footing; and this work tended to prove that it would not be wise or politick to do so. See page 548.

The following affidavit will throw some light on the conduct of doctor Caulfield and father Francis Kavenagh, so often mentioned in this work:

JOHN HIGGINBOTTOM sweareth on the Holy Evangelists, That he was a prisoner with the rebels in Gorey the day of the battle of Arklow; that he was bailed out by Furlong, Darcy, and Rossiter of Gorey, and thereby permitted to be a prisoner at large; that he went with Rossiter into Darcy's, a publick house, and into a room where they sat to drink, and shortly after Kavenagh and Synnot, priests, and two other rebels, came into them; that, after some time, Synnot said, "Murphy had but seven men when he began the business, and now you see what it has come to." He then took out a letter, and shewed it to Redmond, saying, "You may read that, and see how long I have been concerned in this

this business; and though I stood against it as long as I could, you may see, in that letter, how I was compelled by the bishop to it." Some time after, while the battle raged and could be heard, he said, "there are some people now lashed round hell with an iron flail."

JOHN HIGGINBOTTOM.

Sworn before me,

PETER BROWNE.

I certify that the above affidavit was made before me, and that I know Higginbottom well, and believe him to be well worthy of credit.

PETER BROWNE, *dean of Ferns.*

To palliate the horrors of the late unprovoked rebellion, doctor Caulfield says, in the second page of his preface, "Let it be recollected that, in an extent of nearly fifty miles, from Bray to Wexford, almost every Roman catholic place of worship was laid in ashes."

This is a notorious falsehood. A few, and but a very few, were burnt by the protestant yeomen, in parishes where their priests, at the head of their savage flock, began to spread carnage and conflagration in a wanton and unprovoked manner. But it is well known, that most of the chapels which have been consumed, were burnt by the papists themselves, to throw odium on the protestants, by imputing it to them, and in order to obtain compensation from government; in which, having succeeded, they, in many parishes, have built stately chapels, in the place of their wretched thatched hovels.

Mr. Daniel, a revenue officer, solicited the protection of doctor Caulfield's house, when the rebels entered Wexford; but the doctor obdurately refused his request. Mr. Daniel was imprisoned, and afterwards piked on the bridge.

The doctor boasts, in page 23, of a letter (given in his Appendix) which he wrote to James Boyd, esquire, collector of Wexford; but he does not acknowledge that he received an answer to it; an answer which, I believe, he would not wish to submit to the perusal of the publick.

FATHER

FATHER CORRIN.

HE contradicts, partly by bare assertion, and partly by affidavit, some incidents in this work; but even if what he says were strictly true, which I do not admit, it would not materially affect the authenticity of any one occurrence. It must strike the reader, that this pamphlet of doctor Caulfield and his priests, is made up of the most disgusting appeals to the Supreme Being, the frequent abuse of which, for some years past among their order, has destroyed their sanctity and importance; and where interest is at stake, makes the swearer little regard them.

Dum aliquid cupiens animus præstitit apisci,
Nil metuunt jurare, nil promittere parcant,
Sed simul ac cupidæ mentis satiata libido est,
Dicta nihil metuere, nihil perjuriam curant.

TIBULLUS.

Father Corrin has not answered the charge of his having refused to liberate Mr. Lett, a brewer of Enniscorthy, from the goal of Wexford. See page 26 of vol. ii

In his defence of having withdrawn the popish children from the charitable school, he alleges, that attempts were made to convert them by the schoolmistress; but he should have preferred his complaint to the governors, before he had withdrawn them. It is well known, that the popish priests in general lay their sectaries under this inhibition, which doctor Hussey inculcates in his pastoral letter, in vol. ii. p. 469. Twenty-five years ago, no person would have believed, that a popish priest would have the audacity to come forward, and to complain, that an attempt had been made to withdraw any persons of the rising generation from a superstition that makes them aliens to that State, which has, at monstrous expense, established a college for the education of their clergy.

Father Corrin is afraid, that any of the children of his besotted sectaries, would be bred up in an evangelical religion, which prescribes fidelity to a protestant king, and christian charity towards all men.

The following contradiction of father Corrin's charge has been published in the Dublin Journal since this work was put to the press:

County of Wexford. } HAVING seen in the *Dublin Evening Post* of Tuesday the 23d of February, "a statement of the principal reasons for withdrawing the Romish children from the *Female Poor School of Industry* in the town of Wexford," by the reverend John Corrin, parish priest of said town, in which statement, to my great surprise, mention is made of my name:—Now I, CHARLOTTE TURNER, do swear, that I never did speak disrespectfully of the *Romish religion*, or *Romish clergy*, before said children in said school; and that I never did, in any wise, *directly* or *indirectly*, interfere with the religious opinions of said children, or *any of them*, but did to the utmost of my power endeavour to prevent all religious controversy in the said school.

CHARLOTTE TURNER.

*Sworn before me, at Wexford,
this 2d day of March, 1802,*

GEORGE HARRISON READE.

FATHER FRANCIS KAVENAGH.

THIS reverend gentleman comes forward to make a solemn declaration of his innocence; and he tells us, that he never was in, or at, any rebel camp, nor ever saw any rebels encamped; and that so far from being a rebel leader, or rebel, he uniformly reprobated the proceedings of the United Irishmen. By referring to the word Kavenagh, in the Index, the reader will see how often this priest is charged with being actively concerned in the late rebellion.

In page 502 of vol. i. I mentioned that general Needham was on the point of trying him, when Redmond his curate was hanged. Kavenagh declared, in the most solemn manner, that he would pledge his life for Redmond's innocence; but he was convicted, on the clearest evidence, of being a notorious rebel, and a plunderer, and was hanged.

It ill becomes Kavenagh, and it indicates the basest ingratitude in him, to invent the following egregious falsehood, for the purpose of accusing the protestant gentlemen of a wanton and unprovoked massacre, as he owes his life, which
should

should have been forfeited to outraged justice, to their democracy: He says, page 54, "As a historian, he ought to have mentioned something of the unprovoked massacre at Carnew, near the county of Wexford, of fifty-four unoffending, quiet, poor Roman catholics; twenty-eight of whom were killed on the Friday preceding the rebellion in the county of Wexford, and the remainder on the following Monday, after their wretched cabins, and some houses of other Catholics had been burnt, and many other excesses, in the intermediate Sunday.

The following event, which father Kavenagh has so grossly misrepresented, occurred near Carnew: Father Michael Murphy, on the morning of Whitsunday, after having, at the head of a numerous gang of assassins, desolated a large tract of country, seemed to approach that town, when the garrison marched out, and repulsed them, in two actions, which I have described in page 428 of vol. i. and having in the course of the day taken six rebel prisoners, in arms, five of them, and another noted rebel, were shot on Monday morning at Carnew, by the order of the officer commanding the Antrim militia. After the strictest enquiry, I can take upon me to assert, that not a single man was put to death at Carnew, or Gorey, or within many miles of them, until Whitsunday, when the popish rebels began, wantonly and without provocation, to commit carnage and plunder; except in the parish of Kilcormuck, where father John Murphy began the crusade against hereticks on the Saturday evening preceding.

So much for the veracity of father Francis Kavenagh. Can we be surprised that these reverend gentlemen should fabricate falsehood, when they have, on many occasions, persuaded their deluded sectaries, in their last moments, to aggravate the crimes of treason and murder, by denying their guilt?

Mahony and Hughes, hanged at Wexford in the month of March, 1799, for different murders, and other crimes, confessed the justice of their sentence in the goal to major Jones, who attended them to the place of execution; but after having had an interview with a priest, they declared their innocence. Major Jones having severely reprimanded the priest, and having called on the culprits to repeat what they had said to him in prison, they acknowledged their guilt a second time.

In the midst of the dreadful persecution of protestants, which took place at Gorey, it has never been discovered, that father Kavenagh, in any one instance, endeavoured to alleviate their sufferings.

FATHER EDWARD REDMOND.

The reverend Edward Redmond, parish priest of Ferns, tells us, that, on an investigation of his conduct during the rebellion by a court-martial, he was honourably acquitted of every charge exhibited against him; but the reader will perceive, that though the sentence of the court-martial saved him from the vengeance of the law, it operated no more towards his exculpation in the eyes of God and man, than the pope's absolution would, as he was acquitted for want of prosecution. It is most certain, that he marched, at the head of his rebellious parishioners, to the battle of Newtown-barry, where they were well peppered. In his progress thither, he stopped at Clobemon, the seat of the Derinzy family, where he got some refreshment, and left a woman, whom he called his niece; but who was supposed to be his concubine. It is a common practice with Irish priests to keep in their houses a female companion, who passes for their niece; and, in the same manner, the pope's bastards have been commonly denominated, and have passed for their nephews. For the truth of what I assert, I shall appeal to such of the Derinzy family as were at Clobemon, particularly to Mrs. Turner, and her three grand children, who were prisoners there at that time. It is remarkable, that this sacerdotal hero was attended on his march by Lewis Bulger (as his aid-de-camp) butler of the reverend Mr. Heyden, who robbed his master's house at Ferns, and after the murder of that gentleman, insulted Mrs. Heyden, at Enniscorthy;* for which he has been transported. Redmond at his return, after his defeat, carried his concubine behind him on horseback.

The rebels, on their march from Ferns to Newtown-barry, burnt some protestant houses; and their pious leader, having found a poor labourer at his work, on the lands of Ballycarney, compelled him with a horsewhip to join the crusade, and he was unfortunately killed.

FATHER

* See vol. i. p. 539, 541.

FATHER SHALLOE.

IT is certain, that, at the instance of miss Lett of Kibgibbon, he obtained the discharge of her brother from the barn of Scullabogue, which was within less than a mile of it; and he refused to have Patrick Dobbin and his three sons released, though solicited by his wife to do so.* These facts remain uncontradicted, except by the bare assertion of father Shalloe.

From the following circumstances we may form a proper opinion of Shalloe's veracity: In his defence, he says, in a letter which he wrote to a gentleman who gave it to me, that he knew nothing of the conspiracy till the first of April, 1798, though the symptoms of it were so obvious, and alarming, in the months of September, October, and November preceding, that a great portion of the county of Wexford was proclaimed on the 20th day of November, 1797. It appears, also, that the plot was more deeply laid, and better contrived, for the attainment of its main object, the massacre of protestants, in the vicinity of Scullabogue, where Shalloe's parish lay, than in any other part of the county, which was unequivocally proved, by the promptness of its execution; as the protestants, for some miles round, who could not effect their escape, were men, women, and children, arrested by numerous bodies of assassins, who led and committed them to the barn; and these assassins had been previously officered, and divided into companies, and particular districts had been allotted to them, in which they were to carry on the crusade against hereticks.

Could any priest remain ignorant of this plot so long, and so systematically planned, when the popish multitude are enjoined by the strongest sanctions of their religion, and under the pain of eternal damnation, to reveal to him, in his confession-box, the inmost secrets of their hearts? The idea is too absurd.

A female protestant informed a magistrate of the county of Wexford, and me, on the second of February, 1802, that she and her husband were taken prisoners near Scullabogue, by a party of pikemen, who committed them to Mr. King's house; that on Friday the 1st day of June, she sent a person to father Shalloe, to request he would have them discharged. The next day he went to the room where they were confined,

* See her affidavit, vol. ii. p. 346.

fined, thence to the camp, and returned the same day to Scullabogue, with some rebel captains, and obtained the release of her and some more female prisoners; on which the guard of rebel pikemen murmured, and complained of the impropriety of discharging Orange-women; that her husband remained behind, and was burnt in the barn, with many other protestants. Father Shalloe tells us, "that he went to the house at Scullabogue, in fear and trembling, at the earnest request and repeated solicitations of some of the protestants in confinement;" he tells us also, "that he never had influence sufficient to liberate any person during the late rebellion." Without recurring to the many proofs which I have already adduced, of the implicit obedience which the popish multitude were under to their clergy, it will be sufficient to observe, that the pikemen, who guarded the prisoners at Scullabogue, resisted the repeated commands of their lay generals to massacre the protestants confined there; but the instant they received the order of a priest for that purpose, they proceeded to do so with the utmost zeal. Who that priest was, I shall not take upon me to determine; but as father Shalloe lived within three quarters of a mile of Scullabogue, was often seen there, and even acknowledges in doctor Caulfield's reply, that he was often there during the captivity of the protestants, it is incumbent on him to discover, and declare, the name of the priest who gave these orders, to acquit himself of any degree of suspicion that he was in any wise concerned in it. It is very evident, that the bloody business would not have been begun, had it not been enforced by the over-ruling authority of a priest. We may then fairly infer, that it might have been prevented by the influence which effected its accomplishment.

I do admit, that the reverend Mr. Sutton, a protestant minister of Longraige, spoke favourably to me of father Shalloe; but for the following very obvious reason, I did not give much credit to what he said: He informed me, that the massacre at Scullabogue was the capricious act of some boys; that it was not preconcerted, or an affair of malice prepense; and that the farmers in the vicinity of Scullabogue meant to publish a circumstantial account of it, in their vindication; and yet it since appears, that many farmers within two miles of the barn, and some of them at Foulkes's mill close to Longraige, in very good circumstances, were deeply concerned in it; for which a considerable number of them have been hanged, and others sentenced to transportation.

Mr.

Mr. Sutton states in doctor Caulfield's reply, that Mr. Stalloe exhorted his congregation, both publicly and privately, to the utmost of his influence and ability, not to be concerned in any seditious or disloyal practices.

The exhortation of popish priests to their flock cannot be considered as a certain criterion of the purity of their principles; because numbers of the Romish clergy, not only in the county of Wexford, but in the counties of Kildare, Wicklow, Mayo, and Sligo, and in parts of the province of Munster, who followed that practice, and even took oaths of allegiance, with their respective congregations, at the altar, proved afterwards to be notorious traitors and incendiaries; and some of them were hanged for being leaders in the rebellion. For various instances of this, see title *priest* in the Index.

FATHER EDWARD MURPHY.

AS doctor Caulfield, in his reply, has denied what I have said of father Edward Murphy in vol. i. p. 522, and is become his apologist, I think right to observe, that the very respectable protestants who were eye-witnesses of the facts which I have related of that reverend gentleman, have assured me, that they are willing to verify them by affidavits, should it be thought necessary; and in addition to them, a gentleman has informed me of the following circumstances: He attempted to fly to Duncannon fort from a part of the country near Foulkes's mill, at a time that gangs of popish assassins were searching it for protestants; but finding the for-paß over the Bannow guarded by a large body of pikemen, he repaired to the house of a protestant friend at Barrierstown, where he was protected; but, after a few days, a party of these ruffians surrounded the house, and insisted that he and his friend should appear before father Edward Murphy. On the first appearance of the pikemen, they declared that they were in quest of the out-liers, meaning the few protestants who, scattered over the country, had not been able to effect their escape. On appearing before Murphy, at Carrig, he told them that they must repair to the camp, where they would probably have been immolated, with the numerous victims who were daily massacred there; but they suspended the execution of his severe orders, for one day, by their piteous supplications; and, very fortunately for them, the arrival of the king's troops next day at Foulkes's mill, having occasioned a general alarm, all the pikemen in the adjacent country

country were ordered to join the rebel army, destined to engage ours, commanded by general Moore. The successful issue of that action, and, next day, the defeat of the rebels on Vinegar-hill, struck terror into the disaffected, and saved the protestants at Carrig, and Barriestown, from being assassinated; for they afterwards received unquestionable proofs, that their total excision was resolved on, and would have taken place, but for these events. While this gentleman was at Barriestown, he, and the few protestants who remained there, were obliged to go to the chapel of Carrig, where father Murphy said mass three times every day to the pikemen. After the functions of the day were over, he collected the protestants round the altar, on their knees, and instructed them in his catechism, by making them repeat a great deal of superstitious nonsense, which he read from his breviary.

Some of the protestants related to me the following circumstances, which they saw from the gallery of the chapel, during the performance of their religious ceremonies: Some wretches, both men and women, stripped their knees quite bare, at the chapel door, walked all-fours to the altar; moved in that manner from one side of it to the other, kissed the ground, crossed themselves, and made some genuflections before a niche in the wall, which had relicks in it, or was supposed to be endued with some mysterious supernatural power.

Father Kane, called the blessed priest of Bannow, appeared often in the chapel, with a large budget of scapulars, which he distributed among the pikemen, in great abundance; and he was attended by a boy, who, with a whisk, sprinkled those heroes of the crusade with holy water, and often purified the hereticks in the gallery with it. Some of the pikemen, who had received this holy emblem returned, and said, "Reverend Sir, this scapular has not had any holy water;" on which the boy, by his orders, sprinkled it most copiously.

As the rebel soldiers universally believed, that the benediction of Kane would completely protect them against the possibility of being wounded, a numerous body of them arrived in the night at Carrig, from a great distance, for the purpose of obtaining it.

FATHER

FATHER JOHN SUTTON.

AT a short distance from Lett's house in Enniscorthy, Mr. and Mrs. Heyden met father Sutton, and implored his protection; but he said, that he could not do any thing for them: and soon after Mr. Heyden, while his wife leant on his arm, was murdered by the barbarous popish rabble in the presence of, and quite close to, the reverend John Sutton, who made no other opposition to them, than by saying, "Fie! Fie!"* James Beaghan, one of the supposed murderers of Mr. Heyden, was taken up and tried, at the instance of Mr. Sutton, who prosecuted him to conviction; but not for eleven or twelve months after its perpetration. It is very extraordinary that this reverend gentleman should conceal, so long, the guilt of the assassin; and that a sense of his duty towards God and his country, did not prompt him sooner to bring the delinquent to condign punishment.

From the following fact we may fairly infer, that he was actuated rather by a sense of fear than justice:

Counsellor William Turner, who prosecuted on behalf of the Crown for crimes committed in the county of Wexford, during the rebellion, declared openly, in the town of Enniscorthy, some time in the month of May, 1799, that he believed he should be under the necessity of prosecuting Mr. Sutton, for being privy to the murder of Mr. Heyden, as he must have known, but never disclosed, the perpetration of that horrid crime. In a few days after, Mr. Sutton gave information against Beaghan, and prosecuted him to conviction. Mrs. Heyden, who was well acquainted with Beaghan, positively declares, that she did not see him among the persons who murdered her husband; and that if he had been there, she must have known him. It is supposed then, that Beaghan, who was old, profligate, and had committed many other crimes, was made a victim on this occasion, to silence the suspicion which prevailed against this reverend gentleman. Mrs. Heyden declares, that Sutton never put his arm round her husband, though he positively asserts that he did so.—It is well known, that many assassins were concerned in that murder, and yet Beaghan was the only one whom Sutton selected for prosecution.—This priest, and many others, frequently visited Vinegar-hill, where murders were daily committed; and it is very singular, that Beaghan was the only person against whom any of the sacerdotal order gave information.

FATHER

* See her affidavit, vpl. ii p. 346.

FATHER WILLIAM SYNNOTT.

WILLIAM SYNNOTT, parish priest of Enniscorthy, having a warm friendship for the reverend Mr. Nunn, vicar of that parish, saved his life from the blood-thirsty rebels; and he might have saved many other protestants in the same manner. Mr. Nunn said to me in conversation, if there is a loyal priest in Ireland, it is William Synnott. On which I asked him, Whether Mr. Synnott did not frequently resort to Vinegar-hill, while it was in possession of the rebels? and on his answering in the affirmative, I asked him, Whether he did not think that Mr. Synnott could have saved any of the protestants, while the rebels were daily massacring them? and he positively said, that he believed he could.

No. XXVI. 1.

The sufferings of the reverend Mr. Francis.

I SHALL give a short account of the sufferings of the reverend Mr. Francis, rector of Killegny, in the county of Wexford, a gentleman venerable for his age, his piety, and learning. He, his son, and four daughters, unable to make their escape on the eruption of the rebellion, experienced many instances of savage treatment.

He was plundered of his horses, bridles, saddles, provisions, wearing-apparel, arms and ammunition. He was repeatedly threatened with death, unless he would admit a priest, and change his religion. One day, a ruffian of the name of Gormachan, with a drawn sword at his breast, asked him, Whether he was a christian, and whether he could bless himself? and many more questions indicative of fanatical zeal. This reverend gentleman was so shocked and overcome, that, in attempting to speak, he burst a blood vessel, and threw up immense quantities of blood; and yet his piteous situation made so little impression on them, that they unanimously resolved to compel him and his family to go to mass. He hesitated, and said he would hear the arguments of a priest; on which one of the missionaries, a ferocious savage, by name Drohan, drew out a horse-pistol, and said, What do we wait for? He and his family, in very heavy rain, uncovered, and surrounded by about fifty pikemen, were compelled to go to mass, to a chapel, about a quarter of a mile distant.

He received domiciliary visits, daily, from the savage pikemen, who frequently asked him, Whether he had the protection of a priest?

The 4th and 5th of June, he remained unmolested, as the rebels were making preparations on the first, for the battle of Ross; and the second, on which it was fought, all the popish farmers and peasants, for many miles round that town, were compelled by their respective priests to attend the rebel army.

On the 10th of June, they carried his son, a boy of fourteen years, to the camp at Carrickbyrne, on an accusation of having been heard to sing "Croppies, lie down!" previous to the eruption of the rebellion; but a rebel captain, more humane than the rest, promised that he should be restored next day; and he fulfilled his promise.

His servants, both male and female, left him, because, as they said, they would not be allowed to remain in a heretick house; and his daughters were obliged to collect fuel from the adjacent hedges, and to draw water on their heads, from a spring, at a considerable distance. Some of his neighbours supplied him with oatmeal and potatoes, and sometimes with a little butter. They were confined to that food only, and often were so scantily furnished with it, that they were reduced to one meal. Mr. Francis imputed the safety of himself and his family to the following incident: He was often asked, Whether he had the protection of a priest? which they said was necessary for his safety. At last, one Bryan, a rebel captain, and a man of some humanity, feeling pity for his sufferings, went to the rebel camp, and procured from general Roche, the priest, over whom he had great influence, a protection for him, which I give the reader.

A protection for the reverend Mr. Francis.

IT is ordered, that no person or persons shall dare insult, abuse, injure, or hurt the reverend Mr. Francis, his family, domesticks, mansion-house, &c. All who disobey these orders, shall be taken by a guard, brought into camp, to be tried by court-martial, and punished according to their sentence.

ROCHE,

*Commander in chief of the united republican
army of the county of Wexford.*

DOCTOR

DOCTOR CAULFIELD says in page 7, "the allegation of unbounded influence is, I think, fairly done away; but as to the invariable effects of protections granted by the priests, I repeat and insist there were none, nor could any priest, except a blockhead, attempt to grant such."

This protection secured him from any further insults.

This venerable gentleman, and his family, went to Dublin, in the winter of the year 1798, where I became acquainted with him, and obtained a copy of his journal during the rebellion, from which I have extracted these particulars.

He was in a rapid decline, from a spitting of blood, occasioned by rude and brutal treatment from the rebels; and he died in the beginning of the year 1799, leaving his family in the utmost distress. This gentleman shewed me his tythe-books; and it appeared from them, that, instead of the tenth, he did not receive the thirtieth part of his legal dues.

The reverend Mr. Gordon, his successor, knowing the set of savages he had to deal with, has, with more regard to policy than accuracy, written a history of the rebellion, for the obvious purpose of conciliating the priests and the popish multitude, to secure the punctual payment of his tythes; and for that purpose, he abuses the magistrates, the military, and the yeomen; and he imputes many of the atrocities committed during the rebellion to local provocation, though, in other parts of his work, he admits that the rebellion arose from fanaticism, and that the popish multitude had no other idea of a revolution, than the exclusive establishment of their own religion. He imputes to me, among others, the following error: I call father Philip Roche, the commander in chief, an inhuman savage, because he not only inculcated the extirpation of hereticks, but was present, and presided, at many massacres on Vinegar-hill; and yet Mr. Gordon becomes his panegyrist, and says, "for a charge of cruelty against him, I can find no foundation. On the contrary, I have heard many instances of his active humanity." Good God! that a Protestant clergyman should become the encomiast of a monster who was the instrument of so much human misery, and who was hanged on the bridge of Wexford, for various crimes!*

I was

* See vol. i. pages 451, 464—vol. ii. page 410.

I am authorized to say, that the bishop of Ferns very much censures Mr. Gordon's history, and that the magistrates and clergy of the county of Wexford, and many of the most respectable officers, who campaigned there in the year 1798, unanimously declare, that it contains many gross mistakes, and that its tendency in general is, to palliate the horrors of the late rebellion.

A letter, now in my possession, from major-general Needham, dated March 1st, 1802, states, "that he had never read Gordon's book till I sent it to him a day or two before;" and he authorizes me to contradict his statement of the battle of Arklow, by asserting, "That no proposal to retreat was made by him, during that battle, to colonel Skerrett, or any other officer whatever under his command," as is falsely insinuated by Mr. Gordon in his history, page 131; which can be testified by all the staff-officers, and officers commanding corps who have testified it.

The reason that lieutenant-general Lake ordered general Needham to repair to Solsbrough, from Oulart, contrary to the general orders given to the different columns destined to attack Vinegar-hill, was this: General Lake was very near that mountain, on which there was an immense body of rebels; and apprehending an attack, in which the rebels by the great superiority of their numbers, aided by the darkness of the night, in a very inclosed country, might have baffled discipline, he, desirous of strengthening his main body, suddenly changed his orders to major-general Needham, which made it impossible for the latter to be at his post of attack in due time. This contradicts the mistatement of Mr. Gordon in page 193. I give this from the *very first authority on that command*.

The relation which I have given of the affair at Whiteheaps, in page 56 of this volume, was obtained from the staff-officers of the king's troops, and some respectable officers of the militia and yeomen, and is therefore to be relied on. It differs materially from that of Mr. Gordon, who has misrepresented it, seemingly for the purpose of reflecting on the conduct of the general officers concerned in it.

His statement could not have been obtained from any person engaged in it.

Five officers of the Cavan regiment have declared, and are ready to do so upon oath, that they saw the body of father Michael Murphy thrown into a house in flames, where
it

it was consumed; and yet Mr. Gordon tells us, that the Ancient Britons extracted the grease from it, to grease their boots.—They also declare, that no officer or foldier of the Ancient Britons was within a mile of the spot, when the body was committed to the flames.

Copy of a letter from major Williams, to major-general Needham.

Naas, March the 1st, 1802.

“S I R,

“WE, the undersigned officers of the Durham Regiment who were present at the battle of Arklow, feel it a justice due to you, under whom we served, to declare, that Mr. Gordon was not authorized by any of us to make use of those insinuations which appear in his history, tending to reflect on your conduct on that day; and we are convinced, no proposal to retreat was made by you to colonel Skerrett, or any other officer.

“We lament colonel Skerrett being at Newfoundland, who could have given the best testimony. We have the honour to be,

S I R,

Your most obedient

humble servants,

G. HANBURY WILLIAMS, Major,
Commanding the Loyal Durham Fencibles.

John Holmes.

L. V. MORGAN,
J. WALLINGTON,
J. BEEVER,

} Captains.

W. GIBBONS,
WILLIAM GIBBS,
J. DUTTON,
OWEN FAWCETT,
THOMAS HASSEL,

} Lieutenants.”

surgeon,
JOHN WALTON,
assist. surgeon.

Copy

Copy of a letter from lieutenant-colonel Bainbridge, (who is now dead) to sir Richard Musgrave.

Naas, April 29th, 1801.

“ S I R,

“ IN answer to yours of the 25th inst. respecting the action of the Whiteheaps:—I was in general Needham’s brigade that day, and your account of it is perfectly correct, excepting the number killed. I passed over the ground in the pursuit, and I am convinced there were not above thirty rebels killed. The 9th dragoons, the 89th, and Leitrim Militia lost some men. What I have read of your history of the county of Wexford, where our regiment was engaged, is extremely correct; and if there are any particulars you would wish to be furnished with, I shall be happy to inform you of them, as far as my observation went. I am,

S I R,

Your obedient servant,

J. BAINBRIDGE.”

2.

Resolutions of the Governors of the Female Charity School at Wexford.

AT a general quarterly meeting of the Governors of the Wexford Female School of Industry, held on the first day of February, 1802, it was unanimously resolved,

“ That the conduct of the Romish clergy of this town, in compelling the parents of such children of their religion, as were pupils at said school, to withdraw their children under pain of excommunication, excites our surprise.

“ That the reason assigned by the reverend John Corrin, parish priest of Wexford, for their being so withdrawn, viz. ‘that attempts had been made to seduce them from their religion,’ appears to us to have no other foundation than a too easy belief of the misrepresentation of prejudice, and the fictions of calumny; and we call on Mr. Corrin to substantiate the charge, by naming the persons who attempted such seduction, and producing the children on whom it was practised.

“ That

"That had such attempts been made, they would not justify the mode of conduct which has been adopted, as it does not appear that complaint was ever made to any governor or governess, or at any general quarterly meeting; nor does it appear, that the interests of their religion could possibly have been injured by deferring this violent measure one week longer, when the general quarterly meeting of this day would have afforded an opportunity of complaint and of redress.

"That the female school of industry was established at a time of universal scarcity and distress; that children of the Romish religion were admitted into said school, and therein educated, and in fact clothed and fed, not, as is falsely asserted, to induce them to barter their religion for the supply of their wants (of such baseness the governors and governesses of that school are incapable) but to prevent those wretched children falling the immediate victims of poverty and vice; to enable them to earn their daily bread by honest industry, and to teach them virtue.

"That when the subject, if cause of complaint did actually exist, could have been so easily adjusted by a temperate conduct, and a proper representation on the part of the Romish clergy, of any grievance or defect which occurred to them in the arrangements or conduct of this infant institution, we lament the precipitancy which compels us to order, that these resolutions be three times inserted in the Dublin Journal, and that two hundred copies of them be printed for circulation here.

JOHN MONTGOMERY, *secretary.*

Wexford, February 1st, 1802.

A true copy of the printed bill, February 20,

JOHN MOORE.

3.

THOMAS TOWNSHEND, *esquire.*

THIS gentleman, in a pamphlet entitled "Part of a letter to a noble earl, containing a very short comment on the doctrines and facts of sir Richard Musgrave's quarto, and vindicatory of the Yeomanry and Catholics of the city of Cork," accuses me of a want of veracity as a historian; for having said in Appendix XI. of the former edition, that
"there

"there was great disaffection among the popish yeomen, particularly the Cork legion. Sweeny and Donovan, two leaders in the conspiracy, and Drinane, continued members of it till they were arrested." I am ready to admit, that there were many loyal and honourable men in that corps; but it happened in that, as in every other corps in the kingdom, where the majority were Roman catholics, that there was considerable disaffection among them. I am free to acknowledge, that I made the following trifling mistake as to Sweeny, which I have corrected in this edition. He was arrested a few days after he had been expelled from the corps; but he was so sanguinary a traitor, and had been guilty of so many, and such notorious acts of delinquency, that his expulsion should have taken place much sooner.

Simon Donovan, and Andrew Drinane, a lieutenant of the Cork legion, were arrested while members of it. The trial of the former lasted fifteen days, and though very ably defended, and though he acknowledged, that he had received very great indulgence from the court-martial that tried him, he was sentenced to transportation for life; but by the interference of a person of great influence, he obtained his pardon, on condition that he and two furetics should severally enter into large recognisances, for his future good behaviour; and yet, Mr. Townshend has the confidence to declare, in the face of the citizens of Cork, that "he is enabled to state, that he was arrested instead of another person of the same name, whose prosecution would have been justifiable, upon the hearsay testimony of an approver, to whom his person was unknown; and that the general discountenanced the arrest, and denied his concurrence to a trial, not justified even by plausible imputation;" and alluding to the loyal magistrates of Cork he says, "that it would not be impossible for him to shew, that something more than the guilt they were pleased to impute to this man, had animated his persecutors." Mr. Drinane was arrested, while a member of this corps, by order of the Judge of Assize, as I am well informed, on a charge grounded on an information sworn before a magistrate; and after an imprisonment of some months, he was discharged. Mr. Townshend then says, "this arrest affords a third instance of the mistakes of the historian of all the rebellions."

As Mr. Townshend makes light of the conspiracy which existed in the city of Cork in the years 1797 and 1798, I shall

shall refer the reader to the report of some respectable persons on it, in Appendix XI. page 270. I shall now leave the world to judge of Mr. Townshend's pretensions to veracity, from this specimen of his contemptible pamphlet, which has been scouted and condemned by all the loyal citizens of Cork.

No. XXVII.

The following communication has been made to the Roman catholic nobility and gentry in Ireland:

MR. PITT to Lord CORNWALLIS:

"THE leading part of his Majesty's ministers finding innumerable obstacles to the bringing forward measures of concession to the Catholick body, while in office, have felt it impossible to continue in administration under their inability to propose it, with circumstances necessary to carry the measure with all its advantages; and they have retired from his Majesty's service; considering this line of conduct as most likely to contribute to its ultimate success.

"The Catholick body will therefore see how much their future hope must depend upon their strengthening their cause by good conduct in the mean time. They will prudently consider their prospects as arising from the persons who now espouse their interests, and compare them with those which they could look to from any other quarter.—They may with confidence rely on the zealous support of all those who retire, and of many who remain in office, when it can be given with a prospect of success. They may be assured, that Mr. Pitt will do his utmost to establish their cause in the publick favour, and prepare the way for their finally attaining their objects—and the Catholics will feel, that as Mr. Pitt could not concur in a hopeless attempt to force it now, he must at all times repress, with the same decision as if he held an adverse opinion; any unconstitutional conduct of the Catholick body.

"Under these circumstances it cannot be doubted that the Catholics will take the most legal, dutiful, and discreet line of conduct; that they will not suffer themselves to be led into measures which can, by any construction, give a handle to the opposers of their wishes, either to misrepresent their principles, or to raise an argument for resisting their claims."

Sentiments of a sincere friend to the Catholick claims.

LORD CORNWALLIS.

“ IF the Catholicks should now proceed to violence, or entertain any ideas of gaining their object by convulsive measures, by forming associations with men of Jacobinical principles, they must of course lose the aid and support of those who have sacrificed their own situations in their cause ; but who would, at the same time, feel it to be their indispensable duty to oppose every thing tending to confusion.

“ On the other hand, should the Catholicks be sensible of the benefit they possess, by having so many characters of eminence pledged not to embark in the service of government, except on the terms of the Catholick privileges being obtained, it is to be hoped that, on balancing the advantages and disadvantages of their situation, they would prefer a quiet and peaceable demeanour to any line of conduct of an opposite description.”

INDEX.

I N D E X

TO THE TWO VOLUMES.

A.

- A**BSOLUTION, from oaths granted by the pope to the emperor and princes of Germany, i. 47—Granted by two priests to Thomas Cleary for the murder of his master, Mr. Turner, ii. 425—Granted by Neil, a priest near Youghal, for murder, ii. 272—The power of granting it not allowed by the popish bishop of Ferns to Bryan Murphy, a priest, for want of a faculty or delegation, ii. 425.
- Address* of the Roman catholicks to the viceroy, 30th May, 1798, and observations thereon, i. 358.
- Adrian*, pope, grants a bull to Henry II. to introduce popery into Ireland, i. 3.
- Allegiance*, oath of, held by the pope not to be binding on his sectaries to a protestant state, i. 29, 30—That doctrine avowed by doctor Burke, titular bishop of Ossory, in his *Hibernia Dominicana* in 1762, i. 45—And by Ghillini, the pope's legate, i. 46.
- Altamont*, earl of, his house plundered, ii. 157.
- Antrim*, battle of, ii. 93.
- Arklow*, the designs of the rebels in attacking it, i. 536—Michael Murphy, the priest, his letter to Houston in Dublin, previous to it, i. 537.
- the battle of, i. 540.
- Arms*, seized in Leinster and Ulster in 1797, i. 200.
- Asgill*, sir Charles, marches from Kilkenny in pursuit of father John Murphy, ii. 76.
- Assassination*, of hereticks, the lawfulness avowed and inculcated by an Irish Jesuit of the name of Mac Mahon in 1641, i. 34—And by father Edward Murphy, in a sermon preached at Carrickbyrne camp, ii. 408—And by father Michael Murphy at Gorey, ii. 393—By father Philip Roche at Slievekeelta camp, ii. 410—And by John Hay, a popish gentleman at Vinegarhill camp, ii. 353.
- Atkins*, a sanguinary wretch in the county of Sligo, ii. 171.
- Atkin*, John, his escape from the bloody committee in the 22d of Wexford, ii. 27, 28.

B.

- Back-lane* parliament, elected and returned under Edward Byrne's writs and held their session, i. 101.
- VOL. II. Q 9 Bacon,

- Bacon*, a tailor, hanged in Dublin, his confession, i. 174.
- Ballinruff*, battle of, i. 418.
- Ballyellis*, battle of, ii. 54, 55.
- Ballymore-eustace*, attack on it, i. 199.
- Ballynabincb*, battle of, ii. 103.
- Ballynamuck*, battle of, ii. 175.
- Ballyrabeene*, battle of, ii. 55, 56.
- Balinglass*, disturbances and insurrections there, i. 382.
- Bantry-bay*, French invasion attempted there in 1796, i. 197.
- Bandon*, its inhabitants disarm the garrison stationed there, and was afterwards besieged by general Mc. Carthy at the head of 12,000 men, ii. 503, 504.
- Barclay* family, massacre of, at Fork-hill, i. 71.
- Beagban*, James, his trial for murder, ii. 388—His confession, ii. 354.
- Beccaria*, his observation on criminal laws, applicable to Ireland, i. 181.
- Bedell*, bishop of Kilmore, promotes the reformation, his character and death, ii. 491.
- Belfast*, the presbyterians assembled there by Sinclair Melburne, one of their ministers, begin a negotiation with the papists in Dublin, headed by Edward Byrne, i. 95—The arrival and reception of the catholic delegates there, i. 103—The anniversary of the French revolution celebrated there, 14th of July, 1792, i. 130—They petition parliament to repeal the whole of the popery laws, and unite with the papists to overturn the constitution in 1792, i. 115, 116—A general mourning observed there, on the recall of earl Fitzwilliam, i. 165—The centre of motion to the northern union, i. 189—The presbyterian leaders there endeavour to promote infidelity, to forward the union, *ibid.*
- Bellew*, general at Ballina; his character, ii. 145.
- Beresford*, right honourable John, a conspiracy to murder him, i. 140.
- Bishops*, their oaths of inauguration, i. 15—Irish obtain a papal bull to raise money by the sale of indulgences in 1729, to dethrone the house of Hanover and to establish the pretender on the throne, i. 34.
- Bond*, Oliver, the Leinster delegates arrested at his house, i. 247.
- Bookey*, lieutenant, murdered by John Murphy, a priest, i. 407.
- Borris*, the seat of Mr. Kavenagh, attacked by the rebels, i. 466.
- Boyle*, the honourable Robert, promotes the reformation in Ireland, ii. 492.
- Brown*, archbishop of Dublin, renounces popery and promotes the reformation in Ireland, ii. 488.
- Buckingham*, marquis of, arrives in Ireland with his regiment, ii. 110.
- Buckley*, Mr. a protestant, murdered in the county of Kildare, i. 249.
- Burke*, Mr. Edmund, some anecdotes of him, i. 40.
- Burke*, Richard, the son of Edmund, the popish agent, comes to Ireland in 1792, i. 108.
- Burrowes*, reverend Mr. of Kyle, murdered by John Murphy, a priest, and a band of assassins, i. 408.
- Butler*, the honourable captain, his bravery at Castletomer, ii. 81.
—— the honourable Simon, a demagogue, and the hired agent of the catholic committee, i. 112.

I N D E X.

Byrne, Edward, an active member of the catholic committee, corresponds with Sinclair Kelburne, a presbyterian minister of Belfast, i. 96.

Byrne, William, burns Tinnahely and commits various acts of cruelty, ii. 53, 64.

C.

Canden, earl of, made viceroy of Ireland, and lands in Dublin, 2d of April, 1795, i. 162.

Carbery, the charter-school destroyed there, i. 328.

Carey, William Paulet, printer to the united Irishmen, i. 120.

Carhampton, earl of, sent to quell the defenders in some northern counties, i. 173—A conspiracy to murder him, formed by Dunn and Carthy, i. 213.

Carleton, Oliver, a magistrate, insulted by the Goldsmiths' corps of volunteers, i. 143.

Carlow, county of, state of the conspiracy there, ii. 244.—Attack on, by the rebels, i. 325.

Carmelites. See Scapular.

Carriekbyrne-hill, near Ross, a rebel camp formed there, i. 485.

Carthy, Cambia, her love of justice and her fortitude in the county of Wexford, i. 426.

Castlebar, battle of, ii. 152.

Castlemomer, attack on, and conflagration of it, ii. 77 to 88.

Catholic committee, origin of, i. 90—Exists as a delegated body, duly elected, and returned in the year 1783, *ibid.*—The nobility and gentry of their persuasion being obliged to secede from them they form revolutionary designs, i. 93—Who then took the lead in it, i. 94—They pretend to be very moderate in their views, *ibid.*—Frame and send a declaration of their tenets to Sinclair Kelburne of Belfast, i. 95—Curious debate when assembled to frame their declaration, i. 97—Doctor Mc. Kenna's strictures on their improper conduct, i. 93—Edward Byrne, by order of the catholic committee, sends circular letters to convocate a popish convention, i. 100—Censured by the corporation of Dublin, who published spirited resolutions on the occasion, *ibid.*—Popish convention assembled under Edward Byrne's writs, and sit in Back-lane, i. 102—Send delegates with an address to the king, i. 103—Their reception by the demagogues of Belfast, i. *ibid.*

Catholic society first instituted, i. 90—Committee raise money on their body at large and protect the defenders, i. 107—Extend their views, and rise in their demand of political power, i. 108, 109—Negotiate with Edmund Burke, and hire as their agent his son Richard, who comes to Ireland, i. 108—Enlist some protestant barristers, viz. Tone, Butler and Jones, in their service, who write in their favour, i. 112—Send missionaries to the North to unite the presbyterians and papists in the conspiracy, i. 124.

Caulfield, popish bishop, said he was desired by the rebels not to save protestants in Wexford; i. 559—Refused to stop the massacres on the bridge, ii. 42—Blessed the pikemen as they proceeded to the bridge, ii. 30—His letter to father Bryan Murphy about abolition, ii. 31.

Celibacy of the clergy, when first established in Ireland, i. 2.

Celts, sacrificed human victims like the Irish, i. 462.

I N D E X.

- Charlemont*, earl of, checked the revolutionary designs of the volunteers, i. 57.
- Charm*, a written one, found on a rebel in the county of Wexford, ii. 141.
- Charter-school*, burnt at Castlecarbery, i. 328.
- Civil wars* in Ireland, produced by the reformation, i. 25—Wars in 1641, occasioned and fomented by the pope's bulls, i. 32.
- Clane*, attack on it by the rebels, i. 295.
- Clare*, earl of, a wise law against the right boys framed by him, i. 52—Saves the city of Dublin from destruction, i. 141—A wise law proposed by him against conventions, i. 151.
- Clergy*, protestant, persecution of, in Mayo and Sligo, ii. 572.
- Clifford*, Mr. of Castle-annelley, butchered by the rebels, i. 427.
- Clinch*, a traitorous yeoman of Rathcool, hanged, i. 282.
- Clonard*, garrison there, commanded by lieutenant Tyrrell of Kilreny, occurrences there, i. 329—The spirited conduct of the garrison under Thomas Tyrrell, esquire, ii. 67.
- Clubs*, revolutionary; in Dublin in 1792, i. 135, 136.
- Coaches*, mail, from Dublin, destroyed the 23d of May, 1798, i. 266.
- Coleclough*, John, his execution, ii. 48.
- Collooney*, battle of, ii. 168.
- Committee*, catholic. See catholic committee.
- Confession* of faith, popish, found at Gorey, i. 546—Made to a Romish priest, not to be disclosed, and observations thereon by Romish divines, i. 358, 359.
- Convention law*, a very wise one, against unlawful conventions, by the earl of Clare, i. 151.
- Cork*, city and county, conspiracy there, ii. 266, 271.
- Cornwallis*, the marquis, takes the field against the French, and marches to Athlone, ii. 150.
- Corrin*, father, gives the sacrament to Murphy, murdered by the rebels, i. 563—Administers oaths and grants protections there, i. 556—Goes to the bridge to save the prisoners, but not till sent for, by Mr. Kellett, ii. 22, 23, 24, 25, 26—Obtains a certificate from George Taylor, ii. 25—Refuses to liberate Lett, a protestant prisoner, ii. 26—Christens a child of Mrs. Kellett, at Clonard, ii. 19.
- Councils*, Romish. See popery.
- Cowley*, father, his character, ii. 142.
- Cox*, William, captain, taken prisoner by the rebels at Coolcliffe, i. 522.
- Crimes* and punishments in Ireland, observations on them, i. 181.
- Cullen*, an assassin in the county of Kildare, escapes from justice through the interference of a priest, i. 351.
- Cunningham*, Waddel, a Belfast demagogue, i. 126.

D.

- Daniel*, archbishop of Tuam, promotes the reformation in Ireland, ii. 490.
- Darragh*, Mr. of Eagle-hill, massacred in 1798, i. 241.
- Dawson*, Mr. of Charlesfort, endeavours to pacify and conciliate the papists of the parish of Kilrush, i. 397.
- Dease*, father, a priest, taken by captain Ormsby, his confession, ii. 172.

Defenders,

I N D E X.

- Defenders*, origin of, in the county of Armagh, i. 61—Encouraged by father Quigley in 1789, i. 67—Their persecution of the Barclay family, and the massacre of them, i. 69, 70—Appear and become terrific in many other counties in the years 1792 and 1793, i. 74—Battle of the Diamond between them and the protestants, i. 80—Formidable in many counties in 1793 by the commission of nocturnal robbery and assassination, i. 150—Are equally so in 1794, i. 151, 152, 156—Grow more terrific in 1795, on account of earl Fitzwilliam's recall from Ireland, i. 162, 163—Spread such terror in some northern counties in 1795, that the earl of Carhampton was sent to quell them, i. 173.
- Dickey*, a rebel leader, hanged at Belfast, i. 224.
- Dickson*, doctor, a demagogue at Portaferry, i. 224.
- Dobbs*, counsellor, negotiates with government for the prisoners in Dublin, ii. 200, 201.
- Dannellan*, archbishop of Tuam, promotes the reformation, ii. 490.
- Doolin*, Mr. murdered in the King's county, i. 240.
- Dowdall*, archbishop of Armagh, opposes the reformation in Ireland, ii. 488.
- Dowesley* family, their bravery at Ross, i. 514—A person of that name butchered by the rebels there, i. 516.
- Drogheda*, marquis of, sent to Munster to quell the white boys, i. 32.
- Dromore*, Bishop of, his spirited conduct, ii. 180.
- Dublin*, much agitated by seditious and treasonable clubs in 1792, i. 135, 136—Defenders become so dangerous and formidable in it in 1795, that the loyal subjects unite for their preservation, i. 176—Corporation of, their spirited resolutions on Edward Byrne's letter, i. 102—So many revolutionary societies there in the year 1792, that an insurrection was expected, i. 139—State of, on the breaking-out of the rebellion, i. 258, 259, 260.
- Duigenan*, doctor, his character, and a motion made by him relative to the oath to be taken by Roman catholics, i. 106.
- Dunboyne*, rising and massacre of protestants there, i. 276—Lord, relapses into popery, and leaves an estate to the college of Maynooth, i. 177.
- Dungannon*, a revolutionary meeting of volunteers held there, 15th February, 1793, i. 148.
- Dunlavin*, insurrection near, i. 298.
- Dunn* and Carthy, two assassins, conspire to murder the earl of Carhampton, i. 213.
- Dunshaugblin*, rising and massacre there, i. 277.

E.

- Edgeworthstown*, attacked and plundered, ii. 182.
- Elphin*, bishop of, his spirited conduct, ii. 179.
- Emperors*, dethroned and excommunicated by the pope, i. 11.
- Enniscorthy*, number of the garrison there, i. 429—Description of, 430—Attacked by general father John Murphy, i. 432—Retreat of the garrison and the loyalists, i. 438—Barbarous excesses and murders committed there, i. 439, 440—The rebels form a camp near Vinegar-hill, 441.
- Erskine*, counsellor, the conspiracy encouraged by part of his pamphlet, i. 187.

I N D E X

- Esmend*, doctor, a traitor at Prosperous, i. 294.
Exclusio salvation invented by the artful policy of the Roman pontiffs, i. 22.
Excommunication by the pope, fatal to Henry III. and Henry IV. of France, i. 18—Issued against Henry VIII. and queen Elizabeth as hereticks, i. 18, 19—The opinion of various Romish divines on the operations of it, i. 12, 13.
Executive directories, one for each province in November, 1797, i. 211

F.

- Farrel*, Andrew, his trial for murder on Vinegar-hill, ii. 384.
Featbard, an account of the protestants taken from it to be massacred at Scullabogue, ii. 404.
Fenlon, William, his trial for murder on Vinegar-hill, ii. 383.
Ferns, the mutiny of the militia there, ii. 64, 65—The treachery of its popish inhabitants, i. 400—Bishop of, cruelty and ingratitude of the rebels towards him, i. 412.
Fitzgerald. See lord Edward.
Fitzgerald, Thomas, esquire, saves the county of Tipperary from being desolated, ii. 280.
Fingal, earl of, his bravery at the battle of Tara, i. 362.
Fitzwilliam, earl, appointed viceroy, i. 159.
Forkhill, massacre there, i. 68.
Forth, moustain of, near Wexford, a rebel camp formed there by father John Murphy, i. 470—A description of it, ii. 444—A company of the Meath regiment cut off near it by the rebels, i. 472, 473.
Foulkes's mill, battle of, ii. 14.

G.

- Gannon*, a priest at Castlebar, joined the French, ii. 164.
Giraldus Cambrensis, his description of Ireland, i. 5.
Gorey, plundered by the rebels, who commit dreadful excesses therein on the defeat of colonel Walpole, i. 500.
Grandy, Richard, his affidavit relative to burning the barn at Scullabogue, ii. 406.
Grattan, Henry, esquire, a cabinet minister to earl Fitzwilliam, encourages the Romanists in their expectations of a total repeal of the popery laws, i. 159, 160.—Presents a bill for repealing them, i. 161.—Received an address of thanks from the Romanists, to which he gives an inflammatory answer, i. 162.
Grogan, Cornelius, his conduct when the rebels got possession of the town, and his character, i. 551, 552.

H.

- Hacketstown*, battle of, ii. 50.
Hamilton, reverend Mr. murdered in the county of Donegal in 1797, i. 203.
Hanton, a conspiracy of the defenders to murder him, i. 171, 172.
Harman, Mr. member of the county of Longford, murdered in his house in January, 1796, i. 199.

Harvey,

I N D E X.

- Harvey*, B. Bagenal, his character, and the arrest of him, John Colclough, and Edward Fitzgerald, i. 479, 480.—His letter to general Johnson to surrender the town of Rois, i. 504.—His arrest in the Saltees, his trial and execution, ii. 44, 45, 46, 47.
- Hay*, John, his character and execution, ii. 43.
- Hereticks*, no faith to be kept with them, and not entitled to any rights whatsoever by the pope and his sectaries, i. 12, 13.—Heretical princes may be deposed by their subjects by the council of Lateran, i. 11.—The same doctrine maintained by doctor Burke, titular bishop of Ossory, and Ghillini, the pope's legate at Brussels, i. 45, 46.—Oath taken by the emperor of Germany to adhere to the peace of Westphalia, absolved from it, because it was taken to hereticks, i. 47.
- Hertford*, marquis of, arrives in Ireland with his regiment, ii. 110.
- Heyden*, the reverend Mr. his murder, i. 450.—Catherine, her affidavit of the murder of her husband, ii. 346.
- Hill*, doctor, and his brother, taken prisoners by Kearns, the priest, and others, i. 535.
- Horneck* family, their sufferings, i. 462.
- Hore*, William, of Harperskown, taken by the rebels, i. 521.
- House of Commons*, burnt 27th of February, 1792, i. 136.
- Hughes*, William, his fortitude at Wexford in refusing to join the rebels, i. 582.
- Hume*, captain, member for the county of Wicklow, murdered by the rebels, i. 392.
- Hunt*, Margaret, her affidavit of the murder of her husband, ii. 315.
- Hussey*, doctor, his pastoral letter, ii. 467.
- Hutchinson*, general, marches from Galway to Castlebar, ii. 149.

I.

- Jackson*, Mr. of Forkhill, leaves an estate for charitable uses, i. 68.
- Indulgences*, invented by the pope to raise money, which flowed from the doctrine of purgatory, i. 20.
- Inquisition*, origin of, i. 17, 18.
- Insurrection* law passed in January, 1796: observations on it, and its salutary effects, i. 179.
- Jones*, William Todd, an advocate for the Roman catholics, i. 114.
- Jones*, reverend Mr. an attempt to murder him near Kilcock, ii. 295.
- Ireland*, when and by whom christianity introduced into it, i. 4.—When popery introduced into it, *ibid.*—The privileges enjoyed by the papists in it, previous to the civil war of 1641, i. 132.—The last country in Europe that submitted to the pope, i. 3.
- Irish*, their hatred to the English, heightened by the reformation, which occasioned many civil wars in Ireland, i. 25.
- Justice*, defeated through the interference of a priest, i. 351.—Criminal, easily baffled in Ireland, and why, i. 180, 181.

Kane,

I N D E X

K.

- Kan*, the blessed priest of Bannow, his character, ii. 13.
- Kavenagh*, father Francis, of Gorey, a rebel leader, i. 322, 424, 502, ii. 413.
- Kelburne*, a presbyterian minister and demagogue at Belfast, his correspondence with Edward Byrne, i. 95, 96.
- Keogh*, John, an active leader among the papists, i. 97—A flattering address sent to him by them, i. 100—Foretels in 1792, in the Catholick committee, that they must succeed in their designs, i. 109.
- Keogh*, Matthew, chosen governor of Wexford, his character, i. 548—His conduct to messieurs Bland, Crump, and Kellett, i. 552—Insulted by Carthy at lord Kingsborough's lodgings, i. 573—His power declines, and his life is in danger from the rebels as an orangeman, i. 575—Threatens William Hughes unless he joins the rebels, i. 582—Repairs to lord Kingsborough, with other rebel chieftains, to concert measures of conciliation, and sends messengers for that purpose to general Lake, ii. 32—His trial and defence, ii. 41.
- Kilcock*, attack on it, i. 333.
- Kilcomney*, near Gore's-bridge, rebels defeated there, ii. 87.
- Kilcullen*, the rising there and attack on it, i. 318.
- Kildare*, county, conspiracy and insurrection there, i. 286—State of, in the years 1799 and 1800, ii. 295 to 306—Town of, conspiracy and insurrection there, i. 301.
- Killala*, French land there, ii. 127—Are joined by the popish priests, ii. 133—Retaken, ii. 188, 189.
- Killan*, county of Wexford, the rape and burning of some protestant women attempted there, ii. 59, 60.
- Kingsborough*, viscount, his capture and captivity, i. 570.
- King's and Queen's county*, conspiracy there, ii. 249.
- Kilthomas*, battle of, i. 428.
- Knipe*, reverend Mr. murdered in the county of Meath, i. 209.

L.

- Lake*, general, his plan for attacking Vinegar-hill, ii. 1.—Goes to command the army in Connaught against the French, ii. 150—General, his humane proclamation on entering Wexford, ii. 449.
- Langrishe*, sir Hercules, his animadversions on the improper conduct of the Roman catholics in 1792, i. 99.
- Lateran*, council of, i. 11, 12.
- Lehunte*, Mr. an attack on him by Dixon, in consequence of a fire-screen found at his house, i. 380.
- Loftus*, general, his movements with colonel Walpole. See Walpole.
- Lord Edward Fitzgerald*, fled from Dublin, March 1798, i. 247—Proclamation, offering 1000l. for arresting him, issued 11th May, i. 251—Arrested the 19th of May, i. 253—His death, and a short account of his progress through life, i. 368.
- Louth*, county of, meeting of the Roman catholics, and their resolutions against the defenders, though secretly connected with them, i. 74—Much disturbed by the defenders, from i. 74 to 77.
- Louthen*, lord chief justice, his speech on the extensive privileges enjoyed

I N D E X

enjoyed by the Irish papists previous to the civil war of 1641, i. 32.

Lucan, earl of, his house plundered at Castlebar, ii. 159.

M.

Mabomet, on taking Constantinople, murders the Greek christians, i. 461.

Manders, three sisters, murdered near Athy, i. 345.

Martin, father, a priest, taken near Rathdrum, i. 390—His confession, i. 391.

Massacre, of the Albigenſes and Waldenſes, under the council of Lateran, i. 16—And of the French protestants on St. Bartholomew's day, i. 17—A general one intended by the Irish rebels, the first list consisted of 30,000 persons, i. 187—Of thirty-six protestants near Gorey, after the battle of Vinegar-hill, ii. 10.—Of messieurs Cliffe, Annesley and Elliot, at the Roar, i. 512—On the bridge of Wexford, ii. 16—At Scullabogue, i. 525—On Vinegar-hill, from i. 443 to 462.

Matthews, major of the Downshire regiment, his pursuit of father John Murphy and his banditti, ii. 87.

Maynooth, a popish seminary endowed there in 1795, i. 177—Attack on the town by the rebels, i. 349—Massacre of John Brown and others there, i. 350.

Mayo and Sligo, the rebellion there, ii. 110—The Carmelites or Scapularians from the North, the leaders of rebellion there, ii. 111, 113—Reports about Orangemen disseminated there, ii. 115, 118—Oaths of allegiance taken there as well as in Wexford, to deceive the government and the magistrates, ii. 119, 122, 123—Persecution of the protestant clergy there, ii. 125, 126.

McCarry, a friar, preaches sedition at Portaferry, i. 224.

McDonnel, colonel, his character, ii. 191, 192.

McGeoghegan laments the subjection of Ireland to an English and not an Irish king, i. 3.

Meadows, Mr. an anecdote related by him of a papist, confined in gaol with him, i. 569.

Meath regiment, a company of them cut off near Wexford, i. 475.

Military attempts to seduce them, i. 215—Organization of United Irishmen, i. 196.

Militia, English, arrive in Ireland during the rebellion, ii. 110.

Moir, earl of, arrives in Ireland, and moves in the House of Lords, that the penal laws should be repealed, and that government should try to conciliate the conspirators, i. 243.

Monastereven, attack on, by the rebels, i. 306.

Mountjoy, lord, his death, i. 509.

Munnally, father, a priest and rebel of Mayo, i. 333.

Munster, province of, not begun to be organized till Spring 1797, and completed in Autumn following, i. 213.

Murphy, father John, a priest, rises at Boulavogue, in the county of Wexford, with a murderous banditti, and desolates many parishes, i. 403—His retreat by the Scullagh-gap, in the county of Kilkenny, ii. 73—Father Michael, a priest of Ballycanew, a rebel general, his origin, i. 417—Killed at Arklow, i. 544—Father Edward, priest of Bannow, his conduct, i. 517.

Mutiny, in the 4th light brigade at Ferns, ii. 64.

I N D E X

N.

- Naas*, attack on it, i. 286.
Narraghmore, insurrection there, i. 337.
National guards, an armed set of traitors sprung from the volunteers, are headed by A. H. Rowan and J. N. Tandy, i. 139—A proclamation against their assembling, i. 140—Attempt to assemble in spite of the proclamation, i. 142.
Neil, a popish farmer hanged at Cork, his confession, ii. 272.
Neilson, a leader of the united Irishmen in Belfast, i. 124—Meditated an attack on Newgate 23d day of May, i. 262.
Newtown-barry, attack on it by the rebels, and the battle there, i. 485, 486, 487.
Newtown-mount-kennedy, battle of, i. 324.
North, predisposing causes to rebellion there, i. 184.
Northern Star, an inflammatory newspaper printed at Belfast in 1791, i. 190.

O.

- Oaths*, taken by popish bishops at their inauguration, inconsistent with their allegiance, i. 15—Of Allegiance, see Allegiance.
O'Donnel, father of Kilmuckthalgan, a traitor, ii. 169.
O'Doude, his character, ii. 189, 190.
O'Keon, Henry, lands with the French at Killala, ii. 139—Exhorts the populace to join the French, ii. 140.
O'Leary, a friar, chaplain to the Irish brigade, i. 56, 58.
O'Neil, lord, proceeds towards Antrim, ii. 95—His death, ii. 99—And character, ii. 102.
Orange lodges not formed in Dublin till January, 1798, i. 240.
Orangemen, origin of, i. 82—Their usefulness, i. 84, 85—Particularly in the North, i. 237—Reports in the county of Wicklow that they would massacre the papists, i. 377—The utility of the institution, i. 234.
Ormsby, captain Charles, a conspiracy to murder him and the protestants of his corps at Rathcool, i. 281.
Orr, William, a rebel hanged at Carrickfergus, i. 216.
Orr, Samuel, brother to William, who was hanged at Carrickfergus, commanded a rebel column at the battle of Antrim, ii. 95.
Oulart, battle of, when one hundred and fifteen of the North Cork regiment were killed, i. 412.
Oviotstown, battle of, i. 351.
Oxmantown, lord, his active and spirited conduct in the county of Longford, ii. 183, 184.

P.

- Paine's* Age of Reason printed at Belfast, and circulated in the North, to promote the conspiracy, i. 189.
Papal power, origin of, i. 7—Established by the council of Lateran, which becomes terrific both to princes and their subjects, i. 11—The opinions of Romish divines on that council, i. 13—Council of Toledo similar in its ordinances, i. 14.
Papists, raise large sums of money on their body in 1792 and 1793, i. 107—And again in 1794 and 1795, i. 186—Not sincere in inviting

I N D E X

- inviting the presbyterians to unite with them, and meant only to lull them, i. 191—Property of, protected in the county of Wexford during the rebellion, ii. 62—Of Dublin, published a declaration of their tenets, and sent them to Sinclair Kelburne—their debate thereon, i. 97—A petition presented on their part to parliament in February, 1792, but withdrawn as indecent and indecorous, i. 97.—Hold parochial meetings, wherein they debate and condemn lords Fingal and Kenmare, i. 92—Endeavour to lull protestants, particularly presbyterians, and to attach them to their cause, with a pretence of seeking for general liberty, i. 113, 114, 115—Unite and form combinations not to deal with protestants on the recall of earl Fitzwilliam, i. 163.
- Parliamentary* reform, an engine used to overturn the constitution, a motion made for a bill to promote it in the house of commons, the 14th of January, 1793, i. 143.
- Parsons*, sir Lawrence, makes a motion that conciliatory measures should be adopted, i. 244.
- Pastorini*, a sanguinary bigot, his book approving of assassination published in Dublin, ii. 404.
- Peep-of-day* boys, origin of, i. 62.
- Piper*, Ann, her affidavit of the murder of her husband, ii. 377.
- Popery*, worse in Ireland than in any other country, and why, i. 37—First introduced into Ireland in 1152, i. 1.
- Papish* college, established at Maynooth in 1795, i. 177.
- Population*, of the kingdom, deduced from Wexford, ii. 63, 64.
- Portaferry*, attack on it by the rebels, ii. 107.
- Pounden*, Mrs. her sufferings in a sloop at Wexford, i. 555.
- Presbyterians*, leaders at Belfast and Lisburn, attend mass with their volunteer corps to attach the papists to the union, i. 126—Ministers, some profligate ones in the counties of Down and Antrim, encourage their flocks to join the union, i. 127—Great numbers of them in the North very loyal, i. 237—Very loyal at first, except in Belfast, i. 105—Those in the county of Cavan published strong resolutions against defenders, *ibid.*—The catholic committee and the leaders of the conspiracy endeavour to unite the presbyterians with the Roman catholics, to overturn the constitution, i. 123, 125—The presbyterians have a strong predilection for a republic, i. 143.
- Press*, an inflammatory newspaper, published by Arthur O'Connor, i. 230.
- Priest*, Stafford, Roche, Kavenagh and Redmond, of the county of Wexford, concerned in the rebellion, i. 391—Of the county of Wexford, the treachery of them and their flocks, i. 396 to 402—Their influence, and protections granted by them, i. 568—Their treachery and cruelty in Mayo and Sligo, ii. 133.
- Prison-ship*, the suffering of protestants in it, i. 553.
- Proclamation*, a wife and conciliatory one, addressed to the people of the North, by general Lake in 1797, i. 201—A conciliatory one addressed to the disaffected, by government, 17th May, 1797, i. 215.
- Propagande fidee* established at Rome, ii. 450.
- Prosperus*, massacre there, i. 288.
- Protections*, granted by the Wexford priests, i. 568.
- Protestants*, number of, massacred in 1641, i. 34—Church, state of, in the archdiocese of Dublin in the year 1798, ii. 319—Houses burnt in the county of Wicklow, i. 389—Urged by friendly

I N D E X.

friendly Roman catholicks to change their religion as necessary to save their lives, i. 583.
Purgatory, origin of, i. 19—Produced absolution for sin, i. 20.

Q.

Quigley, father, the priest, encourages the defenders in the counties of Louth and Armagh, i. 67—Deeply concerned with the defenders in 1797, i. 237.

R.

Rabaud, de St. Etienne, a French democrat, comes to Dublin to promote the conspiracy, i. 129.
Ram, Abel, esquire, his house burnt in 1641, ii. 66, 451.
Rathangan, rising and massacre there, i. 309.
Rathcoole, a conspiracy there among the popish yeomen to murder the protestants, i. 280—The army poisoned by the rebels there, i. 347.
Rathfarnham, rebels first rise there, i. 458.
Rawson, Thomas James, esquire, his laudable and spirited conduct near Athy and Narraghmore, i. 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343—A conciliatory address published by him, i. 338.
Reformation produced many civil wars in Ireland, i. 25—Introduced there, ii. 487, 488.
Reynolds, Thomas, the plot discovered by him, i. 245.
Rightboys, origin of, and enormities committed by them, i. 50.
Roche, father, the general in the county Wexford, i. 464—Father elected general at Carrickbyrne in the place of Bagenal Harvey, deposed, i. 533—His letter to father Doyle, i. 536—The priest, his execution at Wexford, ii. 43.
Roman catholick. See always papists and popish—Address the viceroy 30th May against the rebellion, observations thereon, i. 358.
Ryan, captain, killed by lord Edward Fitzgerald, i. 255.

S.

Saintfield, battle of, ii. 103.
Saunders, Mrs. of Saunders-grove, county of Wicklow, her fortitude, i. 384.
Scapular, order of, see an account of it, ii. 115, 116, 117.
Scotch Highlanders land and settle in the North of Ireland, ii. 493.
Scullabogue, a description of the barn there after the protestants had been burnt in it, ii. 409—The massacres there, i. 515.
Servants, popish, of Dublin disaffected, i. 270.
Sheares, John, agrees with the Romanists to sacrifice the protestant state to gain their co-operation in the union, i. 128—And Henry arrested, i. 256—Their trial and execution, ii. 199.
Sheehy, father, a priest, leader of the white boys, i. 37.
Shortal, captain, of the artillery, his gallant conduct at the battle of Cattlebar, ii. 152, 153, 154.
Sirr, major, his narrow escape at Grange, i. 275.
Smith, Thomas, his evidence on the trial of the assassins of Haulon, of the artillery, i. 172.

Spencer,

I N D E X

- Spencer*, Mr. murdered at Rathangan, i. 311.
Stacey, Edward, his affidavit of his sufferings, ii. 350.
Sterne, Richard, his affidavit, i. 117.
St. George, colonel, and Jasper Uniacke, murdered at Arraglyn on the 9th of February 1798, i. 240.
Supremacy, papal. See papal power.

T.

- Tandy*, James Napper, secretary to the united Irishmen in Dublin, 9th of November, 1791, i. 117—Indicted at Dundalk assizes for sedition, and flies, i. 143—Lands at Rutland in September, 1798, ii. 463—Taken prisoner at Hamburgh, tried and convicted at Lifford, but pardoned, ii. 467.
Tara, battle of, i. 363.
Taylor, George, his affidavit, ii. 394.
Tinnabely, burnt by William Byrne, ii. 64.
Tipperary, county of, conspiracy there, ii. 280.
Toledo, council of. See popery.
Tone, Theobald Wolfe, a noted demagogue, the founder of the society of united Irishmen, i. 112.
Trocke, reverend Mr. murdered on Vinegar-hill, i. 458.
Troy, doctor, titular archbishop of Dublin, in a pastoral letter, in the year 1793, endeavours to shew that popery is favourable to republican government, i. 146.
Turner, the reverend Francis, murdered at Ballingale, i. 424.
Tyrrell, captain, his spirited conduct in the county of Kildare, i. 329, 330, and ii. 66, 67.

U.

- Union* of civil and ecclesiastical power essential to the peace and prosperity of a state, i. 9—*Star*, a paper to encourage assassination, i. 229.
United Irishmen, their origin, and by whom instituted, i. 112—First at Belfast in October, 1791, i. 115—Second in Dublin, on the 9th of November, i. 117—Their different addresses, i. 117, 118—Dispersed by the magistrates, and their papers seized the 23d of May, 1794, i. 153—The fate of their protestant leaders, i. 154—Their civil organization, i. 155—Their military, i. 196—Negotiate with the French, and invite them to invade Ireland, i. 204—Assemble in large bodies in Dublin, and array themselves under the pretext of attending funerals, i. 207—Form a design of rising in Dublin in 1797, i. 209, 210—Seduce the king's troops, *ibid.*—Did not begin to organize Munster till the beginning of 1797, and it was reported to be perfected in September following, i. 213—Form four executive directories, one for each province, in November, 1797, *ibid.*—How far their leaders succeeded in uniting the presbyterians and papists in 1797, i. 219, 220—Employ regular attorneys and counsel to defend their fellow-traitors, i. 228—Publish *The Union Star* to encourage the assassination of loyal persons, i. 229—And a newspaper, called *The Press*, for the same purpose, *ibid.*—And the *Harp of Erin* in Cork.
Usher, primate, his account of the religion of the antient Irish, i. 7.
Valentine,

I N D E X

V.

- Valentine*, reverend Mr. his tomb and his remains violated in the county of Sligo, ii. 125.
Vinegar-hill, a rebel camp formed there, i. 441.—A description of it, i. 445—Massacres committed there, i. 448, 449 to 454—General Lake's plan for attacking it, and his orders to the general officers for that purpose, ii. 1—The movement of our different armies to attack and surround it under general Lake, ii. 5—The battle of, ii. 6.—Father Clinch killed there by the earl of Roden, ii. 7.—Why general Needham did not occupy the part destined for him, ii. 8, 9—Massacre of thirty-six protestants near Gorey, after the battle, ii. 10.
Volunteers, origin of, i. 54—Of Dublin, correspond with the revolutionists in France in 1791, i. 129, 130—Invited by the catholics of Dublin to promote the cause of the union, i. 134.

W.

- Walpole*, colonel, the movements of him and general Loftus towards Gorey, i. 490, 491—His defeat and the consequences of it, i. 494, 495.
Walsh, Nicholas, a rebel, his trial for murder on Vinegar-hill, ii. 387.
Warren, Benjamin, his affidavit, ii. 340.
Waterford, county and city, conspiracy there, ii. 255.
Weldon, a notorious defender, tried and hanged in Dublin, i. 170.
Westfieldstown, rising there the 23d May, i. 278.
Westmeath, county of, rising there, near lord Sunderlin's, ii. 180.
Westport, plundered by the rebels, ii. 157.
Wexford, county of, rebellion and conspiracy there, i. 393—Diffimulation of the popish priests and their flock there, in taking oaths of allegiance, and in addressing the viceroy, i. 395, 396.
Wexford, town of, description and population, i. 470, 471—Evacuation of by the garrison as not tenable, i. 481, 482—Their retreat to Duncannon fort perilous and painful, i. 389, 400—Entry of the rebels into it the 30th of May, i. 548—Cruel and perfidious conduct of the rebel sailors, i. 549, 550, 551—The great sufferings of the loyalists, who hired vessels to go from Wexford, i. 552 to 557—Father Corrin administers oaths and grants protections, i. 556—Thomas Dixon, a sanguinary ruffian, his conduct, i. 557—Doctor Caulfield's observations to a lady, about saving protestants, i. 559—A sermon preached there on Trinity Sunday by the popish bishop's chaplain, *ibid.*—Colonel Lehunte and other protestants obliged to become converts to popery, i. 560—The rebels search the houses for orangemen, i. *ibid.*—Ninety-seven prisoners massacred on the bridge, ii. 17—Protections granted by the priests, i. 567—Massacre on the bridge described, from ii. 17 to 31—The bloody committee in the gaol described, and the calendar of the protestant prisoners, ii. 27, 28—Twelve yeomen enter it the 21st June, and strike terror into the rebels, who fly precipitately, ii. 37—The flight of the rebels described in a lady's journal, ii. 38—A sermon preached there the 10th of June, by father Roche, the bishop's chaplain, i. 576
—Inscription

I N D E X.

- Inscription on the bridge of Wexford, ii. 49—A proclamation read from the altar of the popish chapel, for the arrest of four magistrates, i. 576.
- Whealey*, Samuel, his affidavit of his sufferings at Wexford, ii. 329.
- White*, Mawtrej, a magistrate, discovers the conspiracy in the county of Wexford, and communicates it to government, i. 396.—Pursues the rebels on Whitfunday with the yeomen cavalry, i. 414.
- White-boys*, origin of, in 1759, i. 36—Encouraged by the popish clergy, i. 37—The marquis of Drogheda sent to Munster, to command a body of forces against them, *ibid.*—The laws made against them prove the enormity of their crimes, and how destructive they were in their proceedings, i. 47, 48—They were succeeded by the right-boys, i. 50, 51.
- Wicklow*, county, conspiracy and rebellion there, i. 370.
- Williams*, George, his affidavit, ii. 334.
- Wilson's* hospital, plundered, ii. 181.
- Woodward*, doctor, bishop of Cloyne, abused and calumniated for writing in defence of his clergy, i. 52.
- Wynne*, sir Watkin Williams, his spirited conduct at the battle of Tubberneering near Gorey, ii. 494, 495, 496—And at Arklow, i. 544.

Y.

- Yeomanry*, origin of, in 1796, i. 193—Opposed by the principal members of the catholick committee, *ibid.*—Fourteen thousand in the counties of Fermanagh, Tyrone, Derry and Armagh, most of them orangemen and presbyterians, i. 237—Popish of Dublin, many of them traitors, i. 269—Of the county of Kildare, much disaffected, i. 324—Disaffection of, in the county of Wicklow, i. 372, 373—In the county of Wexford, i. 421—In the county of Mayo, ii. 123.

T H E E N D.

